# NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA

Napoleon Bonaparte

Frontispiece

# NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA

1815 - 1821

BY

FRÉDÉRIC MASSON
OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY

*Translated by*

LOUIS B. FREWER
(M.A. Oxon.)

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# Translator's Foreword

I WAS prompted to translate this work not by a desire either to explode or to support any existing contention regarding the treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena, for I hold no brief in the matter, but rather to repair what I feel to be an omission.

Frédéric Masson devoted a whole life-time to the study of the Emperor and built up a tremendous documentation about him: its scope and extent can be ascertained by a perusal of the author's introduction which follows this note. His output was monumental and although most of his other works on Napoleon have been considered worthy of editions in English, that dealing with the final phase has never been similarly available. Despite certain anti-British assertions and conclusions, I feel there is a reading public for all such works when rendered into English.

Most French St. Helena literature is biassed in its outlook, but it is not a British characteristic to condemn a man unheard. Whatever may be the reputation of Masson in this country, any possible hint of suppression of what is possibly his most controversial work just because it paints English administration on St. Helena in a poor light, is not the average Englishman's conception of justice. Here, then, is Masson's story. I hope the student of the Napoleonic epoch will welcome its publication in English: perhaps, in addition, it may induce some who do not rank themselves among the experts of this period of French history to delve more deeply into its fascinating controversies.

That the sentiments expressed by Masson are not solely French opinions but have gained currency in other countries is evidenced by an article which appeared in the January 1948 issue of "Surgery, Gynecology and Obstetrics," the official organ of the American College of Surgeons, written by the Librarian of the Northwestern Medical School, Miss Esther H. Vincent of Evanston, Illinois. The article is entitled "The Cancer of Destiny" and in it she writes :—

> "The jagged, gloomy rock called St. Helena is 600 miles from the nearest land, and Longwood, the seat of Napoleon's exile, is at the summit of the Island's most remote mountain, cold, damp, windy, shadeless, and waterless. The Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, a wretched bully of a man, was haunted by the idea that

# Author's Introduction

IN the works I have published on Napoleon there exist deficiencies which I would like to make good. The first series: *Napoleon in his Youth* must to a certain extent be revised in order to appear more like a book than a compilation of *Notes* as first intended. In the second series I have to insert a volume entitled *Madame Bonaparte* between *Josephine de Beauharnais* and *Empress Josephine.* In the third series, *Napoleon and his Family*, I have to relate what happened between the abdication at Fontainebleau and the death of the Emperor, and three volumes are still to be written. The tenth volume is almost finished and will appear before the end of this year: the eleventh volume is ready, and the twelfth almost ready for the printer. The other series are not so far advanced and only documentary material has been prepared. I am restricting myself to these as they are the only ones I can hope to finish at my age.

The process I have adopted explains, if it does not excuse, the delay with which I have given to the public the three last volumes of *Napoleon and his Family* and the present publication, *Napoleon at St. Helena*. It is because I have pursued my investigations, not chronologically, but simultaneously, into events from March 1814 to May 1821 which constitute my various studies. I have excluded from it several narratives too comprehensive for inclusion in my book and yet too important not to be narrated in as complete detail as possible like, among others, the *Maubreuil Affair* the publication of which took place six years ago, and *Colonel Camille* (*How the Emperor returned from the Isle of Elba*) appeared four years ago. In the same manner also I have dealt with the problem to which the history of the captivity gave birth: exactly ten years ago I discussed the most important of them at a conference of the Geographical Society. Circumstances have since obliged me to publish separately the documents on which my conviction was based, which have suffered no opposition and which it appeared to me materially impossible for anyone to contradict. I have dealt in the same way with the various people who constituted Napoleon's suite, the doctors,

the so-called Captain Piontkowski,[1] the cooks, the King of France's commissioner, the Marquis de Montchenu, and then with certain events. The studies contained in the three volumes which appeared under the title of *Around St. Helena* throw upon the men and circumstances described in them as much information as I have been able to collect.

In this manner, too, this volume has been prepared. It might perhaps have been preferable that it should not appear until after the twelfth volume of *Napoleon and his Family* in which I shall try to ascertain what relations could have existed between the Emperor on St. Helena and his mother, sisters and brothers, but have I not already disclosed what part paternal love played in the prisoner's sufferings in *Napoleon and his Son?* The day my work is finished it will be seen that for twenty years I have followed a plan—a logical plan—and the connection between its various themes has appeared to me perfectly reasonable. And in this way this book will be followed by another—*Napoleon's Will*, in which my primary object will be to show the sentiments, memories and hopes which influenced the Emperor in this final manifestation of his soul; secondly, to consider the motives for each of the provisions; and, finally, to narrate the truly amazing vicissitudes of the execution of the will.

If I were likely to live long enough to deal with the plans of which I have already tried to give certain outlines, to continue the examination of the outer life and imperial surroundings, I should still have enough to last me a lifetime, but that enters only the dreams permitted to an old man on the express condition that he realises the

[1]An Englishman, Mr. G. L. de St. M. Watson, has just published a 300-page volume entitled " A Polish Exile with Napoleon, embodying the letters of Captain Piontkowski to General Sir Robert Wilson, and many Documents from the Lowe Papers, the Colonial Office Records, the Wilson Manuscripts, the Capel Lofft Correspondence, and the French and Genevese Archives hitherto unpublished. " London and New York, Harper & Brothers, 1912. I was expecting to find in it new information which would supplement or contradict that which I have already published on Piontkowski in *Around St. Helena* (2nd ser.). I found the entire substance of my work, but accompanied by comments which appeared to be critical, and at the same time characterised by the most audacious nonsense and utter ignorance. To take Piontkowski, his wife and Capel Lofft seriously, to reinstate the Pole and devote 300 pages to his *apologia*, without revealing a single new fact, was surely the height of folly. The fellow-countrymen of Mr. G. L. de St. M. Watson having taken upon themselves to revive these things (The Times, March 7, 1912), I have nothing to add except that the proofs of Mme. Piontkowski's virtue appear to me either very ingenuous or curiously dissolute.

vanity of it. Nevertheless, I will do my best, as I have done up to the present, and will, I hope, continue to do to the end. But doing my best is not much. If I had been able to retain that illusion on this my life's work, the insults of which I am the victim should have taught me moderation ; how does it happen therefore that they have above all only made me proud ? Nothing that happens can affect my remaining constant and above all faithful to the flag I love and to the cause I am serving. As to my books, so often and so presumptuously ridiculed, it does not seem to me that these insults have compromised their veracity.

I am nothing if not a searcher after the truth : if I have endeavoured to satisfy my own mind by believing that I have found it, and my conscience by striving to tell it, and if I have succeeded, what does it matter if my phrases appear to a few to be awkward and unskilful. All the same they will have contributed, so far as they can, to the national dignity and grandeur. And that is enough.

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I must say how I have compiled this book. Although I have been fortunate enough to obtain cognizance of unpublished memoirs of great importance and even to verify the truth of them from other similar unpublished recollections, I cannot attempt to record day by day a chronological diary of the Emperor's life at St. Helena. Such a book would not have been possible for the simple reason that there exists no evidence for four of the six years of captivity.

Three sources of information are extant upon the Emperor and his life at St. Helena. *English sources :* these are no doubt of great importance since they deal with the relations of Napoleon and his companions with the English, but apart from that they are worthless as evidence of the interior life at Longwood and the Emperor's doings because no Englishman, after the rupture between the Emperor and Lowe, entered the house or was present at the daily routine of Napoleon. What has been published, especially since the last works of M. Frémeaux, is amply sufficient and I believe we need not expect any new information from this source.

*European sources :* reports and letters from the commissioners of the Powers. The Austrian commissioner disappeared almost immediately. The Russian commissioner was not long in following his Austrian colleague and his correspondence, interesting at the beginning, is of no value for a good year prior to his departure. The French commissioner certainly stayed on the island until the

Emperor's death, but he did not come to Longwood any more frequently than his colleagues, had no exact ideas of the Emperor's existence there, and were it not for certain disclosures—untrue and misleading—received from Montholon, the nullity of his correspondence would equal that of his intelligence. I have, moreover, adequately dealt with Montchenu in *Around St. Helena* (2nd series) in which I published characteristic portions of his dispatches.

There is, finally, the *French or English* (O'Meara) *evidence*, emanating from Napoleon's retinue, men who associated with him and were able to give an account of his actions and his thoughts: Las Cases, Gourgaud, Bertrand, Montholon, O'Meara, Antommarchi, Marchand, Saint-Denis.

In his journal Las Cases could have given us a narrative of first-rate importance, but there was so much literature in it, so many personal advertisements and so many apocryphal statements that a great part of his testimony must be discounted; I, nevertheless, attach some importance to it in its first edition printed in England before its revision. If it exists, which I doubt, the original manuscript ought to be consulted.

Up to the present Gourgaud has provided the most invaluable evidence. As I have said elsewhere, I have been able most advantageously to consult an exact copy of the original manuscript. I think it may be taken as a very fair, complete and definite account of the state of affairs at Longwood during the first two years of the captivity.

But as Las Cases left Longwood on November 25, 1816, so Gourgaud departed on February 13, 1818. For the rest we have O'Meara: I have said what I think of this man,[1] I have no confidence in him. He was the servant of anyone who would pay him or lead him to expect higher payment. Consequently, all he says which is without documentary corroboration is suspect. Nevertheless, he came to understand Lowe better than did the Frenchmen.

What I have been led to conclude from Bertrand's reminiscences is that they were assembled very slowly and consequently suffer from obvious lapses of memory.

The *Montholon Narratives* are valueless for they were written at least twenty years after the events and revised if not assembled by an eminent novelist, and I have already spoken elsewhere of their

[1] *Napoleon's Doctors at St. Helena.* (*Around St. Helena,* 3rd series).

veracity (*The Gourgaud Affair—Around St. Helena*, 1st series). The purpose of this publication has been vastly different from that which Prince Louis Napoleon, who paid for its printing, might have attempted to ascribe to it

The English edition (in English) contains certain documents which were copied in the last French edition and the narrative thus later included is, in this first edition, more accurate though no more interesting The published letters from Montholon to his wife are among the most valuable documents which have seen the light of day, and the same applies to certain letters contained in the appendix to the *Memoirs of Madame de Montholon*

Antommarchi certainly kept a journal and for certain facts concerning the Emperor's disease he supplied quite useful data, but all the rest is pure fiction and none of the conversations of the Emperor related by the Corsican anatomist are trustworthy, for without any doubt he employed a dyer to sketch out his journal in two volumes A first edition of these memoirs was printed and published in England and a comparison between this and the later edition, published in France, is edifying

There remain the memoirs of Marchand for the cognizance of which I am indebted to the goodness of the Count Desmazières, and those of Saint-Denis which so far I have been able only cursorily to examine, but whose likeness to those of Marchand seems to me to indicate close similarity and, if one can so express it, mutual supervision After Gourgaud these are the most valuable witnesses and they provide information regarding the last years of the Emperor's life no part of which can be found elsewhere. My old friend, G Clairin, has, moreover, informed me of the precious letters of his grandfather, Count Marchand Written from St. Helena, under the eyes of his gaolers, they arouse profound emotion but contain scarcely no new information

Such is the collected evidence. There may be additional letters sent by the housekeepers and servants, various account books, certain information imparted by travellers and visitors, "interviews" granted to noble lords or high English officials, but none of this provides, even summarily, for the daily life of Napoleon from 1818 till the end of 1820

I have therefore been obliged to adopt a different plan in order to express the ideas which the study of manuscripts and printed documents have suggested to me: the legal position of Napoleon

has seemed to me to explain, justify and glorify his resistance to English oppression. Everything emanates from that, everything must be ascribed to it. I have therefore discussed in the course of it what reasons decided the Emperor to seek asylum on the *Bellerophon* and how the English received and treated him on board. From the abuse of force meted out to him has resulted all the resistance he employed against them. That is the first part of this work: *From Malmaison to the Northumberland.*

Having dealt with this period, I have shown what people were to play parts on the stage of St. Helena: those who had accompanied the Emperor and of whom up to the present no one has sought a biography or real character, or has recorded the motives which induced them to follow Napoleon. Valuable unpublished material has enabled me to describe these people to whom posterity has accorded infinitely more regard than to contemporary figures. I have written without reticence what I have found. It has seemed to me that the papers, for the most part extracts from public archives, need no commentary: they are sufficient in themselves. Social reorganisation is one of the new aspects of this study and I do not think I have disregarded even the lowliest member of it.

I am less concerned with the English personnel for only one, Major Hudson Lowe, is of any interest. Certain valuable information accorded to me by some English people, the series of articles dealing with him, upon his death, in different papers and reviews, have enabled me, I believe, to understand better his mental make-up and to treat him if not sympathetically at least with justice. I saw in him only as executioner and, behind the tyrant, I have sought the English governor. I have not attempted to describe all who had associations with the Emperor, Admiral and Lady Malcolm, Admiral Plampin, General and Lady Bingham, the officers of the different regiments. What would be the good? Nor yet the travellers; the action of the Drama does not depend on them for their influence was less than their participation in it, and I have carefully avoided including anything which might distract the reader's attention from it. While describing the prominent personages, I have at the same time tried to sketch the scenery, and a huge collection of photographic views has helped me to this end. I should definitely never have presumed to describe a country I had not visited, but the pictorial collection I have amassed has enabled me to form an idea and to put the Hero amidst scenes at least approaching reality.

In this way I have prepared the action of which a discerning mind can thenceforward conceive its sequence of inevitable and I might say infallible vicissitudes; on condition that certain phases of this action be assumed where information is scanty, but which the mass of characters therein depicted necessitates, and that life in a cage which men most abundantly endowed with patience found irritating. It might have been more subtle and perhaps more nearly approaching the truth to allow the reader to dream this whole drama of which we know only certain scenes and to assemble an entity of which I can supply only fragments. But this would have relieved me of a task I had myself assumed. I have therefore arranged in order, so far as I have been able, the issues which arose during the captivity and which caused the rupture between the Prisoner and his gaoler. I have tried to explain them clearly and thus apportion the responsibility. It is my fault always wherever I have been obliged, in order to do justice to the wretched Hudson Lowe, to rail against those who sent orders to him.

After investigating the causes which inevitably led to the dispute between Napoleon and Lowe, and after relating the incidents in this dispute, I have dealt, each in their turn, with those whose characters I had previously discussed, and in this way one of the worst hardships of the Captivity is revealed. I have told of the succession of departures, the idleness, the weariness, the terribly painful tedium: then, so far as I have been able, I have followed the development of the illness. I have had more means at my disposal for this phase and have therefore discussed it in greater detail. But often though my pen may have trembled in my hand, I venture to think that in these pages will be found nothing abusive, nothing irrelevant. I have devoted myself to making known, with absolute sincerity, those facts with which documents have provided me and not the impressions they have left upon me. I hope none of these latter will be found in a work in which prejudice might have been inclined to ignore the truth.

Clos des Fées, 1910-1912. FRÉDÉRIC MASSON.

# I

## From Malmaison to the *Northumberland*

HAVING left the Elysée at noon on June 25 by the Champs Elysées gate, practically a fugitive—fleeing from the cheers of a people who wanted him for their leader, Napoleon arrived at Malmaison where, since the preceding day, Hortense had awaited him. She was unwilling to surrender to anyone else the distinction, which was not without danger, of receiving the outlaw into this house which had witnessed the grandeur of his former remarkable prosperity. Some retainers followed—a few. Already everywhere was deserted and certain of the household had taken their departure: an equerry, M. de Montaran, however, was found to ride to the coach-door, one or two chamberlains, M. de Las Cases and M. de Beauvau, to be in attendance in the drawing-room; several orderly officers and a page or two were also discovered. Devotion is becoming in young hearts.

The Emperor's idea seemed to be to cross to the United States. Knowing that two frigates, the *Saale* and the *Méduse* were at Rochefort ready for sea, he had, on the evening of the 23rd, sent Grand Marshal Bertrand to request Decrès, the Minister of Marine, that they be put at his disposal. Decrès' only desire was to be of service to the Emperor; he had written immediately to the naval prefect, M. de Bonnefoux, announcing the early arrival of a French minister for the United States who must, with a suite of twenty, embark on the two frigates: "Spare nothing," he added, "that the table may be liberal and imposing . . . Carry this out with despatch and with the intelligence which is peculiarly yours, but above everything else with the utmost secrecy."

On the 24th, at the very time at which Decrès had ordered the frigates to be ready, Bertrand, being unable to decide without orders from the Provisional Commission—that is, from Fouché—had asked the administrator of crown lands, Baron Desmazis, "for the wherewithal to furnish a town house and a country residence, and to maintain several officers"; and he had entered into the most minute detail, specifying the furniture necessary for two drawing rooms and eight private rooms in the town house, for two more drawing rooms and several staff rooms in the country house; he ordered these pieces

of furniture to be stored and only sent to Malmaison upon later instructions. Desmazis referred the request immediately to the Intendant General Montalivet who, prevented by gout from taking the orders of the Provisional Commission, wrote to Fouché on the 25th. In the margin Fouché wrote: "Under consideration."

On the same day, the 25th, during a sitting of the Chamber, the Minister for War requested one of his aides-de-camp to deliver a letter to General Count Beker wherein he notified him that, by that day's decree, he had "appointed him to the command of the guard of the Emperor in barracks at Rueil." "The reputation of France," Davout wrote, "demands vigilance over the preservation of his person, and the respect due to him. The concern of the country demands the prevention of those evilly disposed from using his name to stir up trouble."

It was on the evening of June 25 that Beker, having seen the Emperor, was given to understand by the guard that Napoleon was a prisoner. He contented himself with remarking when Beker presented Davout's order to him: "I ought to have been notified officially of an act which I regard as a formality and not as a measure of supervision to which it is useless to subject me since I have n intention of neglecting my engagements."

In selecting General Beker had Davout imagined that the vigilanc of that officer would be keener because of personal enmity? Suc has been thought and said.

Born in Alsace in 1770, enlisted in Languedoc Dragoons, Beke was adjutant-commander at the time of the Consulate: he had fough with the army of the North, in Vendée, in Holland, with the arm of Sambre and Meuse, at St. Domingo, and with the army of Italy and had been seriously wounded at Cassano. The First Consul, wh had taken a liking to him, had married him to the sister of Desaix made him brigade-general after Hohenlinden, and sent him to command the Puy-de-Dome, which was quite a favour seeing that the Desaix family made it its residence, wholly endowed, rented and titled by it. Divisional-general after Austerlitz, brought into prominence by the Prussian and Polish campaigns, Count of the Empire under the title of Count de Pons with an income of £30,000, Beker, after being chief staff-officer to Massena, had upon his own request been granted leave in 1808, and this was taken to imply a desire for retirement. He had protested against this decision and had begged to be recalled to duty as the result of which the Emperor again gave him a command.

But after the battle of Essling, which won for him the medal of "grand officer," he had begged to retire to Puy-de-Dome, the Emperor granted him permission, but retained him on the active list

When not engaged with the armies, Beker was utilised in the interior to see that the conscription laws were put into execution, to defend Belle-Isle-en-Mer, threatened by an English attack, and finally in 1814 to command the 7th and the 9th military divisions Having received from the Bourbons only the Cross of St Louis, he did not appear to be attached to them by any tie and when, elected by the "department" of Puy-de-Dome as one of its deputies in the Chamber, he presented to the Emperor the deputation of the electoral college and did so in terms of an inviolable fidelity Since June 20, however, he had been the recipient of various promotions which had cast a doubt upon his integrity he had been attached by the War Minister to General Grenier to organise the defence of Paris and in addition had been appointed a member of the Administrative Commission in the Chamber and commander of its guard

This man, overwhelmed with distinctions at the hands of Napoleon, could scarcely have had any cause for revenge—unless from circumstances unknown—and, if his acceptance of such an office is astonishing, one would prefer to consider that he did so in order that he might make himself useful to the Emperor

Napoleon could certainly not regard Beker as a gaoler, after a long conversation, he said to him "Would that I might be given the two frigates for which I asked, I would leave immediately for Rochefort, I still have to equip myself suitably for my destination without falling into the hands of my enemies"

Did not that imply a demand for passports from the English, who were masters of the sea?

Did Fouché, in addressing himself to this end to Wellington and Castlereagh at the same time, intend, as it was said, to warn the English and to put them on guard against the departure of the Emperor, or merely to carry out the wishes of Napoleon? Napoleon had for a very long time, almost from his infancy, entertained illusions concerning the generosity of the English people, one experience of which had not been sufficient to cure him, and in which, moreover, he was not the only member of his family involved On June 25, his brother Lucien left for Boulogne, whence he should have crossed to England, and this was in the premeditated plan of seeking there passports for himself and for all his relations It is true that, at

Boulogne, having chatted for an hour with Count Otto, who had left Paris on the 24th upon orders given the day before by the Provisional Government, he had not been able to obtain the least authorisation to cross to England and returned. But was this because he feared a refusal or, as he himself asserted, because he cherished a sudden desire to see his family again, that he dreaded being detained in England and not being able to return to Rome for his wife's confinement? One can believe well of a man who had sacrificed everything for his wife, but nothing is more likely than that Lucien, so far as one knows, was more than probably correct concerning all the hindrances, thanks to powerful friends he had made in England. But there is definitely no evidence of his having come to Malmaison any more than there is of his brother Jerome; Joseph did not leave, and he henceforth assumed control of the family. Now, Joseph was determined to cross to the United States as were Madame and Fesch. The whole family must be reunited there. The Emperor therefore had to be consulted concerning the demand for passports in his name and he confidently approved the government taking steps to this effect.

But should he await the result in the neighbourhood of Paris or at the port of departure itself? Since the Emperor had appointed him to the Ministry of War, Davout had repeatedly extolled rigorous methods, and without opposition from Napoleon, he might have converted the government to revolutionary ways which, perhaps, might have spelt salvation; at least might not the traitors who had just given up the army and France to the enemy have been intimidated? But, at the moment, Davout was wrongly upbraiding Napoleon for his opposition, and doubtless the Emperor might have been more generous and better disposed if Davout had shown less haste in ridding himself of the Emperor: this haste betrayed a coarse irritation of which several general officers of his staff got the benefit. Did he fear that, invoked by the soldiers, the Emperor would deprive him of his command of the army? Had he conceived plans and ambitions which Napoleon's presence hindered? Did he still believe the assertions of the Allies that they were only waging war against Napoleon and, with the latter defeated, did he think they would stop and allow the Chamber of Representatives and the Chamber of Peers to select a prince or a constitution according to the Government Commission? Who knows? He had just written to Wellington: "Your hostile movements continue although, according to their assertions, the reasons for the war which the

sovereign allies are waging against us no longer exist, since the Emperor has abdicated." And he had asked the English general to cease hostilities and to conclude an armistice while awaiting the decision which the Congress might make. One can scarcely believe that such ingenuousness was sincere, but in France, have not such remarks provoked, upon two occasions at least, the same uncertainty, the same promises produced the same traitors, and has not history begun again after an *interval of half a century?*

Although there may have been reasons, Davout wanted the Emperor away from Paris as soon as possible, and indeed Fouché had been notified of it in the Commission, but, at the same time, were they not convinced, some more than others, that he should embark and leave for America? While guarding him only to free him at the opportune moment as an expiatory sacrifice, they were assuring themselves of a guarantee which was certainly considerable. From all this emanated that strange decree in six articles by which the Commission enjoined the Minister of Marine "to give orders that the two frigates should be armed to carry Napoleon from the port of Rochefort to the United States"; deputed General Beker to conduct him to the place of embarkation and to see to his safety, and then turned to Article V: "The frigates will not leave the Rochefort roadstead until the arrival of the escorts." Davout made known to Beker this decree, which all the members of the government had signed, thus acquainting him with the part he was to play.

The Emperor, to whom Beker had communicated the decree, did not accept the terms; through Savary and then through Lavallette, he ordered that Article V be repealed. Did he no longer believe that the English would grant him passports? Did he want to gain time? Was he hoping against hope? Generals, Deputies, Peers of the Empire, hastened to Malmaison to request him to retake command of the army that he might save France from a new restoration. In Paris, the working classes and the soldiers became threatening, calling upon the Emperor, and the rumour of it may have reached his ears. Who knows?

The resistance put up by the Emperor seemed to take effect.

On the morning of the 27th, Fouché wrote to Decrès: "As to the clause of Article V of yesterday's decree relating to escorts, the Commission authorises you to regard it as void. All the other orders hold good." He added: "It is important that the Emperor should leave *incognito*."

By eleven o'clock everything was altered. From Laon on the 26th, the envoys despatched to the Allies wrote: "After conversations which we have had with the aides-de-camp of Prince Blücher the decision arrived at, and which we are loath to repeat, was that one of the great difficulties would be the person of the Emperor. They think that the Powers will demand guarantees and precautions against his reappearance on the scene. They claim that their people are even demanding security from his undertakings. It is our duty to observe that we think that his escape, before the conclusion of negotiations, would be considered as an indication of bad faith on our part and could materially compromise the safety of France. We have, further, the hope that this matter can be concluded to the satisfaction of the Emperor also, since they have made so few objections to his abode and that of his brothers in England that they seem to prefer it to residence in America."

Upon which Fouché wrote to Decrès: "After this morning's dispatches, the Emperor cannot leave our shores without escort; he must await the escort in the roadstead. Consequently yesterday's decree applies in its entirety and the letter to you this morning cancelling Article V is void." At noon Fouché determined upon a fresh letter: "Napoleon Bonaparte," he wrote, "will remain in the roadstead of the island of Aix until the arrival of passports. It is essential to the welfare of the State, to which we know he is not indifferent, that he remains until his fate and that of his family has been definitely decided upon. All means will be taken to render this decision satisfactory to him; the reputation of France depends upon it, but, while waiting, all necessary precautions must be taken both for the personal safety of Napoleon and that he shall not leave the place assigned to him." He ordered Beker to make known this decision to His Majesty and to observe to His Majesty that "circumstances have become so urgent that it is essential that he should return to the island of Aix." Failure by the Emperor to carry out these instructions would necessitate that most vigilant supervision lest he should leave Malmaison; all the avenues leading from the palace must be guarded. "I repeat, General, that this decision has been made solely in the interests of the State and the personal safety of the Emperor; its immediate execution is necessary. The future of His Majesty and his family depends upon it."

To remove him from the neighbourhood of Paris where his presence might upset the plans of Fouché; to imprison him on board

Napoleon at St Helena.

a vessel, a sailing prison, from which he could never think of escaping; to hesitate more or less to free him, such was the whole plan of the members of the Government Commission. If there existed any doubt regarding the generosity of their behaviour, necessity could be proved by way of a rejoinder. Blücher's aides-de-camp were not deceived by the Allies' intentions; on the same day, the 26th, upon which they had held that conversation, Manheim, Metternich and Nesselrode, writing to Napoleon, informed him as follows: "The three sovereigns regard as a preliminary and necessary condition of complete peace and a true sense of tranquility that Napoleon Bonaparte be effectively prevented henceforth from disturbing the peace of France and Europe. After the happenings of last March, the Powers must demand his custody."

What should they do with him? They did not know, and hesitated: Lord Liverpool said "Hand him over to the King of France who, upon the mere proof of identity, will have him shot"; "Hang him", said Blücher; "For shame!" replied Wellington, "does it become such men as us who have played such a prominent part in this affair, to become executioners? If the sovereigns," he added, "want to put him to death, let them find an executioner, it will not be I."

The opinion of Wellington and his decision did him credit, but would his advice prevail? The envoys appointed by Fouché to negotiate at the armistice did not appear disturbed by it. On the 29th, when they met Wellington at Étrées-St.-Denis, they told him they had every reason to believe that Napoleon had left Paris and, in case this was not so, they proposed different alternatives; the seizure of him, the sending him to England, or the handing him over to the Emperor of Austria. To which the English general replied that if they had a sincere desire to dispose of him like that, they had far better send him either to himself, Wellington, or to Marshal Blücher. And so his fate was discussed and even though these envoys agreed to hand him over, no one thought of stipulating that his life should be spared. They were satisfied, like the dictum of Pozzo di Borgo, with the assurance that he would be treated like a prisoner of war; prisoner of war of the Allies, but, as Lord Liverpool had to explain very frankly, the Allies could not but send him back to his proper judge, the King of France.

The Government Commission did not exactly consider this contingency, and it might have opposed its realisation, for, if

Napoleon's head fell, how many other heads would be in danger! With this exception it showed itself in concurrence. For the present it agreed to find his presence at Malmaison a detriment to his prestige, dangerous to his plans, perilous for himself who might be killed or captured by Blücher's scouts, so that, in order to make Malmaison secure from a *coup de main*—unless this might frighten the Emperor—it commanded Beker to burn the Chatou bridge. It wanted him to go, but it refused to have resort to Article V of the decree of the 26th; and Napoleon, for his part, was resolutely resolved not to leave Malmaison until this Article had been declared null.

In vain had he sent his aide-de-camp, General Flahaut on the morning of the 28th to the Commission to request that the frigates be put to sea without waiting for the escorts. Flahaut did not prevail upon Davout who, adopting a superior attitude, threatened to have the Emperor arrested, to arrest him himself if he did not go immediately; Flahaut, tearing off his epaulets and throwing them on the floor with his resignation, went with all speed to report to Malmaison.

At 1 p.m. Joseph wrote to Count Berlier, Secretary of the Commission, in the most pressing terms, to beg "the despatch of the Commission's order for the departure of the two frigates which are at Rochefort; in the event of the order not being signed, will you be so good," he said, "as to bring to the notice of the Duke of Otranto and of the members of the Commission the situation of the Emperor and the necessity of a speedy decision?" Berlier returned a procrastinating reply.

Prince Eckmühl, although he might have said something, hesitated to take the side of the Emperor; it was better to wait: why? Perhaps because of this news: "Since June 27th," wrote Bonnefoux from Rochefort, "the English cruiser has so closely approached the coast that it is well nigh impossible for the frigates to get started." That settled everything; Napoleon would not be handed over, but, as he would not be able to leave Rochefort, he would have to give himself up—and that would allow the members of the government to assert that they had nothing to do with it.

On the evening of the 28th, the Commission repealed this Article V: "Consequently," wrote Fouché to Decrès, "the frigates have been put at the disposal of Napoleon. Nothing now hinders his departure. The interest of the State and his own wellbeing urgently demand that he should depart immediately after receiving notification, which you will give to him, of our decision." Count Merlin was

appointed with Decrès for this mission "It is imperative," added Fouché, "that you set out for Malmaison with M Merlin upon the receipt of this order Count Merlin is just off to find you" Count Merlin having rendered himself invisible, it was Boulay (de la Meurthe) who accompanied Decres They arrived at Malmaison at the break of day on the 29th and were immediately received The Emperor announced that he would leave during the day.

Was he sincere? Since the battle of Waterloo, since the five awful days which followed the defeat, nearly a week had passed The physical and moral depression which he had undergone had departed and he was again complete master of himself He had proved the indecision, the aimlessness of the second-rate actors who had taken his place, and who were unable to admit either that they were so foolish as to believe the speeches of the allied sovereigns or that they were so ignorant as to hand over to the Bourbons, in return for vague promises, the army and France, not reckoning that certain of them flattered themselves with becoming, in the imminent revolution, indispensable arbitrators and conciliators Napoleon did not expect that, in the dire peril in which the nation found itself, a breath of patriotism would pervade men like Carnot, Quinette and Fouché, or like Caulaincourt and Grenier who had insistently served the Revolution, should they not come to him, as to a liberator, and should they not, with the unanimous approval of citizens and soldiers, hand over to him the supreme command? Immediately after his abdication he was sincere in his plan for leaving for the United States, he was sincere when he demanded English passports and was engaged upon the necessary furnishing of a town and country residence, but was he as sincere when, in order to avoid or to delay his departure, he had used as an excuse the fulfilment or the nullity of Article V? It only required an opportunity to present itself and he would have been ready to take advantage of it—and only he could have done so Now the moment had arrived, the Prussian army, hurried on by the furious speed of Blucher, was separated from the English, and though both were more tried than the French, the latter, remobilised around Paris in incredible numbers, formed a body whose loyalty was unimpaired, whose courage was unbroken and who, not without some truth, attributed its defeats to treason At the head of this army, elated by his presence, he would destroy Blucher and Wellington, one after the other "I can still," he said, "crush the enemy and give the Government time to negotiate with

the Powers." He drew up his maps according to the information furnished by Lavallette, by Maret, by Joseph, by numerous others, for there still remained some Frenchmen. He was ready: he felt within himself the ability and the determination to conquer. War was his expedient and he was its genius. He had Beker summoned and in front of Madame and Fesch, who had come to bid him farewell, he begged him to go to Paris, to the Commission, and request on his behalf the command of the army, not as Emperor but as a general whose name and reputation could still exercise a great influence on the fate of Europe. After having conquered the enemy, he promised to return to the United States to work out his destiny.

The Emperor had counted upon the loyalty of Fouché. "Is he laughing at us? " replied Fouché to Beker, " And don't we know how he would keep his promises if they were acceptable? " " Why, " he added, " are you charged with such a mission when you ought to urge the Emperor to hasten his departure in the interest of his personal safety? " Beker did not attempt any justification, which in any case would not have been listened to: he only begged a reply in writing. Fouché sent this reply to the Duke of Bassano: he invited him to use his influence in persuading the Emperor to leave without delay, considering that the Prussians were marching on Versailles and were going to take him prisoner. " Leave immediately, " he said to Beker, " and transmit to the Emperor the irrevocable decision taken by us not to alter in any way the drawing up of the decrees, the carrying out of which is in your hands ".

Beker returned to Malmaison. Everything there foretold war and the return to the campaign. Napoleon had no doubt of salvation being accepted provided it was from his hands. At the direction of Bassano he took the letter from Beker: " These people, " he merely said, " do not understand the state of public feeling in turning down my proposals. They will regret it ; give the orders for my departure ; when they have been carried out, come and inform me ".

The Executive Commission had assumed that the Emperor would leave alone, with Beker, who had acted as his secretary, and that one servant would accompany him. For what purpose the incognito? To avert popular feeling on his journey, or to put him at the mercy of any disturbance? To help him cross to America, or to deliver him more easily to the English? If several people wished to rejoin him then, the Commission did not seem to be able to prevent them ; but it had not foreseen that, apart from certain men whom devotion would

carry away, there were numerous others who would consider themselves seriously compromised with the royal government and would share the fate of the Emperor and refuse to be separated from him. *Upon the return of Beker, Grand Marshal Bertrand sent an officer* from Malmaison to the Prefect of Police bearing a letter demanding at Rochefort passports for six generals, two colonels, six squadron-leaders or captains, for chamberlain Las Cases and his son, the page Audifredy-Sainte-Catherine, a secretary, a doctor, two stewards, one officer and seven servants.

Others were to follow in like number, with several unexpected additions, and it is difficult to explain how they came to be included: two women, four children, four officers, two civil servants, nineteen domestic servants, besides the ten who already possessed passports. Bertrand, much less businesslike in his duties than Duroc and disposed to exaggerate everything, was scarcely satisfied with these 29 domestic servants, even adding to the necessary equipment, upon the instruction of the huntsman Chauvin, twenty saddle horses, forty-eight team horses and nine carriages. Further, for the officers of the retinue, eleven servants four of whom were women: in all nearly a hundred souls. Again, Napoleon would gladly have taken certain professors, and after giving up Monge who was too old, he had taken steps to persuade Bonpland, the naturalist traveller and planner of Josephine's gardens, to accompany him.

A retinue such as this indicated an ostentatious, almost imperial, departure, and precluded all idea of a secret crossing; here was a following which could not be embarked without loading the frigates to a point which rendered them almost unseaworthy and entirely unable to fight; here were men who clung to the Emperor like shipwrecked men to a buoy—no one would dare to kill *him* and they would save themselves along with him; here were women and children whom one would not have willingly exposed to danger. What is one to think? Either Napoleon was relying on the British passports to make for the United States or, in default of the passports, he reckoned on being treated by the British as they had treated Lucien and so he would live in a castle, at the gate of a town, would receive whomsoever he liked, would go practically where he pleased, at least within a certain radius, would correspond with almost the same liberty and, in short, could he lead a more desirable existence?

Let us compare his mode of action at this time with that of Joseph. Joseph demanded passports at Paris under assumed names, his suite,

a very limited one, consisted of a private secretary, a Spanish doctor and an American interpreter. Joseph had made up his mind to cross to the United States at any cost, free to disembark there as a private citizen, free to make the crossing, free to hazard the visit of British cruisers and to steal away in disguise.

Napoleon contrived to depart with the dignity of a sovereign; if he received no passports all he could do was hand himself over to the English because he had not dreamed of forcing a passage and fighting the English cruiser. Decrès himself thought the same and he saw the situation more accurately than the Emperor; the Minister of Marine, warned of the dishonourable conduct of the English pontoons, knew what British hospitality was worth. The Emperor had to risk everything to avoid it in his attempt to cross. If he had been obliged to submit to the orders of the Government Commission, Decrès was no less liable for from the beginning he had given evidence of good will towards the Emperor and his conduct contrasted very favourably with that of Davout and Caulaincourt. In accordance with previous instructions which he had given to the commanders of the *Méduse* and the *Saale*, he had foreseen everything to the most minute detail, but at the moment these orders bore a lively significance regarding the departure. He wrote to the naval commissioner, in a letter dated the 27th, but not despatched until the 28th: "I have arranged for the *Saale* to receive the person of the Emperor provided it is understood, however, that if the *Méduse* is in advance of the *Saale*, Napoleon would be embarked upon the faster vessel and the respective captains, Philibert and Ponée, would exchange commands". Philibert had the reputation of being one of the cleverest naval strategists and had given ample proof of his courage: Ponée was less spectacular but his loyalty was unassailable, and of the role allotted to him he was well worthy.

In fact, on the 28th Decrès recommended that immediately Napoleon was embarked, all communication with the mainland should cease; then he wrote: "If we are compelled to engage in battle with a superior force, the frigate not carrying Napoleon will be sacrificed to give that upon which he has embarked time to escape . . . The commanders, officers and crews of the frigates will consider it their duty and privilege, and such will be demanded of them, to treat his person with every respect and with the dignity due to the circumstances and to the crown he has borne . . ."

This appeal to a courage which at that moment needed no

command was unnecessary. As soon as the Emperor saw that the final hope of returning to the command had come to nothing, and that henceforth he must formally consider his public life as 'at an end,' little seemed to matter to him. His dignity forbade a secret departure; the crowd which attached itself to him rendered such a departure impossible because of its loyalty; from that moment there was but one solution—to await the passports: he was told he would find them at Rochefort. Be it so! Otherwise, if he abandoned himself to fate, he, who had always commanded, would be obliged to obey.

He bade goodbye to his mother, Fesch and Hortense—the last named who to the end had with inimitable goodness acted as mistress of the household, and who had brought to it something more than the actual conventions of perfunctory and chilly service, a kind of compassionate tenderness—who, whilst all the others would request money of the Emperor, had been thoughtful enough to bring to him her best bred kitten begging his acceptance of it—as Pauline had done the previous year upon his departure for Elba.

At 5 p.m. he left Malmaison, but it was not by the courtyard of honour where, lined up alongside the carriages drawn up there, officers and soldiers were waiting, in crowds, to cheer him; it was through the park, by stealth. At an iron-barred gate in the rear a hooded carriage drawn by four horses was waiting. Beker had had it prepared contrary to the Commission's orders. The Emperor ascended with Generals Bertrand, Savary and Beker. A manservant took his place on the seat and they left at a gallop.

At Rambouillet the Emperor halted. He saw old Hébert the innkeeper there "who was one of his attendants in Egypt," he had a meal and, passing into his bedroom with Bertrand, shut himself in. After a fairly lengthy interval Bertrand emerged and told Beker that the Emperor, who was very tired, had gone to bed.

At 11 a.m. on the 30th another start was made, the carriages of the suite following several hours later. Tours was reached at daybreak on July 1st. Napoleon summoned the prefect, M. de Miramon, who was his chamberlain and who had proved in 1814 at Eure that he knew his duty. Had he received a messenger?—No. In spite of the entreaties of Miramon who begged him "to go and rest at the prefecture" assuring him that he had nothing to fear from a people full of appreciation for all he had done for the country, he set off again.

At Poitiers he stopped at 8 o'clock at the post-house and asked Beker to send a messenger to the naval commander at Rochefort "to ask him to come and meet him. He wishes to know the position of the frigates put at his disposal and to discuss with him the possibility and means of leaving the island of Aix". At Saint-Maixent, a blue town which the proximity of the Vendée made appre hensive, a fashionable gathering assembled for the arrival of the carriage. Passports were demanded, and Beker had some difficulty in procuring them : Saint-Maixent cheered the Emperor to the echo. At Niort, where he arrived at 10 p.m., he alighted at the post-house anxious for rest. The prefect, Busche, warned of his presence about midnight by Savary, returned to the inn and begged the Emperor go to his own house where he was lodged at 2 a.m. Immediately the people and the soldiers pressed forward. Beker received the reply of Bonnefoux to the letter written from Poitiers. The officer said he was ill, refused to come in person, and confirmed the fact that since June 27 the cruiser had so closely approached the coast that it was practically impossible for the frigates to get clear.

The Emperor hesitated more and more and, faced with the uncertainty of his fate, was disturbed. The cheers with which he was received and acclaimed showed him his way and pointed him out as a 'national'. He was the living soul of these people and this army. For his sake they loved each other ; without him spelt death, corruption and emptiness. He owed himself to this France which acclaimed him. He urged Beker to renew to the Government Commission the proposal which he had made before leaving Malmaison. But, at the same time Beker wrote : "The Emperor desires the Minister of Marine to authorise the captain of the frigate to communicate with the commander of the English squadron if extraordinary circumstances should make that course necessary, as much for the personal safety of His Majesty as to spare France the sorrow and the shame of seeing him taken from his last refuge to be disposed of at the discretion of his enemies".

Two projects occupied the attention of the Emperor : to take over again the command, even as a general, "simply employed in being useful to the Fatherland," or, rather than fall into the hands of the Royalists, to establish communication with the English cruiser, that is to say to beg refuge in England. It is true that, upon receipt of the letter from Bonnefoux, all idea of departing on board one of the frigates had to be abandoned.

From Niort, as previously at Malmaison, the Emperor could not make up his mind to proceed further His brother, Joseph, who left Paris after him, came to see him: Madame Bertrand, in company with her children, rejoined him· then some generals The more the counsels the more they differed, and all the more hesitation increased Not daring to act as gaoler, Beker insisted upon the Emperor returning to Rochefort, and he found himself supported by the prefect, of whose loyalty he had no doubt Nevertheless, at Niort, except for certain emigrants and Vendéeans who had hidden themselves, there was but one conviction and that was 'blue' Niort was the last town by which the Emperor was regarded as sovereign, when on July 3, at 4 a m , he set off, the prefect was on the steps of the town-hall to offer his respects and at the door of the carriage rode the chief of police officially attired

At 8 a m the same day the Emperor entered Rochefort "He received," Beker wrote, "from the inhabitants of the territories through which he passed evidence of their sorrow, their respect and their enthusiasm". He alighted at the naval prefecture where the prefect, though ill the evening previous, suddenly recovered; he was conducted to the state room which had been decorated and furnished since his journey of 1808 A council of superior officers and several old sailors was immediately summoned they decided unanimously that it was impossible to put to sea so long as the English kept so large a cruising squadron in sight of our vessels "Consequently," wrote Beker, "a frigate is being prepared at Verdon, in the Gironde, and a brig is being armed near La Rochelle, so that advantage may be taken of such opportunities as the cruisers being engaged in one quarter or stationed in another to favour a departure, but the success of this manœuvre being anything but certain, he insists upon obtaining passports which the English, concerned in the departure of the Emperor, cannot refuse". And he concludes, "We live in hope that M Otto will obtain some passports and, while waiting for their arrival, all are ready to seize the most opportune chances for the safety of the Emperor".

Actually all the chances were discussed without anyone settling upon anything definite, except that the Emperor seemed to have an opinion on one of them a sloop was leaving the river from Bordeaux, commanded by Baudin, already renowned for his courage and good luck; a speedy American vessel crept into port as a neutral, a Danish vessel laden with brandy on which the Emperor could hide in a cask;

they vacillated, they debated, they parleyed; actually they awaited the reply to the letter which Beker had written to the Commission on the 1st; they awaited especially the English passports. What arrived on the evening of the 7th was this letter, dated the 4th: "Napoleon must embark immediately. The success of our negotiations depends principally upon the certitude which the Allied Powers wish to have of his embarkation, and you do not know to what extent his safety and the peace of the State are compromised by these delays. Napoleon might have departed immediately for we have under our eyes a report of the naval prefect at Rochefort in which he says that departure might not have been out of the question on the 29th. The Commission therefore puts the person of Napoleon in your charge. You must resort to all the *forceful methods* which may be necessary, at the same time preserving the respect due to him. See that he arrives at Rochefort immediately and embarks forthwith. As for the services he offers, our duty towards France and our engagements with foreign powers do not permit our acceptance of them, and you are no longer to bother us with them. Finally, the Commission sees disadvantages in Napoleon's communicating with the English squadron and it cannot accord the desired permission in this respect".

Here are those 'means of force': "the Ministers of Marine, of War and of the Interior have received, each for his own department, an order that their representatives should lend assistance to General Beker and provide him with all the means necessary to the discharge of his mission".

On the 5th, Decrès, in despatching these orders, authorised the naval prefect to attach to the frigates a pilot or a steamboat. He half-opened the way to safety. Was he, in this detail, conforming to the views of the Commission? It is doubtful. The Commission had not assumed that the Emperor had actually left, but that he might have embarked. "The Emperor must only set off if the position of the enemy cruiser allows of his so doing without danger to the frigates": thus the orders to fight given previously by Decrès were repealed: from the letters of Beker and Bonnefoux the Commission knew the English cruiser was armed and handy: it was therefore forbidden to the frigates to make a start. There was no mention of the Verdon sloop or the La Rochelle brig, only of the frigates, on board which Napoleon was to be conducted, if necessary by force—it was then a floating prison. He was forbidden to communicate with the English cruiser. It was not so much that they did not want

him to hand himself over as that they should hand him over themselves—perhaps to the Bourbons

These instructions had been forwarded after the fall of Paris signed on the 3rd, they had become effective on the 4th It surely ought to have been made known at Rochefort, for everyone was not so ignorant of the document as Napoleon Beker, when he presented himself before him on the 8th, clearly alluded to it "The fate of France unfortunately being decided", he said, "we must rely on the Government to send agents in pursuit of you From now on the scene is changed my duties, laid upon me by a Provisional Commission only, cease, and Your Majesty encounters new dangers the result of which it is difficult to foresee"

That, under the appearance which Beker gave it later, was only a summons to board the frigates, in which matter would he be of service to the Emperor by being there, as he had forbidden them to start? Would not the orders of the "Ministers of King Louis XVIII" reach those disposed to obey them as well in the roads as on the mainland? What would Beker obtain of advantage to the Emperor? The Emperor would be taken like a rabbit from its burrow and, so as to excuse themselves of having given him up, the members of the Provisional Commission would assert that they had given him every chance of escape since on the 29th the sea was open—which they now alleged for the first time—and that they had urged him to hurry, even going so far as forcing him to embark, but that he by his delays had lost every chance, and he alone was responsible

As for the Commission, it was only a question of the frigates—all other means being either wholly ignored by it or spontaneously passed over in silence, further, the frigates were neither strong enough to fight nor speedy enough to escape Accordingly the plan seemed fairly definite, but the question was how to oppose the commands which Beker and Bonnefoux had to carry out, even by force? The Emperor agreed to return to the island of Aix near which the frigates were anchored He left at 4 o'clock, but *en route* he changed his plans and went straight to the *Saale* Here he arrived at 8 o'clock. Perhaps he thought that as a fresh wind was blowing the frigate might be able to get under sail during the night, but on the 9th the wind dropped Before sunrise the Emperor was on the bridge, he examined the masts of the two vessels of the English squadron, the *Bellerophon* and the *Myrmidon*, but he made no inquiry nor asked any question

Suddenly he made up his mind to visit the island of Aix. Citizens and soldiers welcomed him there with acclamation as at Niort and Rochefort. (It has been asserted that the most lively cry would have been 'To the army of the Loire'. There was, however, only an army of the Loire when, after the evacuation of Paris, the army arrived on the Loire: anyway, it was not there before July 10). Everyone wanted to fight, but they hoped against hope.

Nevertheless, Beker, who had not been warned of this early departure, took a boat and arrived most disturbed. The Emperor decided to take up again his abode aboard the *Saale*. At this moment the naval prefect arrived bearing new dispatches from the Government, dated the 6th, contradicting, at least in appearance, those received previously. Perhaps the Commission, having learned the fate the Bourbons had in store for the Emperor, had given up all idea of handing him over; perhaps in order to concur it had not been necessary for it to submit to this condition for it evidenced a faint disinclination to the floating prison, and repealing the prohibition to communicate with the cruiser it urged the Emperor to give himself up to the English. There was first of all a decree in six articles; to hasten embarkation and immediate departure on the frigates; if there would be a better chance, on a despatch-boat; provide one "on condition that the same despatch-boat left within 24 hours"; "but if, on account of the annoyances which can be experienced on this means of transport, Napoleon should prefer to be conducted, either on board an English cruiser or to England, the maritime prefect of the 50e *arrondissement* will provide him with the necessary means, upon a written demand, and in this event, a vessel of truce will immediately be put at his disposal". "In no case", it continued, "is the commander of the vessel appointed to carry Napoleon to land him under pain of high treason on any point whatever of French territory".

Dispatches from Decrès gave notification of this decree and laid stress on the point that in the event of the Emperor leaving on a despatch-boat and in the event of his being conducted by such a vessel to the English cruiser, he must draw up a written demand. Decrès added: "The least delay may have fatal consequences for who can be sure that these arrangements, made with an eye to his personal safety, may not in a short time present insurmountable obstacles?"

Was not this new attitude adopted by the Provisional Com-

mission after the receipt of the dispatches dated June 30 in which the English ministry refused to grant passports?

Perhaps these dispatches, which arrived at Boulogne on July 2, had not reached Paris by the 4th when Fouche had instructed Decrès to forward the orders, but on the 6th they were certainly in Fouché's hands The Commission could thenceforward afford to appear generous, they granted the despatch-boat, which was of no avail to Napoleon and which could not be ready immediately for such a voyage, whatever solution he adopted the Commission laid the responsibility on his shoulders

Such being the state of affairs, to try and leave for the United States appeared madness and scarcely possible, the Emperor had gone aboard the *Saale* the commander of which " could not, under penalty of high treason, land him on any part of French territory " Another way of getting there was, as Joseph did, to reach the river by land from Bordeaux and to embark there *incognito* on a merchant ship without escort To leave the roads on the frigates appeared impossible All that remained was to approach the English openly, to find out from them what they intended to do with him and to ask them either to free the passage to the United States or to demand a refuge in some part of England or Scotland

Napoleon then got the Grand Marshal to write to the maritime prefect a request that a truce-boat be sent to the English cruiser On the 10th, Savary and Las Cases embarked on a steamboat and went on board the *Bellerophon*, commanded by Captain Maitland They were the bearers of a letter in which General Bertrand informed the commander of the English station that the Emperor Napoleon having abdicated and selected the United States of America as his retreat, had embarked on the two frigates which were in the roads to convey him to his destination and asked him " if he knew anything of the safe-conduct of the English government which had been made known to the Emperor or if he thought that government intended to put any obstruction in the way of crossing to the United States "

If the Government Commission had hinted that on the 29th the maritime prefect had announced that the cruiser had been removed and that the passage was unimpeded, we must assume that Bonnefoux had received the same information which was dispelled as quickly as it was acquired

On June 27, he had announced that " the

this moment so near the coast that all exit is barred to the frigates." He was not content to assert it only in his dispatches to the minister for on July 1 he had formally announced it to Beker in a letter which M. de Kerangal had brought to Niort. Upon arrival at Rochefort the *council of naval officers, on duty or on leave*, summoned in consequence, had unanimously asserted that the frigates could not evade the cruiser and, thereafter, all theories had been directed towards finding some other means of reaching the open sea.

But, once more, it was going to be evident that, among most of the sailors, the succession of disasters suffered had killed the spirit of adventure and the sense of opportunity: for Maitland and his chief, Admiral Hotham, had so little information that the former was very uncertain of being able to prevent, with the one vessel and the brig which he commanded, the egress of the frigates that, in the courteous conversation which he had with Savary and Las Cases, he intended solely to gain time in which to await the reinforcements for which he had asked. He alleged that he had received no news since that of Waterloo; he disclosed nothing of what he knew, nor the orders he had received. To refuse a safe-conduct boat, to prevent all vessels going out, to take Napoleon, transfer him to a ship and to return in all haste to the nearest English port—this was his right as a belligerent: in the same way, had he not to disclose daily, almost hourly, what he had heard from the French Royalists of all the plans formulated for the safety of the Emperor . . . ?

That he still asserted he must request orders from Admiral Hotham although all the time he had these orders in his pocket, was a permissible trick; but that he should suggest that the Emperor should seek refuge in England; that, in one way or another, he should hint that the Emperor would have nothing to fear, this is where his deceit began, unless one does not consider this assumption as the opening of a negotiation. Doubtless Savary and Las Cases were deluded, but Maitland has never denied that he uttered the word "refuge."

On both sides indiscretions had been committed; some intentionally, others not so. Not knowing that Las Cases understood English, Maitland had let slip some words to a junior officer *proving* that he was being kept better informed than he wished to appear; Las Cases, on his side, had very inopportunely spoken of a merchant vessel which was departing through the straits (of Antioche or

Maumusson) possibly by the Gironde. This put Maitland on his guard.

The commander of the *Bellerophon* replied in writing "that he could not say what the plans of his government would be, but that the two countries being at present in a state of war, it was impossible for him to allow any warship to leave the port of Rochefort. As to allowing the Emperor to leave on a merchant ship, it was beyond his power without the sanction of his chief, Sir Henry Hotham, who was at the moment in the bay of Quiberon, whither he sent Bertrand's dispatch, to allow any vessel flying the flag that he was, to pass with so important a person."

A sort of hope still remained: Las Cases and Savary, bearing this dispatch, returned at 4 o'clock. The *Bellerophon* followed the truce-ship which carried them and anchored in the Basque roads. Maitland profited by the indiscretion of Las Cases.

If, up till then, they had blissfully dreamed of safe-conduct boats, they had to dispel them now although in the Emperor's presence they continued to discuss them and saw grounds for optimism in Maitland's reply. The naval officers were not deceived, but while certain of them played the game of the English, others, realising that the Emperor could not do otherwise than give himself up, trembled with rage and began to make plans for themselves. Had not Decrès, according to very secret orders dated June 27 and sent on the following day, foreseen the situation? If one of the frigates must be sacrificed, Ponée, with his *Méduse* and the complete crew offered themselves, and while they were being slaughtered the *Saale* could make for the open sea. Orders were given by Philibert, the divisional commander; everybody must fight, even the brig *Épervier*, appointed to aid the *Méduse*: then these orders were repealed. Why?

Was it the action of the maritime prefect, who was a royalist, in wishing to hand in his resignation on the return of the Emperor and never ceasing, since June 27, to announce the reinforcement of the squadron although the English admiral, in a letter to Captain Maitland, declared himself quite unable to send him even a frigate? Despite the very secret orders dated the 27th, was Bonnefoux concerned with definite instructions and did he want nothing to compromise the two frigates?

Was it the action of Philibert? Overwhelmed with

by the Bourbons, made captain of first rank on July 1, 1814, chevalier of the Legion of Honour on the 12th, chevalier of St. Louis on the 18th, he had, nevertheless, said to the Emperor on the 3rd of July, 1815: "The frigates will do all they can to elude or to harass the cruiser and if they are attacked, they will sink themselves rather than cease fire before your majesty orders it himself." It was therefore in the letter and in the spirit of these instructions. On the 10th he was still there when he ordered his division to prepare to fight. This order he revoked on the 11th. Did he think that by the messenger who brought the Paris papers of the 5th to Rochefort counter-orders had arrived? Must we believe that, in face of the uncertainty of the restoration of the Bourbons, Bonnefoux, Philibert and Beker had preferred to hold their hand?

On the morning of the 12th the Emperor left the *Saale* and was conveyed to the island of Aix where he took up his abode. Henceforth a return was made to adventurous plans: the sloops of Baudin which would be taken to Royan; or better still a fishing-smack which the young officers volunteered to steer to the open sea as far as the first merchant ship which could be boarded or bought; or again, an American schooner which Joseph had chartered at Bordeaux and which he had come to offer his brother; all this was in the air. The Emperor allowed it to be spoken of in his presence and made a show of discussing it, forbidding nothing: since he did not recover the command of the army, since he did not pass as sovereign on the frigates and was not provided with a safe-conduct vessel which would shield him from all insulting inquiry, he saw only one recourse, to request refuge in England, and already he reminded himself of the incident in Greek history where Themistocles requested a refuge of the King of Persia—an incident about which he was going to write very soon.

The kind of little court which surrounded the Emperor was oddly at variance as to what ought to be done and had already manifested those differences which, under the appearance of excessive devotion, were to render intolerable the end of the Emperor's life. Some of them were inclined to a bold move and besought Napoleon not to trust the English whose entire history they recalled; the majority were of the opinion that they should go to the cruiser, and the danger with which certain of them thought they were threatened strengthened their conviction. One of them began to insult any one who contradicted him; Mme. Bertrand, whose father was English,

having spent a great part of her childhood in England, cried The only plan which offered any chance of success was that of confiding in Baudin Doubtless Baudin had, as he himself wrote, "no affection for this man nor even pity for his misfortunes," but "then this man has not been able, has not known how to die," he did not want him to fall "into the hands of these infamous English, alive," and he would do all he could to save him Besides, this proud cripple, whose reputation for courage left nothing to be desired, had fortune in his poop, but the Emperor must reach Royan, where the sloops were, by land Because of the instructions he had received not to allow Napoleon, once on board, to disembark, Beker was, however, opposed to it

On the 13th the Emperor took his departure, on the morning of the 14th he sent in truce-ships to the *Bellerophon* Las Cases and General Lallemand Las Cases again mentioned the safe-conduct boats and the voyage to America, but Maitland merely answered "I have no authority to agree to any arrangement of that sort, but I think I can assume the responsibility of receiving the Emperor on board for the purpose of conveying him to England," and perhaps he added, as he wrote later, "Nevertheless, I cannot make any promise concerning the arrangements of my government regarding him since, in the event I have just implied, I shall be acting upon my own responsibility without being sure that my conduct will meet with the approval of the government" Then he spoke of the measures to be adopted, the suitable reception, the generous feelings of the English nation, the asylum it would certainly offer to such refugees as Lallemand and Savary

We can believe that on two counts they were sincere: Lallemand knew his head was in danger, Las Cases was very new to such affairs, puffed up by his own importance, disposed to presume his desires to be realities, but anxious to report good news to the Emperor in order to render himself indispensable; he had to convince himself that some words of courtesy were actually promises And, on the other hand, why had Maitland been so exceedingly obliging when the means of carrying off, without even any opposition, the most highly prized trophy which Fortune could reserve for an English officer, was in his hands? Furthermore, he was a soldier and a brave one There were, doubtless, under the English flag, soldiers who, through ignorance or superstition, believed in British integrity and generosity of the nation, but Maitland might not be in

and might not believe with sincerity that England would pride herself on offering hospitality to her defeated enemy.

When Las Cases and Lallemand returned to the island of Aix tl Emperor, as a matter of form, held a last council. Lallemand, ar perhaps Montholon, were still against the plan: all the others we in favour of it. The Emperor, however, had made up his minc he himself wrote a letter to the Prince Regent with the delivery which into proper hands Gourgaud was entrusted: then he wou request passports for America and failing this seek refuge in Englan The Emperor would take the name of Colonel Muiron, would li in a country house, ten or a dozen leagues from London, sufficient large to accommodate everybody. "If the Minister is desirous stationing an English superintendent near me," added Napoleo "he will see that there will be no semblance of slavery."

Las Cases returned with Gourgaud to the *Bellerophon* an requested that Gourgaud be sent to England without delay, while h himself, with Maitland, made preparations for the reception of th Emperor on board. Actually, Gourgaud was sent off on the *Slane* which had rejoined the cruiser. Las Cases spent the night on th *Bellerophon* and noticing the obvious uneasiness of Maitland lest th Emperor should escape him, conceived a less favourable idea of th hospitality which was reserved to him.

During the night, on the schooner *Sophie* and the brig *Épervie* the Emperor's luggage was loaded, including his carriage and tw horses, and the greater part of the retinue embarked.

At daybreak on July 15, the Emperor who had again adopted th military demeanour relinquished since he left Malmaison, embarke on the *Épervier*. He was received by a guard of honour. A 6 o'clock, at the moment when the *Superb*, flying the flag of Admira Sir Henry Hotham, entered the bay, the Emperor boarded th *Bellerophon*: "none of the honours usually done to a person of higl rank were accorded him . . . the early hour gave me the excuse," Maitland wrote (it not being customary to pay such honours befor the colours are hoisted at 8 a.m.).

The *Épervier* sailed away saluting the Emperor with acclamatio and flying the tricolour to the last.

But here was an opportunity: as the night of the 14th and 15tl drew on, the new prefect of Charente, a Baron Richard, a conventiona regicide and friend of Fouché, arrived from Paris. During th consulate this man was prefect of Haute-Garonne; in 1806 prefec

of Lower-Charente, a post he held until September 1814, then he was superseded with a gratuity of 24,000 francs and a pension of 6,000 Prefect of Calvados on March 22, 1815 "he checked anarchy and defended the loyal supporters of the King" That is why the Emperor had dismissed him after six weeks but the King had just recalled him and appointed him prefect at Rochefort Doubtless he would be inclined to carry out the secret orders of Fouche, but he was bearing instructions addressed to Bonnefoux, dated the 10th, from the Minister of Marine, Jaucourt, formerly senior chamberlain to King Joseph and a senator Jaucourt, in the name of Louis XVIII, confirmed the instructions forwarded by the Provisional Commission "According to the Commission's orders to you you must resist all attempts to land Napoleon, either alone or with others You must resist with a like persistence all communication which he might seek to establish with the English vessels, either the cruiser or any other I confirm those arrangements, Monsieur, which, at the moment of writing, assure me that Napoleon is aboard the frigate the *Saale*, under command of Captain Philibert I formally add to these orders that Napoleon must not, under any pretext whatever, leave the frigate on which he has embarked and of which Captain Philibert must, in any event, hold the command"

Accordingly, Jaucourt ignored the Commission's decree and Decres's dispatches of the 6th, by which permission to communicate with the cruiser had been granted provided the Emperor submitted a request in writing These documents must have mystified Jaucourt for to the orders which he thought still held good he added another "requesting the frigate and the pilot boat to return to port immediately with everyone who is on board Nothing," he said, "must hinder this measure, which must be carried out without any communication with the frigate Napoleon is on, and executed with equal prudence and speed"

Bonnefoux received these orders of Jaucourt from Richard before nightfall He knew that at daybreak on the following day the Emperor would go to the English cruiser so he gained time by leaving late and making for the *Saale* upon which he knew the Emperor was not, reaching it at one o'clock in the morning, leaving Philibert to dispatch an express messenger to Beker to forestall him, and showing no inclination to go down to the island of Aix himself Richard did not seem to have insisted in any way upon the discharge of the orders which he had brought and of which he had [illegible]

was he not acting in accordance with instructions from Fouché who was then devoting himself to the task of helping the victims to escape the Royalist reaction and who in most cases succeeded? Moreover, although not in the least agreed in their opinions and although their loyalty was questionable, all the men, Richard as well as Bonnefoux, Philibert as well as Beker, who could then influence the lot of the Emperor half expected that he would go, that at least he would give the appearance of going voluntarily, and that he would spare them the shame of giving him up. Beker, according to a public account twenty years later, adopted an unnatural attitude of respect and devotion, asserting that he had bestowed upon the outlaw attentions which the Emperor had awaited in vain from all the others, and that he was constantly favoured by the requests of the Emperor, all of which he carried out almost as conscientiously as the Commission's orders. This had not lessened his desire to satisfy the Commission for on his return to Paris on July 21 he wrote to the Duke of Otranto to the effect that as a reward for the duty he had just fulfilled and as an indication of the government's satisfaction, he requested the distinction of the Grand-Cross of the Legion of Honour. Fouché, who had no further need of him, wrote in the margin of his letter: "Write him a courteous letter and promise him the support of the Minister." Some treatment is degrading especially when one has anticipated recognition of a service and no gratitude is forthcoming.

Appreciation soon became tangible, however, for in 1818 he was included in the list of eight lieutenants-general appointed to command the army; in 1819, Decazes made him a peer of France; in 1825 the coronation made him a Knight of St. Louis and, in 1831, he obtained from Louis Philippe the Grand-Cross of the Legion. It was all he had to live on.

Baron Richard, a solitary exception under the law which struck down the regicides, obtained besides an annual allowance of 6,000 francs; Philibert still held his command and received the "rosette" in 1821 and the rank of captain of a first line ship in 1822. But Bonnefoux was dismissed; Jourdan de la Passardière, commander of the *Épervier*, was appointed to no active service, the officers who had volunteered for service on the fishing-smack were dismissed the Navy and were subject to the superintendence of the police; and in the same way officers, like Besson and Baudin, who either directly or indirectly had engaged to compass the escape of Napoleon, were dismissed or compelled to resign.

From these decrees over which Jaucourt presided one can gather to what extent certain members of the royal council had been deceived by the Emperor's departure. What had they intended to do with him?

Firstly, the essential fact, both for the Bourbons and the English, was that of preventing him, by a voluntary surrender, by freely putting himself under the protection of English laws, by begging a refuge in England, from evading the character of a prisoner. Being taken, even disarmed, but in spite of himself and against his will, the man who was exiled from Europe was responsible either to Europe—but before which court?—or to the monarchy which Europe had just then restored and which could consider Napoleon a rebel, so long as he was liable—which he was not—or a pirate by virtue of the treaty of Fontainebleau of which it had broken all the clauses. This was not done to hinder him, nor yet England, who from the first had acted on this assumption.

"If we take Buonaparte," Lord Liverpool wrote to Lord Castlereagh on July 7, "we must keep him on board ship until the decision of the Allies has been received. *The most convenient plan will be* to give him back to the King of France, but then we must be quite sure that action will be taken against him and that he will have no chance to escape. I have had several talks with lawyers and they are of the opinion that this would, in every respect, be the plan least likely to offer objection. We shall have the right of considering him a French prisoner and, as such, we can return him to the French government."

Assured of the approval of his allies, King Louis XVIII would have preferred to seize the Usurper himself rather than wait for the English to hand him over to him and that is why Jaucourt, the naval minister, had sent Bonnefoux by Baron Richard the order to put the Emperor secretly aboard the *Saale*.

But the plan which had been put off, namely the execution of the Emperor upon the bare proof of his identity, could not at the moment be carried out without serious inconvenience. Since the King of France had gained the victory at Waterloo, Wellington, Castlereagh, and Pozzo di Borgo, who acted with him as allies of whose opinions notice had to be taken, had been engaged in showing him that France was not a country he could conquer or where he could with impunity pursue the system of government which had rendered inevitable the revolution of March 20. They had forced him to drive out Blacas;

to remove the Count d'Artois; to oblige Fouché and Talleyrand to attempt the experiment of constitutional government.

They saw the consequences of a murder which might widen the abyss between France and the King they had imposed upon it. They conceived what an outpouring of horror would have arisen from the nation and the army, and it would all be paid for by this head! If they did not fear this general upheaval, at least they did not pass any opinion with regard to promoting it.

This pressure which the allied representatives had exerted at Paris was revealed in the letter of Lord Liverpool of the 15th, replying to Viscount Castlereagh: "If you decide," he wrote, "to obtain possession of his person (Napoleon), and if the King of France does not feel himself strong enough to deliver him up to justice as a rebel, we are ready to assume the custody of his person in the name of the Allied Powers and, actually, we think that it would be better if he were intrusted to us rather than to any other member of the confederation." And, henceforth, Lord Liverpool announced that the Ministry strongly favoured the opinion "that the best place for the custody would be at a distance from Europe and that the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena would be the best places for this plan."

This dispatch from Lord Liverpool was a substitute for the letter from Castlereagh, which was not recovered, in which he summed up the case. It being thus explained in these terms, Jaucourt, on July 13, acting under orders from the King, despatched to Rochefort a frigate captain, his aide-de-camp, de Rigny, accompanied by a naval lieutenant, Fleuriau. De Rigny, who was not 29 years of age when the Emperor promoted him to this rank, had received instructions to see that Napoleon was aboard the *Saale*; he was no longer a passenger, he was a prisoner for whom the commander of the frigate was responsible to the King. The frigate must not leave the roads without a royal order. "Napoleon Buonaparte is not the prisoner of the King of France only; he is the prisoner of all the sovereigns under the Treaty of Paris, and all the princes to whom he has broken his own promises in carrying on war and revolution in France have an equal claim to his person.

"Under such circumstances, it is therefore a natural conclusion that the proper means of making sure of Napoleon Buonaparte shall be taken immediately; and this would be fruitless if the King of France should allow the natural generosity of his heart to prevail;

it is not to-day a question only of his personal cause, it is the business of all Europe to prevent Napoleon rearming.

" Consequently, the commander of the English forces which are blocking the roads of the island of Aix has been ordered by his government to summon the commander of the vessel bearing Napoleon Buonaparte to hand the latter over to him at once."

The captain of the French frigate, de Rigny, delivered a letter to this effect from J. W. Croker, Secretary of the Admiralty, addressed to the commander of the English station. The Minister of Marine added to it his instructions for Commander Philibert; and the Minister of War, Marshal Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, his for the commander of the island of Aix. The officers were to deliver the prisoner to the English commander. "The orders you are delivering," wrote Jaucourt, "are dictated by human feeling. This *sentiment alone has prompted the intervention of the King's* ministers, since the allied sovereigns could act without the co-operation of France."

The Minister of Marine thus arranged the details of the transaction; when de Rigny had had adequate consultations with Bonnefoux and had conceived sufficiently certain ideas concerning the position of the vessels and the presence of Napoleon Buonaparte, he should return alongside the boat of the commander of the English station; he should hand over to this officer the papers in his charge, and in the greatest detail give him his side of all he had learned at Rochefort and communicate to him the minister's dispatch "the details of which have been drawn up with the collaboration of His Britannic Majesty" (Castlereagh).

And what then? . . . What would they do then, if Commander Philibert at the first summons refused to hand over to the commander of the English forces the royal exile who had come voluntarily to take refuge on board his vessel, what *would* they do?—"All the forces which attack Napoleon Buonaparte will be French and European forces; they will act in the name of the King of France as well as in the name of their respective sovereigns and, in consequence, the French who do not wish to act rebelliously against their King and country must treat as allies, as friends, the commanders of the land and sea forces fighting to seize Napoleon Buonaparte." Commander Philibert should not regard only as an *English* officer the commander of the English naval forces. "He is in the service of all the sovereign allies of His Majesty, he is the servant of the King of France." ...

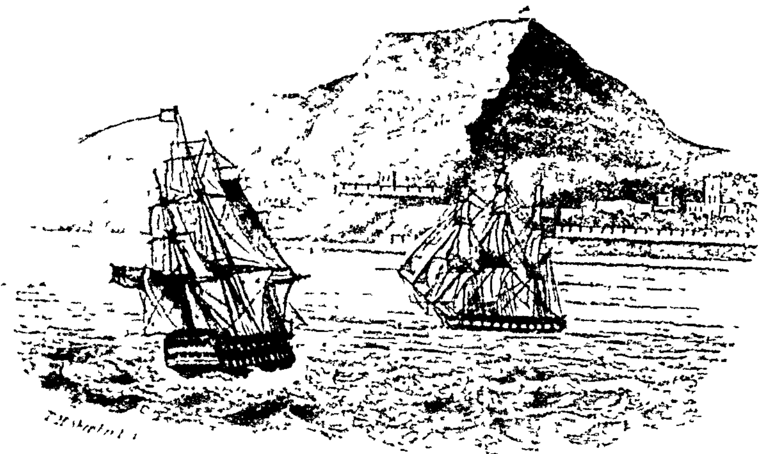
And in conclusion Jaucourt resorted to threats: "If you are so criminal and blind," he wrote, "as to oppose what I have ordered, you will be condoning open rebellion against your King and country. You will be responsible for the blood shed and for the destruction of a vessel and crew which you ought to protect for your country. You will even compromise the life of the prisoner whom you have hesitated to give up."

Such exhortations and threats show sufficiently clearly that the King's Council realised the shame which it imposed upon the commander of the *Saale*. They show to what extent it dreaded that the prejudice of military honour would exceed the duty towards the rightful sovereign. Jaucourt had evidence of this only recently; as to the former, he had forgotten its laws, this man who, for his successes at the Tribunat, in Joseph's house, for the Senate, but especially for the Provisional Government, had been promoted lieutenant-general on October 25, 1814.

So that, having regard to this special ability, Jaucourt had taken complete control of the whole matter. He had accordingly reduced to writing the order of the Minister of War, Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, and sent it to the commander of the island of Aix. The latter was formally forbidden to assist, with the forces in his charge, the commander of the frigate, and the minister added "I command you in the event of Napoleon Buonaparte attempting to escape by landing on the island of Aix to seize him and hand him over to the English commander." General du Coëtlosquet—appointed by the Emperor brigade-general at 30 years of age—had been appointed by the Minister of War to accompany de Rigny.

These officers arrived at Rochefort on the 18th. Thanks to Bonnefoux, Richard, Beker and Philibert, Jaucourt's order dated the 10th had not been carried out. The Emperor had embarked, he was on board the *Bellerophon*; he had not been captured, nor had he been handed over, he had gone voluntarily to claim British hospitality and had put himself under the protection of the English flag.

De Rigny then sent Lieutenant Fleuriau on board the *Superb*, anchored in the Basque roads, to bear to Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, with Mr. Croker's letter, one by which he informed him that he had retained in his possession the dispatches which had been sent to him for the commander of the *Saale* and the commander of the island of Aix, his mission being thenceforth motiveless.



The arrival of the "Northumberland, *St Helena*

*To face page 30*

Sir Henry Hotham approved this suppression of dispatches "I beg of you permission," he wrote, "to express my opinion that you have acted wisely in retaining the dispatches of which you had charge for the captain of the *Amphitrite* and the commander of the island of Aix"

In this way, for the honour of two countries, the officers who were directed to fulfil a certain task agreed to conceal all indications of it. (They had reckoned without the minutes entered by Jaucourt in the register marked by four red lines, forming a big square and marked in the margins, without a copy of the orders and of the letter of Admiral Hotham found by a printer of Chartres, without a letter included in a catalogue of autographs The report of de Rigny appeared in the "Moniteur" of the 24th, he included a brief survey of what had taken place at Rochefort from July 3 to 17, but made no allusion to the vital mission "My instructions ordered me to establish official communication with Admiral Hotham, commanding the English station, I was eager to write to him, and at the same time to forward to him Mr Croker's dispatches, he being Secretary to the English Admiralty, of which I was the bearer These letters were transmitted to the Admiral by Lieutenant Fleuriau whom Your Excellency had ordered to accompany me"), but it was only a matter of a few hours before the orders of King Louis XVIII might compel a ship's commander to hand over an outlaw who yesterday was his sovereign, and who had voluntarily taken refuge on board his vessel—or, in order that this officer might gain a little distinction, upon a signal given by de Rigny the *Bellerophon*, and the *Superb*, the *Méduse* and the *Épervier* might be lined up against this frigate; the land and sea batteries might be prepared to open fire on the rebel vessel until it sank stern first when it would perish, a rival to the *Vengeur*, again leaving to the human conscience a most admirable example and a worthy lesson

When the *Bellerophon* with the Emperor on board arrived at Torbay, Admiral Lord Keith wrote to Captain Maitland· "You can tell Napoleon that I am under a great personal obligation to him for the consideration he showed my nephew who was captured and brought before him at Belle Alliance and who must have died if he had not commanded a surgeon to dress his wounds immediately and sent him to a cottage I am glad it fell to your lot because a Frenchman, a Monsieur de Rigny, had been sent from Paris for the business" Thus parallel sums it all up If Napoleon had saved the

life of his nephew, William George Keith Elphinstone, Maitland had saved Napoleon's life.

Lord Keith had not the authority to say more; that shows, however, that he knew everything. He had realised what horror this alternative inflicted on a soldier; to hand over the Emperor or to sacrifice his whole crew with him. If this drama had been enacted in those disastrous roads, who could foresee its consequences? Each cannon-ball fired at the *Saale* would have reacted on the Bourbons and, at the same moment that the frigate sank, the throne, which foreigners had raised again with such difficulty, would have tumbled down for ever.

The Emperor had escaped from the Royalists; he was in the hands of the English: which was worse?

Having embarked on the *Bellerophon* and made his way to the quarterdeck, he came forward and said to Maitland: "I come to put myself under the protection of your Prince and your laws." With a spirit which appeared completely at ease and with an appearance which impressed everyone, he had the officers presented to him, he inspected the ship, he acquired a knowledge of everything with that diligent curiosity which was one of the secrets of his genius; he asked questions regarding English customs: "I must make myself acquainted with them," he said, "for I shall very probably spend the rest of my life in England."

The *Superb* being within reach, Captain Maitland went to report to the Admiral: "I think," he said to him, "that I have done well and that the government will approve my conduct considering that it was most important to prevent the departure of Napoleon for America and to take possession of his person." Sir Henry Hotham replied: "To have succeeded in taking him under whatever circumstances was of the greatest consequence, and as you have not discussed terms with him, there is no doubt you will receive the approval of His Majesty's government."

So Maitland deemed it not only possible, but probable, that the Emperor might have crossed to America; it was therefore not without considerable uneasiness that he had fulfilled his mission, and the Admiral only approved his conduct because he had not come to any terms; he even showed an indifference which must have appeared disquieting to Maitland.

Invited firstly by Maitland and then by General Bertrand to come and see the Emperor, Sir Henry Hotham stayed to dine on

board the *Bellerophon*. It was the Emperor who entertained and his retinue who served; and the Emperor "considers himself a royal person," everywhere taking the first place. That astounded Maitland. The Emperor was very well received by Hotham when, on the 16th, coming to breakfast on board the *Superb*, the Admiral accorded him royal honours, with the exception of a fired salute, the entire crew being on the yards and rigging, the soldiers presenting arms. At this meal it was decided to embark, together with the two carriages and the horses which Maitland had agreed to take aboard, six carriages and 45 horses having been left at Rochefort. The order was addressed to Captain Philibert who, even if he had been willing, had no means of obeying it.

Towards noon they returned to the *Bellerophon*. By order of the Admiral all the English vessels in the roads had arranged their crews in the rigging and on the yards. Who would have thought that such honour would have been paid to a prisoner and not to a royal guest? Immediately they were on board, anchor was weighed: the *Bellerophon*, accompanied by the *Myrmidon*, on which were embarked the people of suite who could not be accommodated on the former, made for Torbay where an officer of the *Superb* and one of the *Bellerophon* were to take the post to be sent to Plymouth, and to send to Admiral Lord Keith the dispatches of Hotham and Maitland.

The crossing was beautiful but long: the *Bellerophon* did not reach Dartmouth until the 24th. The Emperor, persisting in his hopes, asked "innumerable questions concerning the manners, customs and laws of England, and often repeated what he had said the first day he went on board: knowing that he must acquire all possible information on these subjects so as to be able to conform with them since he would probably end his days among the English."

Upon the arrival at Torbay, Captain Maitland received an order to await the decisions of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty: no one was to be allowed aboard without express permission signed by them or by the admiral. That might have been regarded as a sort of quarantine, but there were many other significant moves: Gourgaud had been forbidden to disembark and brought back the letter which he was charged to hand to the Prince Regent; the papers, which Maitland had fetched from the mainland, expressly announced "that no passenger should be landed in England." Some of them said it would be the Tower of London or a distant castle in Scotland where the Emperor would be confined; others said that "in the

event of it being thought advisable to spare his life, he would most certainly be separated from all the other members of his suite who would be divided among different fortresses"; finally, the rumour got abroad that his final destination was settled and that it would be St. Helena. Doubtless this country had, among others, already been suggested at the Congress of Vienna: at the moment the English ministry took a dislike to it for reasons which were not wholly diplomatic: "We are all firmly of opinion that it is not necessary to decide to confine him in England," wrote Lord Liverpool to Lord Castlereagh on July 21. "Very involved legal questions would be raised on the subject and would be particularly embarrassing. But, apart from these considerations, you are sufficiently aware of the feelings of the people of this country not to doubt that Buonaparte would immediately become an object of curiosity and, doubtless, after some months, an object of pity, and the occasion of his stay here, though of no consequence anywhere in Europe, would tend to maintain a state of ferment in France."

The reasons for selecting St. Helena were primarily because what was unlawful in England was legal on this island, which belonged to the India Company: that this island, which was off all sea routes, was as it were *at peace* in the Ocean; that a prisoner could all the more easily be looked after because Nature had rendered all its shores inaccessible; further, that no shade of opinion need be feared since the whole population was in a state of dependence upon the Governor—the whites because of their posts, the blacks and those who were yellow on account of the whip and their very life; in short, it was a natural prison and one which had the advantage of excelling as a pleasant place of exile or deportation. There was a general anxiety to find out details of the place for this spot in the Company's possessions had been peculiarly neglected and the only work written in English up till then on St. Helena, the "History of the Island of St. Helena" which T. H. Brooke had published in 1808, seemed unknown to the ministers of His Majesty; much less would they have liked actual witnesses.

On the 21st, the same day upon which Lord Liverpool wrote this to Lord Castlereagh, Count Bathurst, Minister for the Colonies, requested of Sir Henry Torrens, a major-general who had long resided on the island, a detailed report, which was forwarded to him the following day; on the 25th, all the negotiations were concluded between the Duke of Buckingham and the directors of the East

India Company for the return of the island to the Crown during the emergency; the fullest details concerning the natural strength of the place and the means for guaranteeing the guard were supplied by Major-General Beatson and Lieut.-General Mann; on the 29th, Lord Castlereagh finally informed Lord Liverpool that the Allied Powers had agreed to the proposal to confine Napoleon on St. Helena, but before any steps could be taken, the treaty must be drawn up and signed. Until then, Napoleon must be prevented from invoking English law on English territory; from obtaining from a judge a "writ of Habeas Corpus," and from inducing the former to declare to those who held him captive that they were thereby incurring grave risks. Such it was that occupied the attention of Lord Liverpool. The solution: to keep an eye on Napoleon and to prevent his communicating with anyone whoever it might be.

Moreover, Lord Liverpool had proved that he knew his fellow-countrymen well. The arrival of the Emperor at Torbay had evoked a curiosity which before long developed into enthusiasm. From all sides requests poured in for admission to board the *Bellerophon*; the sea in all directions was covered with boats filled almost to sinking with sightseers; there was only just time to prevent the Emperor witnessing these demonstrations. During the night of the 25th and 26th the *Bellerophon* was ordered to Plymouth, where it arrived during the day. The Emperor immediately requested to see Lord Keith, who commanded the fleet. Keith alleged that so far he had received no instructions and that he did not know how to treat him, but the orders which he had to hand and which he sent to Maitland would have been enough, if they had been communicated to the Emperor, to leave no doubt about the character of the prisoner to be committed to his charge: forbid all on the ship to hold communication with the mainland; forbid all on board to permit the barques nearer than a cable's length or to allow them to approach nearer or hover around; two frigates, the *Liffey* and the *Eurotas* to anchor on each side of the *Bellerophon* "to prevent the escape of Napoleon," and marines and soldiers to maintain watches as though in the midst of an enemy. The same evening patrol boats, with sailors firing rounds of shots, dispersed the smaller vessels of sightseers. On the 27th, by order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, officers of the Emperor's retinue below the rank of general were taken off the *Bellerophon* to travel on the *Liffey* and the *Myrmidon*. It was ordered that "Napoleon be regarded and treated like an army officer

of general's rank, and be accorded that title when addressed." On the same day an order came from Admiral Keith, having been informed of the resentment which Napoleon had shown since the time the papers said he was to be sent to St. Helena, to double the guard to prevent escape.

Nothing happened on the 28th except a very short visit from Lord Keith. It was always of the *Emperor* that they spoke; he was actually treated always as a guest although he was a captive according to all the measures taken.

The papers, however, became more and more positive: they announced that an Under Secretary of State was coming to inform Buonaparte of the ministry's decision. Actually, the same day, Lord Melville, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, sent Sir Harry Bunbury to Lord Keith, bearing a letter the contents of which were to be communicated to the Emperor, but which, with deliberate subtlety, was not addressed to him but to Lord Keith. On the 31st, the communication was made by Lord Keith accompanied by Sir Harry Bunbury.

"My Lord, as it may be to the interest of General Buonaparte to be informed without further delay of the decisions of the British Government regarding him, Your Lordship is free to impart to him the information contained in this letter. It would be incompatible with our duty towards this country and towards the allies of His Majesty if we were to leave to General Buonaparte the means of disturbing anew the peace of Europe, and of renewing all the disasters of war; it is therefore necessary that his personal freedom be restricted to the extent of securing our first and paramount object.

"The Island of St. Helena has been chosen for his future residence. The climate there is healthy and its natural position will admit of his being treated with more indulgence than would be compatible with adequate security elsewhere.

"Of the people who have been conveyed to England with General Buonaparte, he will be allowed to choose (with the exception of Generals Savary and Lallemand) three officers who, with the surgeon, will receive permission to accompany him to St. Helena. Twelve domestic servants, including the officers' servants, will also be allowed. It must be clearly understood that all these individuals will be liable to restrictions during their service with him and their residence at St. Helena, and that they will not be permitted to leave without the permission of the English Government.

"Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who was commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope, will convey General Buonaparte and his suite to St. Helena, and will receive detailed orders concerning the performance of this duty. Sir George Cockburn will probably be ready to embark in a few days. It is therefore desirable that General Buonaparte should choose without delay those who are to accompany him."

The Emperor endured the shock without showing his feelings before Keith and Bunbury, but he afterwards protested most strongly and wrote the Prince Regent a new letter which Maitland took during the afternoon to Lord Keith who sent it immediately to London. In it the Emperor said "I am the guest of England; I came to this country on the English ship the *Bellerophon*, after imparting to the captain the contents of the letter which I wrote to the Prince Regent as receiving from the former the assurance that his instructions directed him to receive me on board and to convey me, with my suite, to England, if I asked him. Admiral Hotham has since repeated the same assertions to me. From the moment I was voluntarily received on the *Bellerophon* I put myself under the protection of the laws of your country. I desire to live at liberty in the interior of England under the protection and supervision of its laws, and I am prepared to accept the arrangements and measures which may be considered proper. I desire to hold no communication with France, nor to interfere in politics . . . I put my confidence in the honour of the Prince Regent and the protection of the laws of your country."

No reply came to this letter; no reply was possible beyond *that it was the desire of the British ministers that it should be so*; for they had had no warning to consider the question of legality, to which anyway they were indifferent. The question of legality remained the more embarrassing, for this appeal to the laws, if repeated often enough, could make itself effective, and in England it appeared to be of some consequence. On the 28th, "The Emperor, impressed by all he had heard, dictated to Las Cases a proper document to serve as a basis for the lawyers to discuss and defend his rightful political position. Means were found to get it to the mainland."

If some lawyer had obtained from a magistrate a "writ of Habeas Corpus" in Napoleon's favour in accordance with the *Magna Charta Libertatum* of 1215 and the *Habeas Corpus Act* of

1679, the consequences might have proved peculiarly embarrassing but one other question arose by the choice of St. Helena as the place of deportation. "We have already *suggested*," *wrote an* English journalist whose article of August 3 was reprinted in Paris by the *Aristarque*—the only paper left to Fouché since the suppression of the *Indépendant* on July 31, the only arm *with which he* fought reaction—" we have already suggested that to legalise the detention of Buonaparte in England it was necessary to pass an Act of Parliament to that effect. The same step is indispensable to confine him in an English settlement . . . However legal and even necessary such a measure may be, it is, nevertheless, in a constitutional sense the greatest innovation in the laws of England since our constitution has been brought to the state of perfection in which it exists to-day. Actually this innovation is to transform an English settlement into a *State gaol in which we shall detain for life a dethroned sovereign* (for he has been universally recognised as a sovereign). It would not be the slightest innovation on our part to detain thus an English individual for transgressing, in a not very serious manner, the laws of this land, and to act as gaolers in the name of those who believed themselves most wronged."

If this was the opinion expressed by journalists of the "opposition," the current of opinion which ran through the country was certainly very strong. The arrivals at Plymouth increased daily *so much so that they became a nuisance. From every corner* of England came people hoping to see Napoleon.' "On Sunday, the 30th", wrote Maitland, "the number of boats was greater than I had even seen. I am sure I am not exaggerating when I estimate that there were nearly a thousand round our ship in each of which, on the average, there were no less than eight people". To disperse them measures of a brutal kind were taken. Propelled by oars, the guard sloops endeavoured to ram these light craft in such a way that, if they connected, the latter sank, and this really happened. Idle curiosity changed to enthusiasm. Women carried in their corsage red carnations and made bouquets of them, and cheered just as loudly as the men. Was this to be tolerated? *Further, Lord Keith was* informed that a writ had been obtained from a magistrate ordering Buonaparte to be landed, and that a lawyer was on his way officially to make it known to him. But some days must yet elapse, firstly so that the treaty with Europe determining the fate of the Emperor might be signed; and secondly—the *Bellerophon* not being in a fit state to

undertake the voyage to St. Helena—so that the *Northumberland*, which must conduct him there, might be fully ready. What could be done?

"Buonaparte is giving us a lot of trouble at Plymouth", Lord Liverpool wrote to Lord Castlereagh on August 3. "We have been obliged to give orders by telegraphy to the vessel to cruise about until the *Northumberland* can start its voyage. We have had abundant proof that it would have been utterly impracticable to confine him there without the most serious disadvantages". And on the 4th: "Finding, according to the report made by Sir Harry Bunbury upon his arrival yesterday and the letters written by Lord Keith, that considerable inconvenience was being caused by the crowds of people in the bay at Plymouth, as well as by a spirit of antagonism shown by certain of Buonaparte's companions, we have sent by telegraph, and repeated by express messenger, an order that the *Bellerophon*, accompanied by the *Tonnant* and one other vessel, should immediately take to the open sea to cruise about, without re-entering the port. The *Northumberland* set out from Portsmouth yesterday, but as the wind is contrary, it will not reach Plymouth until to-morrow. It will, I hope, take off the passengers without re-entering any port, but the wind is fresh and they may be obliged to go to Torbay. Lord Keith mentions in to-day's letter that the visitors have been less troublesome especially since the sloops of the war ships sank a boat and drowned a man".

The *Bellerophon* forthwith took to sea and the enthusiasm consequently died away; the English navy thus had the distinction of drowning an Englishman as well as rendering ineffective the lawyer bearing a subpoena ordering Buonaparte to appear as witness before the Court of the King's Bench. Then all the sloops of the vessels in the roads towed the *Bellerophon*, beset with adverse wind and tide: a small vessel was detached, with orders not to allow any vessel coming from the shore to approach. The lawyer then turned upon Lord Keith whose aid he tried to enlist in his mission: the Admiral stole away through a hidden door, literally hurled himself into a canoe followed in the rear by the bearer of the writ who had also procured a boat; the Admiral went aboard the *Tonnant*, crossed its deck, and descended the other side as the man scaled the other; he was followed almost to Cawsand but, being in a twelve-oared boat, he outdistanced the lawyer, turned round near Rame Head and boarded the *Prometheus* on which he hoisted his flag expecting the *Tonnant* to

rejoin him. The heads of the English navy, like the Ministers, were assailed by the anxiety that if they were accosted by this bearer of a paper the contents of which they were ignorant but which they must obey if approached by him, it was sufficient to discern what was, in their very conscience, the violation of the constitution and the abuse of strength.

This was at noon on August 4. On the 2nd at Paris, similar treaties were signed between Great Britain and Austria, Great Britain and Russia, Great Britain and Prussia. They were drawn up as follows: "In the name of the Holiest and Undivided Trinity, Napoleon Buonaparte being in the hands of the Allied Powers, Their Majesties . . . have agreed, according to clauses in the treaty of 25 March, 1815, upon the most likely measures to make impossible all interference from him in the peace of Europe.

I. Napoleon Buonaparte is regarded, by the Powers who signed the treaty of March 25 last, as their prisoner.

II. His custody is specially entrusted to the British Government. The choice of the place and of the means most likely to insure the aim of the present agreement are left to His Britannic Majesty.

III. The imperial courts of Austria and Russia, and the royal court of Prussia, will appoint commissioners who will live in the place selected by the Government of His Britannic Majesty for the abode of Napoleon and who, without being entrusted with his person, will make sure of his presence.

IV. His Most Christian Majesty will be invited, in the name of the four courts hitherto mentioned, likewise to send a commissioner to the place of Napoleon Buonaparte's captivity.

V. His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland undertakes to fulfil the obligations laid upon him by this agreement."

This was the law decreed by Europe, without invoking any other law than that of force, without entering into the question whether Napoleon was England's prisoner or guest. "He is in the possession of the Allied Powers," that was enough. The treaty concluded on 25 March by the latter, a treaty based on the allegation of facts materially false and refuted point by point by the Imperial Council of State, could only invest the act with a semblance of truth, an

act without parallel in history and one for which they took the responsibility. On the confession of the signatories even—England and Russia between themselves—the treaty of Fontainebleau had been violated by King Louis XVIII in all its clauses regarding Napoleon, and the latter, to escape misery, abduction, ever present threats of assassination, to regain his wife and child, to insure the livelihood of his parents and his servants, had had no other intention than that of returning to the possession of the States he had abdicated by this treaty. He had satisfied all the clauses as far as he was concerned, none of them had been carried out, none of them existed. In law his position was unassailable. A contract is wholly void when one of the parties to it refuses altogether to fulfil the onerous clauses while at the same time "takes the profits." But Napoleon was beyond the law, and this was brought home to him in "putting him beyond the pale of political and social relations," and in declaring "that as an enemy and a disturber of the peace of the world, he had been delivered up to public vengeance."

What did this matter to Europe? The Powers had participated in the treaty of Fontainebleau; it was by them that this treaty had been concluded and signed; they had deputed its performance to the Provisional Government, then to the King of France, who, one after the other, had explicitly and formally recognised it and accepted its conditions. The Powers might therefore have forced the King of France to keep his promises. Not at all; it was Napoleon who was delivered up to vengeance for having retaken what belonged to him. That was how, for the European sovereigns, the Bourbons had lately become the keystone of the Building; they were considered as essentially representing Divine right and the monarchical system, and so little were they liked, so lightly were they regarded, their loyalty so little trusted, that their restoration, at the moment when Europe had given them kings, was the condition, the proof, the very definition of his victory. Quite recently the royal solidarity had been revealed to him; certain people, who had not believed in it a year previous when they considered a Bernadotte for King of France, were so taken with it now that everything else took second place. If undertakings assumed with the Bourbons turned out to be valid, those with such men as Buonaparte and Murat were not. Opposite them there was only the good pleasure of the European oligarchy, by whom the most solemn undertakings were annulled, the quality of their dispositions changed and their character transformed. It

was sufficient that " in the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity " the ministers of the sovereigns decreed that Napoleon Buonaparte had violated the treaty of Fontainebleau so that this violation should be his responsibility and, in addition to being Europe's prisoner, the hospitality which he requested from England should rightly become his captivity.

If, however, to break its own laws whilst preserving the hypocritical appearance of an hospitable and generous nation, England had retired behind Europe, she would not have cared, having fulfilled her object, if Europe had persisted in its measures against Napoleon. If she had not been able to stifle the idea of commissioners appointed by the Powers and resident at St. Helena, because it had been first suggested by Castlereagh himself, she took care, by the text of the same agreements, to reduce their mission to one merely of vouching for the existence of Napoleon. The same principles of economy which the ministers had then declared had disappeared in the face of this unshakable desire singularly to dispose of the Emperor. Liverpool having drawn from the appointment of commissioners the conclusion that Napoleon, being the prisoner of Europe, must be accounted for by Europe, Castlereagh had no difficulty in getting him to give up the idea of demanding that division of expenses by which the Allies were empowered to exercise control and supervision. England, who alone would profit from Europe's victory ; who, on Napoleon's fall, secured, for at least a century, the control of the sea ; England who, alone, for twenty years kept on a war the result of which she knew, could actually defray the cost of the prison. But there were certain formalities to be observed, and English hypocrisy then surpassed itself. The ministry might find itself in trouble for having resorted to compulsion and for having detained Napoleon Buonaparte in an unjust captivity ; but if England, under these circumstances, only acted as a delegate of Europe, would not the ministry be shielded by this congress of sovereigns which invoked the Holy Trinity ?

Napoleon was at least obliged to protest. On the 4th he wrote the protest which on the following day he sent to Maitland and Keith : " I here solemnly protest, before heaven and mankind, against the compulsion to which I am subjected, against the violation of my most sacred rights in disposing by force of my person and my liberty. I went freely aboard the *Bellerophon.* I am not England's prisoner but her guest. I even went at the instigation of the captain

who told me he had instructions from his government to receive me and conduct me, if agreeable to me, to England with my suite . . ." *If the government, in giving these instructions to the captain of the Bellerophon* to receive me thus with my suite, intended merely to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour and disgraced its flag . . .

"I appeal to history: it will say that an enemy who for twenty years waged war against the English people came *voluntarily to them* in his misfortune to seek refuge under their laws. What proof more glaring could he give it of his esteem and confidence? But how did England respond to this gesture? It feigned to proffer him a hospitable hand and then sacrificed him."

These words live: history accepts them as the true and positive relation of events. How Napoleon related the obstacles to going to sea and making for America; how he was obliged to leave Rochefort and the island of Aix; how earth and sea shut behind him, which had nothing to do with what Maitland said and did: the latter and Admiral Sir Henry Hotham had received him and treated him as a guest; his status could not be altered by the simple fact that it pleased the English ministry to change it, even if Europe agreed to become its accessory. This fact dominated the whole captivity of Napoleon: it declared the unrighteousness of it and explained its sudden turns of fortune; it characterised the struggle Napoleon had to wage with his gaolers. Henceforth, regarded as a prisoner, the abdicated Emperor could no longer adhere to his "*incognito*" which might have been allowed him as a guest. He claimed all the distinctions with which the French people had voluntarily overwhelmed him; he claimed the holy unction with which the Pope had anointed him; *he claimed his title of Emperor and recognition of Imperial* Majesty which all the European sovereigns had accorded him. Under the penalty of forfeiting himself; under the penalty of disinheriting his son from that imaginary succession to what might be the Empire of the World; under the obligation of recognising and asserting that all that the French nation had done for the past twenty years was unlawful, in the prison in which England, carrying out the orders of Europe, was going to confine him and hold him, he was condemned, by his conscience and by the power of national right, from being for ever Emperor—and it was Emperor that he would be, alone if necessary, of his companions, his guards, England and Europe; and with this last struggle of a man against a conspiring mankind, against the armies of ten kings, their navies and their resources, who will be victorious?

## II

# Those who accompanied the Emperor

ON the morning of August 6 the *Northumberland* was sighted by the *Bellerophon.* The entire squadron directed its course towards the coast and anchored to the west of Berry Head. It was deserted here and there was no fear of being disturbed or of the English seeing the Ghost of the Law arise from the sea. Until then, in spite of the pretence of giving Napoleon the title of general—such had been so since July 31 and only, it appeared, in the letter of Lord Melville revealed by Lord Keith—the Emperor remained Emperor to the officers and crew of the *Bellerophon* and to Keith alike. He *was* the guest of England : now the farce is over and he *is* their prisoner. Keith instructed Maitland to relieve the French, *whatever their rank* of all their arms of every kind, aboard the ship he commanded. But on the morning of the 7th Keith changed his mind. That was really going too far, so when the *general* left the vessel he would enjoy this privilege, his sword would not be taken from him, but only from the other Frenchmen. Maitland should inspect the effects of the *general* and examine his furniture and books ; he should take possession of money, diamonds and negotiable notes, not to claim ownership of them, but to undertake their administration and to apply to his necessities the interest or the principal according to the amount of the sum. He should allow to accompany him only those who voluntarily followed him and only after they had been informed that they would be subject to all the regulations considered necessary to the security of the *general's* person. " The *general* will be informed that if he attempts to escape he may incur imprisonment, as will any one of his suite discovered abetting his escape. Every letter he writes or is written to him, as well as those of his suite, will be forwarded to the Admiral or the Governor for their examination, and all communications from him containing his wishes or official requests will be left unsealed so that the Governor or the Admiral may add what remarks they think proper."

Such was the routine prepared for the prisoner of state. England, who conceived the terror of the hulks for sailors and soldiers whom the results of battle or the fortunes of the sea delivered into its

hands, could not fail to conceive particularly outrageous restrictions for him whom the cunning of its officers had enticed under the British flag. Nevertheless, those who accompanied the Emperor were duly warned. Legally or illegally those in power laid restrictions upon their king, but they had to make them known. The English did not neglect that: they posted up the prison rules and allowed the prisoners to break them at their cost.

* * *

Up till the time the Emperor left the *Bellerophon*, as it were a parting act of decency, they continued to pay their respects to him as a guest, either so that Maitland might in this manner attempt to evade his disloyalty or so that the whole affair might take on a farcical aspect. At the moment he was getting ready to leave, the Emperor received their courtesy for the last time with the guard under arms and the drum rolling three times. Officers hat in hand, the crew were assembled in the waist, and lined up on the forecastle. Calmer and more confident than those who were handing him over, Napoleon surveyed their ranks, saluted the officers and seamen, and then descended into the barge where he conversed with Lord Keith without betraying any sign of emotion or anxiety.

On the *Northumberland*, which he boarded at two o'clock, the guard was mustered and officers stood bareheaded as before, but this was not for General Buonaparte, but for Lord George Keith Elphinstone, Baron Keith of Stonehaven Marischal in Ireland, Viscount Keith, G.C.B. and Admiral. In the presence of the General the officers always ostentatiously remained covered, and when they spoke to him they never failed to address him as General; Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who commanded the squadron, did not even offer him a room in the rear; he gave him for a crossing which was to take 71 days, from August 7 until October 17, a cabin—*one* cabin—measuring nine feet by twelve; the table was worse; the Rear-Admiral prescribed his hours, his menus, his habits and at his table Sir George Cockburn conducted its etiquette.

However, those of his companions not authorised to follow him were allowed to say good-bye: Generals Savary, the Duc de Rovigo, and Lallemand senior; Schultz, Planat, Résigny, Captain Piontkowski, Lieutenant Mercher, Second-Lieutenants Autric and Rivière, and the footman Sainte-Catherine. Of all the zeal displayed

at Malmaison, these were all who came to Spithead. Not General La Bédoyère who was to forfeit his life to his love for his young wife; nor Colonels Baillon or Deschamps who, by serving in the Palace as "quarter-masters" retained this rank—a notorious promotion since they began as lieutenants in the picked constabulary; nor Captains Morin, Saint-Yon, Saint-Jacques, orderly-officers in the last campaign; nor secretary Rathery whose wife nevertheless accepted a pension from the Emperor. Carried away by their enthusiasm in Paris, they had been much in evidence to obtain passports: they had all received them but not one returned to him.

There were only these ten men to follow the Emperor—fifteen with Bertrand, Montholon, Gourgaud and the two Las Cases. The majority gave their allegiance from necessity; some because they had been outlawed by the Bourbons, others, not knowing where to hide, rallied in desperation to the side of the royal waif—but very few accompanied him out of pure disinterested loyalty.

That was why the parting of the Emperor and these men savoured of the tragic. Their last chance of greeting eluded them, and the selection of companions which the Emperor had been obliged to make under the authority of the English Government, had proved a condemnation of the others, notwithstanding that it was so necessary. Of the fifteen aboard the *Bellerophon*, the English allowed only three, afterwards five, to accompany him, and they expressly named Generals Savary and Lallemand to be excluded. Since July 24 the latter had been put on the first list of candidates for banishment by the Bourbons, that of "traitors awaiting summons to appear before the proper councils of war in their respective military divisions"; that coincided with the English view that "these two notorious criminals," as Lord Castlereagh wrote, should not be allowed to evade royal punishment by accompanying Buonaparte. "We did it," Lord Bathurst wrote on August 25, "because we thought we ought, if the opportunity presented itself, to hand them over to the French Government." Would they have that opportunity? According to the treatment meted out to himself, the Emperor must have been very apprehensive about them, but was the main object not fulfilled as soon as Napoleon was on the way to his prison? Thenceforward, faced by unimportant people, the British Government would be able to claim its reputation for hospitality. With the zeal of men who knew that if delivered up the scaffold would claim them, Savary and Lallemand asserted that they had gone

aboard the *Bellerophon* only on the commander's formal promise that they would find an inviolable asylum under the English flag Harassed to the utmost and charged upon his honour to tell the truth, Maitland wrote to Lord Melville a letter which gave substantial foundation to this declaration, though not definitely confirming it To admit the promise made to Savary and Lallemand made it appear more likely that Maitland had said nothing of the Emperor Las Cases asserted but Maitland denied that this latter was so It is of little importance anyway. With Savary and Lallemand such scruple could arise, and after they had been several months in prison at Malta, the British Government granted the two generals and the officers who had accompanied them a perilous freedom, but who was there then in the ministry who had not on his conscience a broken promise to Napoleon?

Lallemand could have been of certain use to the Emperor during his captivity for he had been devoted to him since IV Vendemiaire, certainly his antecedents and his education had not prepared him for a post at Court, but he was one of those—how uncommon they were[1]—who remained loyal to the end Savary, too, would no doubt have been a desirable companion because he was not wanting in courage nor lacking in education, he came from a military family and had received a liberal education, since Marengo he had been attached to Napoleon's person and had been overwhelmed with ranks, titles and distinctions, since 1812 his loyalty had been questionable and in 1815 no further illusions could be entertained concerning his devotion If he accompanied the Emperor on board the *Bellerophon*, it was because he dreaded the hatred of Fouché and banishment, he had no intention of accompanying him for any other purpose Even before he had been informed of the English ban upon him, he wrote to Lord Keith that "the voyage to St Helena did not enter into his calculations," but at the same time he shuddered at the thought that the English could hand him up to Louis XVIII, and even from the *Bellerophon*, from his cabin near that of the Emperor, he wrote letter after letter, as many to people he knew as to people he did not Baring, Laffite, the Polignacs, the parents of Madame Duchess de Rovigo who, nee Faudoas-Barbazon, had married the best man in the new court, he sought the assistance of his former comrades now supporters of the Bourbons for whose revolutionary tendencies care was taken to upbraid them he implored the whole world "I have been notified here," he wrote

to Laffite, "that I must be transferred to France: I refuse to believe it because that would be to assassinate me without cause, or justice, or advantage . . . You know perfectly well . . ." What was it that Laffite, who had refused to countenance so many questionable theories, knew so well?

Those two whom the English excluded might have been useful to the Emperor for they knew him; as for the others who found themselves removed, he had scarcely seen them. Planat and Résigny had, before 1815, been aides-de-camp to Generals Drouot and Lebrun, and had during the campaigns done duty similar to that of orderly-officers. In 1815 they were appointed orderly-officers, but they were both sent on a mission to the South and did not rejoin him until after Waterloo. The Emperor, however, regarded Planat with esteem and had selected him to accompany him. He must often have regretted it, and Planat for his part unceasingly desired to rejoin his master, but he was the only one. He had nothing to do with Résigny, a brave man but a fool, nor with Schultz, an intrepid and attached Pole who had served him since 1783, at first in his own country, then in Turkey, then in the Italo-Polish legion and in the lancers at the Vistula; who from 1809 to 1813 was a British prisoner and who as captain in a detachment of light horse accompanied him to the isle of Elba. Still less was he concerned about Piontkowski, an adventurer whose mysterious life was constantly under suspicion; or about Lieutenant Mercher who came from Saint-Germain in January 1813 and left his regiment to serve the Emperor without anyone knowing who had given him permission; or about Lieutenant Autric (Mathieu Marius), nephew of brave General Desmichels whom Baroness Desmichels had brought and introduced to the Emperor at Digne; or about Rivière who with the 1st Hussars had taken nine years to win his epaulettes despite a bullet wound at Eylau and a sword thrust at Wagram, and whom General Montholon had inexplicably requested as aide-de-camp in June 1815.

And that was all: such was the staff the Emperor had appointed after the tide of disaster had overtaken him. Two banished generals one of whom refused to accompany him, two French captains, two Polish captains, three lieutenants two of whom were of one year's service. What wretchedness!

* * *

(The Bertrands)

Would those who were going to accompany him be able at least to furnish him with the comfort necessary to his taste, to keep his mind occupied, to provide recreation in his enforced idleness, to soothe his shattered nerves, to maintain *society* for him? Except at Elba, where, however, he was not idle for a day what with audiences and visits, he had never experienced the weight of hours, carried away as he was by the illimitable scope of his plans, by the fulfilment of tasks for which the day and the night were not enough, by military and civil duties, by a life in which, to judge by his works and plans, he looked upon years as the ordinary man regarded centuries But at the moment he needed a following, something to occupy his mind, someone to remove the stones from his path so that, without servility or baseness, a court might be constituted for him Who then were the four men who were going to live with him—did he choose them or were they thrust upon him?

As soon as they began to offer their services, there was one concerning whom there was never any question, General Count Bertrand, Grand Marshal of the Palace "Bertrand is henceforth identified with my fate, he has become historical," Napoleon said of him

He was a little man, bald and thin, not much of a personality, a good engineer, an indifferent general but not lacking in courage, of unquestionable honesty, of quick understanding, of unconquerable obstinacy, and of the best moral character Belonging to the middle-class family of Berry—but to a class aspiring to nobility and already living as such—he was destined for a civil engineer when the Revolution broke out, on September 11, 1793, he entered the School of Military Engineers as a sub-lieutenant-pupil Soon afterwards he was identified with the army of Sambre-et-Meuse, attached at first to the Central School of Public Works and then sent on the mission to Constantinople, in May 1797 he joined the army of Italy and later went as a captain to Egypt with Napoleon He had then been three years a captain From this time he was the man for Bonaparte who within twelve months made him deputy director of fortifications He returned from Egypt a brigadier-general and after commanding the engineers at the camp of Saint-Omer, he was appointed aide-de-camp to the Emperor on March 7, 1805 Divisional-general on May 30, 1807, the following year he married Fanny Dillon, the daughter of General Arthur Dillon who had been guillotined in

1794 during the Terror, and Laure Girardin de Montgerald, Mme. de la Touche by her first marriage.

The Dillons belonged to the gentry of Catholic and loyalist England. For a century they had been in France, were owners of a regiment which bore their name, and had with their blood countersigned all the triumphs of royalty during the 18th century. Arthur Dillon, who had fought in the Revolution, was probably one of its unknown heroes. Perhaps it is to him that unbiased history will give the palm for saving France from invasion. Fanny Dillon had a half-sister who married M. de la Tour du Pin, prefect of the Empire, one of the negotiators at Vienna and one of those who put Napoleon under the ban of the nations. She had a half-brother, M. de la Touche, and a sister who married the Duke of Fitzjames. No one was a more confirmed royalist than the latter.

Grandmother of the Empress, the widowed Mme. Dillon had received two pensions from the Emperor: one of 5,000 francs from the public treasury, and a further 9,000 from the privy purse. She formerly had dreadful quarrels with Mme. de Beauharnais, having taken away her husband and plotted the most vile intrigue against her, but Josephine, a good daughter, forgave her. For his marriage the Emperor gave his aide-de-camp, besides the 87,000 francs he had bestowed upon him previously, 200,000 francs capital and the residence of La Jonchère fully furnished, together with the park surrounding it; to the bride a dowry of 200,000 francs in shares in the Loing canal, diamonds to the value of 50,000 francs, and trousseau costing 30,000 francs.

Fanny Dillon, much of whose childhood was spent in England in an atmosphere exclusively Catholic and royalist, completely reconciled herself to the new regime on condition that her cousin arranged for her a marriage equal at least to those of Mlle. de Beauharnais and Mlle. Tascher. She had been betrothed to Alphonse Pignatelli, brother of the Comte de Fuentès, but he died. Mention was made of Prince Aldobrandini to whom Josephine gave her cousin La Rochefoucauld, with so much money; then there was the Duc de Medina Sidonia, even the Prince de Neuchâtel, and it was Prince Bernard de Saxe-Coburg when the Emperor, returning from Bayonne, learned that she was nearly 22 years of age and thought that it was time she was settled. Bertrand loved her and had several times proposed to her only to be always refused. If he was an indifferent prey, he was worth more than a shadow. The Emperor

concerned himself in the matter as did Mme. de la Tour du Pin whom he had made wife of the prefect at Brussels. Josephine informed Fanny of this and she burst into tears and returned in despair to Beauregard, to the home of her cousin Mme. de Boigne, née Osmond, who offered her hospitality. The following day she returned to Saint-Cloud in the hope of moving the Empress, and she was quite melted to tears when the Emperor entered. She ventured to reproach him for deceiving her in her expectations, and gradually became so excited that she flew into a passion and said to him:

"What, Sire, Bertrand,
. . . Bertrand.
Imitator of the Pope by his mode of life!"

"That is enough, Fanny," returned the Emperor bluntly as he left the room.

The example she quoted from the fable "The Monkey and the Leopard" was scarcely well-timed. If the Emperor did a lot for these grandparents of Josephine, whose whims, spirits and hilarity might create a good humour in him, this epigram, directed against one of his generals and a personal friend, offended him. Supposing the names of those not of the nobility were made a laughing-stock? Josephine spoke to her of the grand places her husband would have, and of the title of duke with which the Emperor could not fail to invest him. In short, she prevailed upon Fanny without much trouble, the latter little appreciating the delight of being a daughter and living as a companion to Mme. de Boigne. The wedding took place at Saint-Leu, at the palace of Queen Hortense, and everything went off wonderfully well.

Fanny was thenceforth very happy with a husband whose every concern was her wishes and those of her mother, brother and all her relations; more happy still with the grand life, with the hotel rue Neuve-du-Luxembourg, no. 14; with the visits to other residences, with the fashionable toilets she took *chez Leroy* which were becoming to her graceful carriage, to the aristocratic slenderness of her body, to her little head on a very long neck, her head contrasting the blackness of her eyes with the fairness of her hair. At Vienna, during the armistice after the campaign of 1809, she rejoined her husband who had received the Grand Eagle of the Legion for the crossing of the Danube; she participated in his reward in Croatia;

she played a splendid part in the festivities and celebrations of the Austrian marriage, and thought that the Archduchess also had found *her Bertrand.* She made an engineering trip into Holland, and on April 9, 1811, Count Bertrand was appointed governor-general of the Illyrian Provinces which ranked him among the dignitaries. "Ah! There you are, Countess Fanny," said the Emperor, "You are going down to succeed King Marmont. Have you a good cook?"—"Sire," replied Mme. Bertrand, "I have with me here in my service one who boasts a great reputation." "That is not enough," retorted the Emperor, "You must have two, with a good chef and a good steward, and you will be drawn by six horses, do you hear, Madame Governess?" And it was so.

*Little by little Mme. Bertrand disclosed her character.* She was domineering and precise, brooking no opposition and scarcely allowing a voluntary service so she might by forcible methods obtain a readier obedience. In domestic affairs such methods no longer prevailed for "things had changed" in France, but at Laybach they were fashionable. She took with her a fair number of her family, her mother, the former enemy of Josephine, attractive yet despite her fifty-three years, but experiencing incredible delight in modelling the ends of wax-candles; her two children, her grand-children, the Fitzjames girl and boy, a huge domestic staff and all the refinements of Parisian luxury. The carriages, driven *à la d'Aumont*, were never drawn by less than six horses; the table was more sumptuous than at the Tuileries; the balls were magnificent; raffles were held there for the latest modes brought direct from Paris by special messenger and tastefully displayed between the columns of the Temple of Love erected in the great hall. Mme. Bertrand arranged everything, and so she might indulge in sight-seeing trips and outings of amusement as well as the most tiring and dangerous journeys, cared little whether or not she was pregnant, for she looked upon miscarriages as a habit. It was immaterial to her and she scarcely called a halt in her usual daily routine. It was asserted that no woman ever acted with such carelessness; she had a passion for it, a mania, or rather a disease, but in Illyria that was a princess's pastime! There is no doubt that she delighted in this magnificence and loved to be seen in its midst. She sent her parents at Martinique the miniature of her husband in full dress uniform, and her own, "very delightful, in green velvet with golden trimmings, a high neck, not round the throat but on the dress."

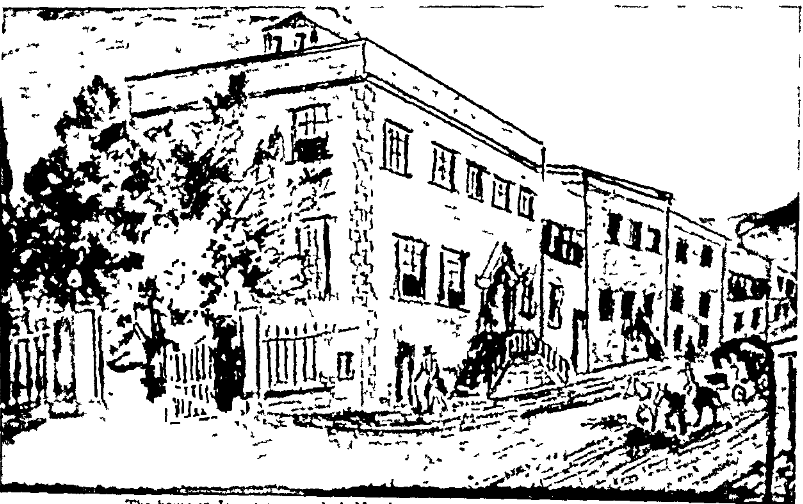
And this miniature won the admiration of all the Dillons, their relatives and friends

At the end of 1812, Bertrand, superseded at Laybach by Junot, was enlisted in war service and for the first time entrusted with the rank of commander-in-chief—that of the 4th corps of the *Grande Armée*, which he had organised at Verona Nothing had prepared him for it, nevertheless he made some sort of show "His talents," Amiel said, "were perhaps beyond his conception He did not overrate himself He never spurned advice The intimate terms upon which he lives with General Morand do him the greatest credit" Others were not so approving and criticised harshly this fancy of the Emperor's of settling high commands on general officers, his aides-de-camp, who had neither ability nor experience—like Bertrand and Lauriston, "although there might be a great difference in the character of these two officers"

When the Emperor had to look round for a substitute for Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Palace, who was mortally wounded on May 22 at the battle of Makersdorff, he hesitated for some time, Caulaincourt acted temporarily, and then Drouot at Dresden He considered the names of Lauriston, of Drouot, perhaps of Narbonne and even, so it is said, of Flahaut, before deciding on Bertrand He could not have made a better choice if he wanted loyalty Bertrand, who was appointed on November 18, received orders to return to Paris and leave his army corps under Morand's command He took the oath on the 20th and was installed at the Tuileries Being very new to his duties, he sought advice, but scarcely attuned himself to it and could hardly be called a success Mme Bertrand had with her her mother and her brother, M Levassor de la Touche, who never hesitated to repeat all they heard, the royalist relations, scenting the catastrophe, were hungry for news, that created for her a difficult situation for personally she was faithful and loyal The Grand Marshal, who had been appointed by the Emperor adjutant of the National Guard at Paris, could not discharge its duties, hindered as he was at Headquarters, until the last day On March 30, Mme Bertrand, then six months in pregnancy, left Paris with the Empress whom she accompanied to Blois and Orleans From Orleans she went to Fontainebleau to make arrangements with her husband for rejoining him at Elba Bertrand did not hesitate. His inviolable integrity would not for a single moment allow him to be separated from the man who had entrusted him, barely six months

ago, with the safety of his person and the running of his household. While Bertrand was undertaking that dangerous journey with the Emperor, a journey upon which ambushes had long since been prepared, Mme. Bertrand arrived at Chateauroux where she had to await the propitious moment at the home of her father-in-law. About the middle of July she left, provided with all the necessary passports. Now eight months in pregnancy, she travelled with her father-in-law, her children, one servant, and a chamber-maid. At Bourges, on July 13, at the very moment the horses were ready, Baron Didelot, prefect of the Cher, attended by his general secretary, intervened. A police officer, "infallible and intelligent," arrived posthaste from Paris and entered the carriage. "The carriage was searched, all the trunks, boxes and cases were most carefully examined," but no paper was found. Certain informers, all well-meaning people, had announced that the Countess was carrying two hundred and fifty letters. A dozen were found, all very insignificant, in her inkhorn and in her father-in-law's pocketbook. "Mme. Bertrand," wrote the officer, "appeared surprised and affected by this seizure, which circumstances ordained . . . she showed all the more displeasure because, so she said, the King knew her husband had to return to France in the following April."

So she did not mean to sacrifice her life to the King of the Island of Elba, and reckoned that, by means of a year's stay, she would be rid of supervision. Besides, this well-bred woman did not know how to conform herself to what was so necessary in Court life, punctuality. She carried her ignorance of the time to such a length, even for a woman, that at Elba it became irritable to the Emperor who was always displeased at unpunctuality in others. Several times she had to be waited for at table; once she arrived when the Emperor had already taken his seat in the dining-room with his mother and sister. She begged to be excused. "Madame," said the Emperor to her, "It is neither good manners nor polite to keep us waiting." She lived restrictedly, wept a little, and Princess Pauline took away the dogs. But she got a sort of spite out of it, and for so-called health reasons, she refrained from going out and from dining with the Emperor. Moreover, she gave birth in August to a child which died in October through a deplorable mistake of the doctor. All her English family pitied "Poor Mme. Bertrand," so sorrowful at Elba; Lady Jerningham said "She wrote of it to her mother in Paris but, I think, the climate will be good for her." When



The house in Jamestown in which Napoleon spent his first night on St Helena

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on New Year's Day, 1815, she came to offer her best wishes, the Emperor greeted her but formally. Just like her cousin the Empress this creole thought she must die away from Paris. Furthermore, scarcely had the Emperor left Elba than she listened to nothing or nobody. She was instructed to go with Madame Mere and Princess Pauline; she embarked, despite Madame, with her three children, her domestic servants, and several women employed in the House, in charge of a Lord Mialaret, controller of excise (whose daughter was Mme J. Michelet), and who had, so it appeared, undertaken the duty of conducting them to Paris. She approached Antibes, made strong complaints against the prefect, Bouthilier, was transferred to Marseilles where she was locked up in the city gaol, the men being incarcerated in the Chateau d'If. She was only liberated upon the Emperor's orders from Paris

During the Hundred Days, she took up her abode again in her quarters in the Tuileries, but without any spirits or taste for anything: Bertrand was in receipt of such poor information regarding events that, as a precautionary measure, he placed in English stocks all the disposable part of his fortune. It was fortunate for him he did so for it was on this money that they lived for at least two years while at St. Helena.

After Waterloo, she was naturally diligent at Malmaison and appeared to make no objection to a departure of which, even for her husband, she understood the necessity. Her journey from Malmaison to Rochefort, accompanied by Captain Piontkowski who was appointed her "gallant knight," was only conspicuous by certain incidents which proved the loyalty of the nation to its leader. Having arrived at Rochefort, in those public councils which were held in the Emperor's presence and in which each one gave his own opinion, she was the strongest supporter of the project for going to England. Bertrand himself wrote: "I never advised the Emperor to give himself up to England Countess Bertrand, it is true, wanted this and said so" English by birth, she firmly believed in English honour and British hospitality. Had she, the daughter of a French general, not been welcomed by the English as their child? Instead of a refuge it was a prison that England prepared for the man who had put himself under the protection of its flag And what a prison! Mme. Bertrand became deranged. She wrote to the ministers "in an endeavour to prevail upon them to prevent her husband accompanying Bonaparte, asserting that he was only doing it out

of honour and even so with reluctance." The reply came that the Ministry could not be bothered with these details. Then she rushed to the Emperor's cabin, entered without being announced, created a scene with her tears, her despair, and her anger, and when the Emperor replied to her requests that he could not forbid Bertrand to accompany him, she threw herself into the sea. She was saved by Mme. de Montholon who seized her by a leg. But the attempted suicide was not appeased and until the very last moment she remained in a furious rage, using every means, appeals, tears, force to prevent Bertrand doing his duty. This man must have had a very lively sense of honour, a truly magnificent will, to resist in this way the woman he worshipped, but he stood firm. Nevertheless, he made a promise to remain there only one year, and his wife regarded it as settled. "My dear cousin," she wrote to Lord Dillon, "we are leaving for St. Helena; we shall stay there a year and then I shall return to England with my husband and three children . . ." And the general himself wrote: "I have planned to return to England next year; I am writing to Lord Keith to obtain the necessary permission and I beg you to be good enough to second the request which he will make on this subject."

Here was the chief of the Household, the indispensable man, the adorning personage, he who must play the title-role and subdue the staff to his directions. He would be that only temporarily; in twelve months he would leave and thenceforth would have neither plans to make nor responsibilities to fulfil. Between his loyalty to the Emperor, his love for his wife, his weakness for his children, he was ceaselessly tied and misled. He satisfied no one and displeased himself. The more honest he was, the more virtues he displayed, the greater proof of his integrity he gave, the less in evidence was his marital enthusiasm, and Mme. Bertrand found him so much the less attentive as formerly he had been devoted. From the time she left Rochefort she took stock of the absolute isolation in which she was condemned to live and which, for such a woman as she, would be one of the worst possible torments. She was, actually, little disposed to mix with her new acquaintances who did not belong to the society in which she was born and in which she had lived, at least before her marriage; and even after living on intimate terms, because she chose her husband rather than his sphere of society, with his mother, his brother, his nephews and cousins, with the addition of a general's military household, she had mixed little at Court and not at all in

the City. She would never have had occasion to meet M. and Mme. de Montholon otherwise, and these were people with whom it seemed she could never keep company.

* * *

(MONTHOLON).

It was not that Charles Tristan de Montholon was not of ancient stock for, in the 16th century, it had supplied two Keepers of the Seals and had been distinguished in the practice of the law since that time.

In the 18th century, Mathieu de Montholon, councillor of the parliament of Metz, had by Marie Louise Maurin, daughter of an advocate of the Court of Taxes, a son, also christened Mathieu, who entered the service and acquired a company in the Schomberg Dragoons. He married Mlle. de Rostaing, of the Court, whose father was a brigadier-general, and her mother Lur-Saluces before her marriage. By this grand marriage he curried favour at first with the Duc de Penthièvre, with whom he became intimate and through whom he obtained command of the Royal Penthièvre Dragoons. Then he took his departure: he had an arrangement with Monsieur for the post of Master of the Hounds, which he bought from the Comte de Botherel-Quintin; that was a means of elevating him for he lacked the honours of the Court; as Hunt Master to the King's brother, it would enable him to follow the "hunt of His Majesty and to ascend his coaches." There was no question of favour here, and there were no regulations broken. In 1784, Montholon was presented with his titles by his father, which qualified him as a Councillor of honour in the parliament at Metz. He asserted that his family, traced back to the 16th century, was a stem of a family of ancient nobility, the lords of Lee and Monthelon or Montholon in Antunois; but this ancestry appeared weak and no proof was forthcoming; as a compensation, Mathieu de Montholon, the councillor of the parliament at Metz, obtained letters dated October 6, 1787, which gave credence to the noble extraction and authorised the eldest son of Sieur de Montholon in the future to assume the title of Comte de Lee. This place Lee had a British appearance, but there were other Lees in Burgundy (among them a hamlet in the parish of Culètre). Matters were not helped by the consequent confusion which similarity with the English Lee pro-

duced, one instance of which was André, lieutenant-general and holder of the Grand'croix of Saint Louis, who was killed at Saint-Germain in 1734, and another André, lieutenant-colonel of the Bulkeley regiment, who was killed at Paris in 1787. Mathieu de Montholon—Master of the Hounds—who became Marquis de Montholon, died accidentally in 1788, leaving four children: Charles Tristan (Comte de Lee) aged five years; Louis Désiré, who was three, and two daughters: Marie, eleven years old, and Felicité Françoise, eight. His widow was married again, two years later, to M. Huguet de Montaran de Sémonville, who at that time was a parliamentary councillor, but who during his very long life had been concerned in all sorts of political affairs and had succeeded by a ceaselessly active intrigue in holding fast in an amazing fashion to important posts. He interested himself with a paternal devotion to his wife's children, marrying Marie to the Comte de Sparre; Felicité, at first to General Joubert, and then to General Macdonald; and adopting the two boys, the elder of whom, Charles Tristan, had, he said, and here he spoke truly, at five years of age obtained the reversion of the post of Master of the Hounds held by Montholon, the money from it being saved up.

M. Huguet de Sémonville in Parliament assembled advocated the summoning of the States Generals, but he was not elected; he dedicated himself, however, to following its sittings and serving, so it was said, as intermediary in those of the negotiations which the parliamentary administration considered expedient and in which corruption was the chief motive-power. The Court felt the need of retaining the services of so remarkable a man, and M. de Sémonville, sent as minister firstly to Brussels and then to Genoa, each time took his large family with him. At Turin, where he was appointed, his worth was not acknowledged and, by way of compensation, he was appointed by the King ambassador at Constantinople. The Republic maintained this post for him which testified to his ability, and he embarked with all his family on board the national frigate, the *Junon*, which was to convey him to his post. It is known that in order to await information concerning the intentions of Divan, Sémonville put into harbour at Ajaccio, where he played at politics, securing the allegiance of the Bonapartists among the very scattered members of the French Party, who tried to be of use to him when he was denounced on the strength of a compromising document found in the Tuileries. He had then begun a correspondence with Joseph, Napoleon and more especially with the young Lucien who,

when he returned to France, accompanied him as secretary-interpreter, or as delegate of the popular Society of Ajaccio to increase popular feeling in his favour in the political clubs of Toulon and Marseilles. This youth of eighteen who, for his oratorical *début*, had all his family banished, and separated Corsica from France, could not at least be accused of not strenuously serving his patron.

Charles Tristan de Montholon has said that during his stay in Ajaccio he lived with Mme. Bonaparte who was full of kindness towards him, that Napoleon taught him mathematics, and Lucien Latin; but he has said so many things.[1]

Sémonville, once he had managed to vindicate himself and keep his post, could no longer think of resuming office by sea for English cruisers barred the way; he went by way of Geneva whence, through Switzerland, he passed into Tuscany: he had to discharge a duty with the grand-duke like that of Maret at the court of Naples. Both of them and their suites were stopped at Vico-Soprano by Austrian agents and soldiers. Charles Tristan asserted that he was wounded there whilst defending his father-in-law. Three reports exist of this arrest, by Camus, Sémonville and Maret: there is no mention of this wounding of young Montholon.

Mme. de Sémonville, with her children and the wife of the secretary of the embassy, was left at liberty. She returned to Paris where Napoleon found her two years later; he wrote to Joseph on August 9, 1795: "Yesterday I saw Mme. de Sémonville whose husband must be exchanged for young Capet. She is always the same and her two very ugly daughters, but the young one is quite vivacious." Charles Tristan never failed to take advantage of any likely support: at the age of sixteen, on October 7, 1799, he was appointed sub-officer in the engineers by General Championnet, commander-in-chief of the Army of Italy. On March 18, 1800, he was established in the post of second-class assistant, and on May 31 promoted lieutenant and attached as aide-de-camp to chief commander Augereau, by whom a year later, on November 3, 1801, he was ranked captain. It has been said that, when attached to the army in Germany, he conducted the Hohenlinden campaign and that for his good conduct he was rewarded with a sword of honour. But

[1] Among others that at the age of 9 he was a cadet; that he took part in the expedition to Sardinia, that he had been seriously wounded and forthwith brought to Madame Bonaparte's house where he was attended for several months with maternal care. But Sémonville left for Toulon at the end of March immediately after the Sardinian expedition.

there is no corroboration of this. On the contrary, at the end of the year IX (1801) his military reputation faded. He was discharged, with salary, on December 22, and attached to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on August 2, 1802 (perhaps in Denmark with Macdonald). He returned to the army on December 30 as aide-de-camp to General Klein from whom on May 12, 1803, he returned to Macdonald. In view of such services he clearly deserved to be promoted, and that is why his father-in-law Sémonville claimed for him from the Minister for War on November 18, 1804 the rank of lieutenant-colonel and a post with the 4th regiment of dragoons. "The regiment with which my son has had the honour to serve has urged him to maintain some interest in it and to beg the reality of seeing him hold this rank." Berthier, for long past associated with Sémonville, suggested Montholon to the Emperor, recommending him in his own name and in that of "M. Maret, Minister and Secretary of State, who takes a particular interest in the promotion of this officer and in the family with which he is intimately acquainted." Berthier forgot none of the titles which could be of any value to the Sémonvilles with the object of influencing the Emperor, but the latter replied in the margin: "This officer has not fulfilled the necessary period of service." Montholon, yesterday so anxious to resume regimental rank, "circumstances had rendered vacant several posts of staff-officer," cared only for that of lieutenant-colonel, so he therefore remained on the staff with nothing to do. On September 11, 1805, he left General Macdonald and obtained a six months' furlough to serve on the general staff of the Grand Army; within a week he secured a definite post, which was materially due to Berthier. He thereupon expressed a doubly inaccurate fact when he wrote: "The Emperor only recognised Montholon on the battle field of Austerlitz. In the evening he said to Berthier: 'I have seen an infantry officer who, without doubt, is the Montholon I knew at Ajaccio. Have him looked out and take him as aide-de-camp.'" Now, it was only on September 6, 1807, that he became one of the Prince de Neufchâtel's aides-de-camp, at the time when his presence on the general staff had already secured him the star of the Legion on March 14, 1806, and the rank of commander of a squadron on January 9, 1807. Whether he had done duty with the 15th Infantry Regiment, of which he had been ranked commander, appears doubtful, but he was none the less on the road to obtaining the realisation of all his ambitions. In the single year 1809 he was

promoted adjutant-commander on May 13—the rank of colonel; on May 28, by letters-patent of that date, he was appointed Comte de Sémonville upon the transfer of the title from his father-in-law; on August 15 he received an endowment of 4,000 francs upon property in Hanover on estate extraordinary; on December 21 he was one in the great appointment of chamberlains. Here are the terms upon which, after enumerating his titles, he set his candidature: "The disordered state of his health, consequent upon the hardships of war, would not permit him to continue active service, and he begged the honour of being attached to the household of Her Majesty the Empress who honoured him with her patronage."

That seemed necessarily to put a stop to his military career. Actually he said that at Jena he was wounded while charging with Auguste Colbert: his records of service do not mention it. The Marquis de Colbert who complied—with what passion!—the "Traditions and Memoirs" of his father, knows nothing of it. He said that at Heilsberg he saved several battalions of the Savary division from total destruction—there never was a Savary division; there was the brigade of fusileers of the Guard, of which Savary, aide-de-camp to the Emperor, had just received the command, and Savary in his "Memoirs" nowhere makes the slightest allusion to Montholon. Again, at Eckmühl, he charged at the head of the Wurtemberg cavalry; at Madrid, at the head of the Marines of the Guard, he recaptured the arsenal for which he was made Baron of the Empire with an endowment of 5,000 francs, and Officer of the Legion; at Wagram, he so distinguished himself that the Emperor created him Count of the Empire and appointed him a chamberlain. None of these assertions can be corroborated either by official documents or even by a witness, while most of them are categorically denied. Montholon had, thanks to his father-in-law, enjoyed unusually rapid promotion, but none of his ranks was conferred on the field of battle, none had been the reward of any brilliant achievements.

If this 26-year old adjutant-commander had behind him so magnificent a past, it is doubtful if he would have sacrificed the future for the post of chamberlain. It is true that he received the title of Count thanks to a majority Sémonville had established in his favour; it is true that thanks to the interest of the Empress Josephine he was created a chamberlain, but all the other assertions, all without exception, are refuted by official documents.

During 1810 and 1811 he performed certain services as chamberlain, but he was not employed as such or conspicuous on the great occasions; he was merely attached to the uncle of the new Empress, the former Grand-Duke of Tuscany who, thanks to Napoleon, became Grand-Duke of Wurzburg and a member of the Confederation of the Rhine. Was it not that which, thanks to Sémonville's influence, gained him the post of plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary with an annual salary of 40,000 francs? He thus became one of a batch of politicians whom the Emperor engaged on January 20, 1812, and who, from one day to the next, found they had acquired the education, obedience, loyalty and integrity indispensable to the duties of commander-in-chief.

There were at that time in Paris two fashionable and stylish sisters who had married two brothers. They were rich by birth and marriage; their grandfather, Jean Le Vassal or Vassal, receiver-general in Languedoc, had been ennobled with a post of royal secretary, and had married his children very well, the daughter to Séguier, attorney-general to the Paris parliament; the son, Jea André, to one of the Pas of Beaulieu. Their children were these tw beauties, Jeanne Suzanne Lydie and Albine Hélène. They marrie the two brothers Roger, Genevese financiers in business in Pari who were connected with all the large scale and spectacular affair to such an extent that they were both in each other's debt, Danie who married the younger of the Vassal sisters, and Salomon Loui who married the elder, and were due to receive on February 10 1809 and May 17, 1810 from baronial estates the sums of 8,400 and 13,000 francs. Salomon Louis had two sons who married in due course one Mlle. Thuret, the other Mlle. Le Roux, widow of M. Regnier, Marquis de Massa; Daniel had only one son who after the Restoration was called Comte Roger (du Nord) and who played an indifferent part in the world of politics. At the beginning of 1809, under circumstances upon which we cannot dwell, Daniel Roger was obliged to request a divorce from his wife who did not seem at that time to know Montholon; on April 26 he obtained the separation. Later, following an incident in the divorce during which Mme. Roger became intimate with Montholon and both agreed to get married as soon as the decree was pronounced, Mme. Roger appeared to have rented, in January 1812, a room at Draveil, a village in the district of Corbeil, in order to acquire the domicile required by the *Code Napoléon*. The divorce was granted on May

26 and the banns immediately published in the mayor's office where Montholon was as unknown as Mme Albine Hélene Vassal Montholon left his post at Wurzburg without leave, arrived in Paris, took with him four obscure witnesses and with them and his future wife went to Draveil where on the same day, July 2, the mayor, either kindly disposed or under threat, solemnly married these two strangers He requested to see neither the Emperor's authority nor the decrees establishing the date of Mme Roger's divorce He was satisfied with introducing into the marriage lines these facts supplied by Montholon, concerning himself "his mother displayed no opposition", concerning Mme Roger "divorced by a decree pronounced by the Court of the Seine on April 26, 1809" And, furthermore, he invited the married couple to breakfast, immediately after which they returned with their witnesses to Paris

This breakfast and the ceremony which preceded it proved costly to Louis Beaupied, the Mayor of Draveil, but this double condemnation did not annul the results of the marriage "It was the duty of Mme de Sémonville to contest its validity," wrote the Lord Chief Justice, "if she thought she had sufficient reasons to ensure its nullity" But if he was married, Montholon was no longer chamberlain and he received instructions immediately to discontinue the performance of his duty at Wurzburg "His Majesty," wrote the Minister of Foreign Relations, "considers the marriage which you have contracted to be incompatible with the honourable duties with which he has condescended to entrust you"

All this dragged along The Emperor was in Russia and Montholon had taken advantage of his absence, but from his headquarters Napoleon ruled the Empire and he himself decreed in cases of this import Nevertheless, letters had to pass to and fro The dismissal was not pronounced until October 8, Montholon did not have his parting audience until October 31, proceedings against the Mayor of Draveil were not instituted until December 4

In one of the biographies dedicated to him, Montholon attributed "his dismissal to a memorandum which he sent to the Emperor concerning the internal condition of Germany and on the resolutions of the confederated princes" Further, he wrote "In 1812 a statement which certain fanatical priests most improperly imputed to Savary, provoked the anger of the Emperor His disgrace was complete."

It then appears that in a very short while Montholon spent

not only the fortune which he had inherited from his father, but also that which Mme. Roger had settled on him. All his life he excelled in the art of getting into debt, an art in which no one could compare with him and which appeared to him so commonplace. In the same year 1812 he became the father of a son whom he named Charles François Napoléon Tristan. This premature birth served to make his position in Paris a difficult one, for here his family and society showed themselves as indifferent as the Court towards his wife. He sought shelter at Changy, near Nogent-sur-Vernisson, where he lived in enforced seclusion.

If he was no longer a statesman or a chamberlain, Montholon always considered himself adjutant-commander on the active list. After the Russian campaign, an appeal was made to all officers not on service and at the beginning of April 1813 he was appointed to return to Metz there to carry out the duties of chief of staff of the second division of light cavalry. "It is with the sincerest regret," he replied to the Minister, "that I am obliged to inform Your Excellency that as a result of my wounds, that among others of an injury to my left side, I am quite incapable of mounting a horse without suffering dreadful hæmorrhage." This wound was not incurred in the discharge of duty and was doubtless the result of an accidental fall, but it was authenticated and Montholon was replaced in his office. In September it was decided to send him as chief of staff to Prince D'Essling who was in command at Toulon—essentially a sedentary post—but he evaded the appointment; on December 4 he was informed that he had been appointed under the command of General Decaën, commander-in-chief in the Low Countries, with headquarters at Gorkum, to which he replied that he would report there immediately "if his illness allowed him. should have left without delay," he wrote on December 9, "if I h not been prevented by fever." The minister in a reply whi showed irritation dated January 7, 1814, requested General Huli commanding the first military division, to look out for Montholc wherever he might be and inform him formally to rejoin the fir army corps. On January 22 he was discovered in Paris and tried t shield behind a medical certificate which stated that at the momer he was unfit for active service, but, at the same time, he begged th command of a province "happy if, in this office, he could find th opportunity of proving his boundless loyalty to His Majesty." Onl on March 3 did he receive notice that the Emperor entrusted to hin

the command of the Loire district and that the general commanding the 19th division would send him directions concerning his duties. Hulin, in accordance with his orders, had Montholon called up and the latter promised to leave immediately. Actually he went to Montbrison the prefect of which, Rambuteau, had recently arrived from the *département du Simplon* where he had played so distinguished a part in organising the defence, forming squadrons and provisional battalions in the seven encampments of the regiments sheltering in his district, and thus creating the nucleus of the little army of which Montholon took command about March 10 or 12. There were there four to five thousand men marching badly, insufficiently armed and lacking military instruction. The battalions formed by the prefect of workers from the iron-works were more dependable, but the National Guard went on strike and deserted in emulation of one another. Montholon's duty was to support Marshal Duc de Castiglione and towards this end he was carried towards Franche-Comté, although Rambuteau had desired him to march on the right bank of the Saône. Forced to retreat towards Lyon and Roanne, he was anticipated at Roanne by the prefect who concentrated the entire National Guard at Rive-de-Gier, and altered the capital of the district to Saint-Bonnet-le-Chateau among the mountains. Thither he sent his wife and his children who accompanied Mme. de Montholon. Montholon left his troops and joined them there. From Saint-Bonnet on March 24 he announced the occupation of Saint-Étienne by the Austrians and his retreat to the mountains "to complete the organisation of the weak corps he had mobilised, and to retain all the means of harassing the enemy without cessation while defending all the positions foot by foot and supplying with bodies of men all points which were found to be ungarrisoned."

The so-called regular forces and the National Guard did not therefore facilitate the commander's task; "while waiting for the general to fight, 570 men deserted over to 1,000 or eleven hundred"; on the contrary, irregulars, peasants, canton troops showed energy and enthusiasm which deserved a better fate. Before the arrival of Montholon on March 5, Damas, leader of the 19th military division of irregular troops, destroyed an Austrian reconnoitring party at Saint-Bois; later, with the 2,000 men he had mustered, he prepared to march from Montbrison upon Saint-Étienne, and after Montholon abandoned Montbrison he proved it could be held by re-taking it in a few hours; on March 30, the canton forces successfully

defended Roanne in face of Austrian cavalry; on April 3, the irregulars repulsed the enemy at Feurs and demolished the pontoon bridge just constructed. Montholon took no part in all this, he had not budged from Saint-Bonnet.

On April 2, General Poncet, commanding the division, sent him word immediately to vacate this position in order to approach the Loire in the direction of Feurs and prevent the crossing of the river. The irregulars had done this, but their success could not deter the Allies who were determined to crush the opposition of the people. By means of considerable reinforcements sent to the Prince de Cobourg, the Austrians who had left Saint-Étienne and crossed the Loire near Saint-Rambert, took Montbrison on the 10th; another of their columns threatened Roanne which fell the same day. Montholon had already quitted his district and retired towards Puy-de-Dôme. On the 9th, upon leaving the 19th division, he desired the paymaster at Noirétable to pay him "the sum of 2,000 francs credited to him for the first three months of 1814 as his salary, in addition to that for the month of December 1813 last." On the 14th at Clermont-Ferrand he pilfered 5,970 francs from the treasury of the divisional paymaster-general "to be used as pay for the troops he commanded, the hourly expectation of the arrival of the enemy not being conducive to regular wages." These two matters necessarily had their sequels.

What was his next move? He got one of his biographers to write: "*General* Montholon no longer having any leader from whom to take orders, handed over his command to Colonel Genty of the 5th Light Horse, and immediately returned to the Emperor at Fontainebleau . . . He implored the Emperor to allow him to go off to the mountains of Tarare, after which *General* Montholon, with about 8,000 men from the Loire district, would have led the Emperor to the 24,000 gallant soldiers whom the treachery of Augereau had held fast at Valence and who, in turn, with Napoleon at their head, would easily have linked up with the army of Eugène, Soult, Suchet, etc. . . . The Emperor ruminated for a long time, and hesitated. Embracing him he said: 'Stay in France, maintain your loyalty towards me, and do not leave here unless the foreign commissioners see you.' *General* Montholon obeyed: he went to Paris, placed his command in the hands of the War Minister, and did not serve the Bourbons."

Actually on April 16, Montholon from his headquarters sent his troops a proclamation which read: "My men . . . on all

sides the air resounds with cries of 'Long live Louis XVIII,' and the abdication of Emperor Napoleon is demanded by the Senate in accordance with the constitution you have sworn to obey The silence of the ministers induces me to return to Paris "

Perhaps if what he said in a letter to the Emperor dated June 6, 1815, *had* occurred at Fontainebleau, the Emperor in making a favourable note of it, would doubtless have appreciated its truthfulness "On April 21, 1814," he wrote, "eighteen days after the betrayal of the Army of Lyon in which I served, I was at Fontainebleau to offer Your Majesty the brigade which I was commanding and which I had preserved loyal to you in the midst of a rebel army and a revolutionary people I did not then fear the peril in which my opposition to the orders of *Marshal* Augereau involved me, the bribery of the Marquis de Rivière and the pertinacity of my family Being wholly devoted to Your Majesty, I have sacrificed all for it"

It must have been a slip of the pen when he wrote *April 21* In a letter dated the 20th from Paris, Hotel de Bretagne, rue de Richelieu, addressed to Colonel Genty and signed Marquis de Montholon he said "Make Louis XVIII recognised as King of France and Navarre Emperor Napoleon told me at Fontainebleau on the 18th that he had abdicated and pledged himself faithfully to serve the King" As to the plan which perhaps he was not alone in originating, *if he had conceived it*, it had been so divulged that, according to royalist writers, Augereau, in agreement with the Austrian generals, took the necessary steps to quash it Although it might be of this attempt on the same date April 20, "Count Montholon, commander of the Loire district," made another attempt, proved to be the former, with Count Dupont, commissioner of the War Department for King Louis XVIII "I have the honour," he wrote, "to disclose to Your Excellency that, labouring in disgrace for eighteen months under the government following a report from General Savary, my military promotion has been utterly impeded and that I have already been an adjutant-commander for six years Allow me, my Lord, of your goodness to beg the rank of brigadier-general I will serve the King as faithfully as my ancestors served Henry II and Francis I" On the 25th, by a letter signed Marquis de Montholon, he requested Saône-et-Loire instead of the Loire in the command of which he was retained; from April till July, thirty-six major-generals were appointed by the King, but the Marquis de Montholon did not figure in the lists

From Paris, where he preferred to live, he wrote to Louis XVIII on July 31 a letter which must be quoted in full: "Sire, I received Your Majesty's august favours before it was possible for me to appreciate them: I was not six years old when Your Majesty was pleased by a special favour to confer on me, upon the entreaty of the Princesse de Lamballe to whom I had the honour of being related, the post of Master of the Hounds, previously occupied by my father and which has been abolished over my head. Sire, having reached the age of sixteen, deprived of my fortune and my prince, I endeavoured to make myself at least worthy of the honour received at your hands.

"Your Majesty has just ordered the demobilisation of the royal armies.

"I have served my country well. Thirteen campaigns, ten important battles in which I participated, three wounds, several horses killed under me, all my titles obtained in the army, such titles I have the honour to lay at Your Majesty's feet. I beg him to aquaint himself through his War Minister of my services, and to allow me to shed every drop of my blood for him in the rank of major-general which to-day is filled by my juniors." It was signed: "Colonel Marquis de Montholon, son-in-law of the Comte de Sémonville, *grand référendaire* to the Chamber of Peers."

He was appointed major-general and his warrant, signed by the King and countersigned by the War Minister, was dated August 24, 1814.

If the King did not restore him to the position of Master of the Hounds at least he returned him his decorations and added access to his room, which appeared a singular favour and a step to greater distinction, but at this very moment the Clermont affair appeared, the commandeering of the paymaster-general's treasury without any justification being produced for the use of the funds. Superseded in his command, Montholon mildly begged to be restored or to receive his service pay in Paris (October 24). " My long and loyal service," he wrote, " the rank which I held at Court, that of my family, gives me hope, my Lord, that you will not hesitate to accede to my request." But the charges increased and became specific. Augereau, whom Montholon asserted was hostile to him, intervened: he only concerned himself with the Council of War. " General Montholon was preparing his defence," wrote one of his official biographers, " when the Comte d'Artois, struck no doubt by the memory of the

familiar name at the old Court, sent the Marquis de Champagne to look for him and requested him to explain the circumstances which had given rise to the denunciation of which he was the victim. Unhesitatingly, General Montholon replied: his reply, forcible and decisive, fully justified him. The Comte d'Artois commanded the cessation of proceedings . . . General Montholon withdrew to his estates."

These assertions were, as always, inaccurate. General Dupont having postponed his decision on the entreaties made by Montholon, the latter renewed them on December 6 to his successor, Marshal Soult, asserting that the minister " had acknowledged the validity of his request and had even assured him that he was going to restore him to active service in Paris." At which he begged to be employed in the government of Paris. His request was vigorously seconded by his step-brothers, Marshal Macdonald and the Comte de Sparre. Soult did not allow himself to be influenced and went his way. On January 11, 1815, Marquis de Montholon, realising that he need not expect a command, requested at least some compensation. " I beg," he wrote, " through the justice of Your Excellency, the decoration of Commander of the Legion of Honour. I presume to hope you will deign not to refuse it in view of my long service and especially of my long-standing rank of officer of the Legion of Honour." Officer? Montholon was listed as a member of the Legion of Honour in his records of service dated March 14, 1806; he took that rank of member of the legion in his marriage certificate in 1812; he is ranked as an ordinary *légionnaire* in all the lists prior to 1814; I fear everyone was deceived—himself included.

He was without the insignia of the Legion as well as a district; he was advised not to appear at Court; he was excluded from everything, quarantined as it were, and particularly humbled. This was why he disappeared and went to live in the country with his wife who, pregnant with monotonous regularity, was on November 28, 1814, delivered of a second son, Charles François Frédéric.

Upon the arrival of the Emperor, he compromised himself by a desperate action; he went on ahead of him, so it is said, and rejoined him in the forest of Fontainebleau, gave him his reports on the events which had taken place in Paris and on the order of the reassembled forces at Villejuif, assumed command of the regiments and rejoined them: the 4th and 6th Lancers, the 1st and 6th Infantry. He then went a step further, but in the meantime he wrote:

" Since the return of Your Majesty to France, right up to your arrival in Paris, I have sought an opportunity of serving you, and on March 20 I marched at the head of your escort." That appeared possible. Nevertheless, his name appeared in none of the lists drawn up by Drouot of officers who rejoined the Emperor upon his landing or spent the night of March 20-21 at the Tuileries.

From this day upon which, if we believe him, he so distinguished himself, until June 2, Montholon kept silent; did he think he would be included in a supplementary list of chamberlains which only appeared on June 1, and among whom he did not appear? Perhaps he did. It is difficult to say. On June 2, in a letter to Prince d'Eckmühl, the War Minister, he requested his restoration to active service and his establishment in the rank of major-general. " I have made no other request for reinstatement," he said, " and I am restricted to requesting duty." On June 5 he wrote to the Emperor himself; he recalled what he came to tell him at Fontainebléau on *April* 21 of the past year and on March 20 of the current year: " Sire," he wrote, " Your Majesty will judge whether, of all his servants still in France, any have made themselves more worthy of your thanks than I by my ceaseless devotion, and whether I may be allowed to lay at your feet the injured feelings caused me by the preference given to several of my companions whose conduct was opposed to mine.

" Sire, by the loyalty of which I have given proof, I could rightly hope to be appointed to a military post with your Majesty; by my name, the highest in the French magistracy, I could hope for the right of a seat in the Chamber of Peers. I do not claim at Your Majesty's hands that which I should have been doubly happy to owe to your goodness, but I beg you to grant me active service and an honourable status."

The Emperor sent this letter on to his aide-de-camp, General Flahault, who was, besides, the recipient from the War Minister of a report dated the 4th on Montholon's petition of the 2nd. On the same day, the 5th, without any inquiry, Montholon was appointed—or reappointed—to the rank of major-general he had received from Louis XVIII. He said he was set apart to command a *Young Guard* brigade; he said he received the command of a division of two regiments of marines and two of rifles; he said that on June 15 he was appointed aide-de-camp to the Emperor and general of a division —all after being major-general for ten days; all that was false.

Montholon was not employed in a military sense during the Hundred Days, on the return from Waterloo, although he had not been appointed a chamberlain, he performed duties as such, attired in a scarlet coat, he showed diligence and loyalty and took a delight in asserting that he would accompany the Emperor wherever he went. He was now in a dreadful mess; overwhelmed with favours by the Bourbons, he had rejoined the Emperor and was in close attendance upon him; he could then say, perhaps even believe, that he would be banished; socially he was in a most difficult position, hard up, at variance with his family, an outcast from Court and even from the City. By accompanying the Emperor, by following him with his wife and the elder of his sons, he had everything to gain and nothing to lose, even in the hypothesis which he had not up till then considered, that of the combinations which would constantly give birth to theories about imaginary fortunes.

Such was the man destined to play the all important rôle for Napoleon and to make himself master in the Emperor's house. None of the past is comprehensible if we do not examine a character who enlightens us better regarding the succession of events after 1821 in which hitherto he took a badly affected part. But the reported traits are enough to enable us to form at least some opinion of Montholon.

It is more difficult to be certain about Mme. de Montholon, she was stylish, intriguing, dexterous, an expert at praising and always prepared; she was determined to keep her condition blameless and to shun anyone who opposed the aspirations of her mode of life which was obvious at a first meeting, but added to these traits was incredible endurance, contempt for luxury, a creditable punctuality, an evenness of temper which allowed her to tolerate rebuffs without shrinking, and almost always to wear a happy expression, all of which no one would question.

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(Gourgaud)

To be a match for the Montholon family extreme pliancy, imperturbable coolness, and a refined education were necessary; General Gourgaud possessed none of these qualities. Born of a family which at the time was identified with the [illegible] of theatres and the domest[illegible] of the royal household, he was [illegible]

to very nearly all those Gourgauds who under the common pseudonym of Dugazon appeared before the French at the Opéra and the Opéra Comique and so made their mark that their name became a byword. His grandfather, Pierre Antoine, after making an unsuccessful debut at the Comédie, roamed about the provinces following different callings, even that of hospital director to the army of Italy. By Marie Catherine Dumay who also had played in comedy particularly at the Strasbourg theatre, he had at least four children three of whom went on the stage: Jean Baptiste Henri Gourgaud, called Dugazon, one of the premier comedians in France, who married Louise Rosalie Lefèvre of the Comédie Italienne, the renowned Mme. Dugazon; Marianne du Gazon, who made her début in 1768 at the Comédie as a soubrette; Marie Rose Gourgaud-Dugazon who, after marrying Paco-Vestris of the Comédie Italienne, brother of Vestris I the famous dancer of the Opéra, obtained on December 14, 1768, under the name of Mme. Vestris, a début at the Comédie where in 1769 she took the premier tragic and comic roles. The fourth child of Pierre Antoine Gourgaud, Étienne Marie, did not go on the boards; he studied music with some success, received one of the fourteen violins from the King with £1,500 in salary and £500 as a gift, to which was added the post of *musicien ordinaire* at the *Chapelle*. This Étienne Marie married Hélène Gérard whose entire family was in the royal service and who herself was one of the nurses of the Duc de Berry. Of this marriage was born, on November 14, 1783, Gaspard Gourgaud, and then a daughter who became Mme. Tiran. It has been said that Gourgaud was the foster-brother of the Prince: with five years between them! Was he known before the Revolution? Very little. He was five and a half in the July of 1789 when the Princes, sons of the Comte d'Artois, until then confined far from Court under the exclusive guardianship of the Duc de Sérent, their governor, accompanied their father when he emigrated. It was said that Gaspard was at first destined to be an artist and that he had even spent some time in Regnault's studio. At what age? At sixteen, on September 23, 1799, he was admitted to the Polytechnic School which was then a stepping-stone to everything—or nothing. He turned his attention to things military, entered the Artillery School at Châlons on October 22, 1801, and left it on September 23, 1802, a second-lieutenant in the 7th Artillery. He was a brilliant pupil and had marked mathematical qualities; so three months after leaving Châlons, on

January 4, 1803, he was appointed to the School at Metz as a demonstrator in fortifications. With the 6th Artillery he spent eight months in the rank of lieutenant, and served as aide-de-camp to General Foucher (de Careil) when the latter gave up the command at Metz to assume the second in command of the Artillery at Saint-Omer. Gourgaud was with this general in the German campaigns, was wounded at Austerlitz and received the star of the Legion after Pultusk. Second-captain on August 30, 1808, he returned on *September 22 to the 6th Artillery*, and was at the *siege of Saragossa*. Thenceforward he turned his eyes to the post of orderly-officer, but what chance had he of attaining it? "All the posts as orderly-officers have been filled, as well as supernumeraries," wrote a companion from Madrid, himself an orderly-officer. "The way to attain your end would be to become aide-de-camp to one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp, if there is anyone to whom you can be strongly recommended." Gourgaud then began negotiations with General Lacoste, aide-de-camp to the Emperor, who commanded the artillery before Saragossa. But Lacoste was mortally wounded on February 1, 1809, and the second-in-command (Gourgaud) went campaigning in Austria without finding any opportunity of distinguishing himself. Scarcely had peace been signed when he wrote *asking to return to Spain where General Foucher wanted him*; he was so certain on this issue that he did not await a reply and departed with his arms and baggage. At Bayonne he found an order to return to Germany. He offered as an excuse his excessive zeal and the expenses he had incurred. "I presume to beg Your Excellency," he wrote, "to be so good as to excuse my return to this latter army and to allow me to become acquainted with the manufacture of arms by working in one of these factories . . . I throw myself upon Your Excellency's mercy," *he said again*, "*to beseech* you to overlook my wrongs and to allow me my expenses." General Gassendi, to whom the matter was referred, wrote in the margin: "M. Gourgaud has obeyed, acknowledged his error, is young and a good officer: consequently he has some claim upon the forbearance of the minister . . ." And he suggested employment in the Versailles factory. He was appointed on February 24, 1810, and from there he threw all his patrons into a whirl. He thus became associated with M. de Nansouty, first equerry, who, in the absence of the Grand Equerry, directed the duties of the orderly-officers; in August, he was added to the roll. It was Heaven

opened. "But," replied the Grand Marshal to a minister who was importuning him on Gourgaud's behalf, "up to the present His Majesty has refused to make any nomination and has adjourned the matter indefinitely." This postponement was all the more serious from Gourgaud's point of view for at that moment he was anticipating an unlooked-for marriage. If we are to believe his own father she whom he so earnestly sought was neither young nor handsome, but she had money, was destined for still more, and was the daughter of one of the most renowned personages of the Empire, Senator Comte Roederer. It is true that Mme. Roederer, née Guaita, had been divorced and had remarried—to General Poissonnier-Desperrières. Mlle. Marthe Roederer lived with her mother, and if the latter appeared well-disposed, the Senator, upon whom everything depended, did not appear the least inclined to give his consent. But Gourgaud might overcome that reluctance if he presented himself as one of His Majesty's orderly-officers? He was appointed on July 3, 1811, at the same time as Christin, Taintignies, Galz-Malvirade, and Lauriston. The proposal referring to him was couched in the most flattering terms: "Is educated and capable, has fought well, is able to perceive keenly and to give a good account of what he sees; fully knows how to plan; speaks Spanish and German."

The neat blue uniform with its silver trappings becoming as it was, was still no reason for presuming anything relative to M. Roederer. "No one can tell me," he wrote, "who is the father, mother, brothers and sisters of this young man, he is only a captain; it is true he has just been appointed one of the Emperor's orderly-officers which will make him lieutenant-colonel in a year or two, but even then what is his financial position?"

Even when all Paris spoke of Gourgaud's exploit at Givet in arranging the crossing of Their Majesties on a floating bridge when floods had carried away the proper bridge, Roederer did not yield: he gave his consent, but not his approval. Nevertheless, on January 1, 1812, "*le chevalier Gourgaud*, orderly-officer," received an endowment of 2,000 francs. That was at least a start.

During the Russian campaigns, he sought and found opportunities for making himself conspicuous. Slightly wounded at Smolensk on August 16, he was the first to enter the Kremlin and discovered the mine: this caused his creation as Baron of the Empire on October 3, actually at the same time as Mortemart, d'Hautpoul and Christin, his companions; but he thought there was no one but he; his

energy was thus doubled; he was one of those who, after Jacqueminot, swam the Berezina before the erection of bridges to survey the opposite banks He effected this for everything fell before him On November 30, in an encampment near His Majesty's, did he not find Colonel Roederer—elder son of the Senator—wounded by a shot "which had penetrated his lips levelling his teeth to his gums?" He took him to Ivan, the Emperor's surgeon, had the wound dressed and did not leave him until he reached Wilna Upon his arrival in Paris, he believed himself authorised to bear the news to the Senator who received him politely, but all the same did not give way He then appeared for the time being to abandon his suit and to devote himself to his improvement On March 27, 1813, he was promoted lieutenant-colonel in the mounted artillery, in accordance with the rules, he had now to leave the Emperor's staff, but he had done his duty, he never shirked work, he knew how to beg Actually he had no special duties, it was agreed to create some for him On March 27, the Emperor issued this decree "There is to be with us a chief orderly-officer with the rank of lieutenant-colonel His function will be to arrange the duties of our orderly-officers, to sign their instructions and to communicate with them regarding the missions they are to discharge" The same day he nominated Lieutenant-Colonel Gourgaud to the duties of chief orderly-officer

This was an invaluable favour yet one which was not destined to win the new commander any friends "The chief orderly-officer had, in the course of duty, access to the inner council of the Emperor, he took his place at table with the Cabinet secretaries, had apartments in the palaces; he accompanied the Emperor on his travels," and became an officer of the household with all the privileges peculiar to that office, and what is more—chief access His salary, fixed at 12,000 francs from the privy purse, was more than doubled by gratuities and accumulated with the salary of his rank in the Guard On June 20, when the other orderly-officers received endowments of 1,000 and 2,000 francs, he received one of 4,000 upon the personal instigation of the Emperor; on August 30, after Dresden, he received the golden eagle, but still continued to strive for more Truth to tell one is loath to admit all his stories for he was the only one to vouch for them and certain of them were strongly disputed For instance, he related that on January 29, 1814, on the eve of the battle of Brienne, he killed with a pistol shot a Cossack who was on the point

of running the Emperor through with a lance; he even had the account of this noble deed engraved on the blade of his sword. Napoleon, when this was brought to his notice, denied the fact in a very forcible manner, in the presence of Gourgaud who could neither prove it nor excuse himself, but none the less had it afterwards recorded in his records of service. On February 11, he was wounded at the battle of Montmirail, slightly no doubt for on March 8 he is said to have led a successful expedition with two battalions and three squadrons of the Old Guard above Chivy and Laon. These various feats of arms brought him on March 15 the rank of colonel of the Horse Artillery and on the 23rd the title of Commander of the Legion.

On April 14, at Fontainebleau, the Emperor dismissed him with a gratuity of 50,000 francs which he never received. He wrote to him: "I have been quite satisfied with your conduct and your discharge of duty. You will bear out the good opinion I have formed of you by serving the new sovereign of France as faithfully and as disinterestedly as you have served me."

It is said "that he should have left with the Emperor for Elba... but that, on the eve of the departure, he begged permission to go and bid farewell to his old mother; he went and did not return." His position was a difficult one; his mother and his sister were without money; he himself had nothing: what of his endowments of 6,000 francs, his salary of 12,000, his gratuities? Even his rank? That he hesitated is understandable; it is less comprehensible that, requesting office, he showed himself "extremely dissatisfied" with the Bourbons. He nevertheless sought the protection of the Duc de Berry who, at different times, intervened and saved him from the consequences of his tongue. On July 10, he was restored Colonel in the Artillery; he was decorated with the Cross of Saint-Louis, which was not a favour; but what was one was his nomination on November 1 as chief of staff of the 1st military division at Paris. On March 20, 1815, when his companions, orderly-officers of the Emperor, went to look for him to go in a body to Fontainebleau ahead of the Master, he learned from General Evain that he had been appointed to the staff of the royal army. He was then taken ill, which simplified matters. The next day the Emperor, having returned to the Tuileries, found him in the secretarial room decked out as an orderly-officer. He refused to receive him, "but this did not stop Gourgaud, whether or not he liked it, establishing himself

in a little attic room in the Castle. He stayed there eight days without attaining his end . . . He raved, he wept, and swore every day to blow out his brains if the Emperor did not want to receive him." Finally on April 3, the Emperor was moved ; he forgave him and immediately confirmed him in the rank of colonel and in the duties of chief orderly-officer. Gourgaud then went on the Belgian campaign with Napoleon ; he returned with him on June 20 to Paris. On the 21st, by a decree issued *in extremis*, sent on the 26th to the War Minister who informed the party concerned on the 29th, he was appointed marshal. The date was not certain : Bertrand later gave it as the 22nd, but on that day the Emperor abdicated ; doubtless care had been taken to antedate the decree.

Gourgaud accompanied the Emperor to Malmaison, then to Rochefort, and was one of his strongest advisers that he should give himself up to the English. He was despatched as imperial bearer of the letter addressed to the Prince Regent and returned on the *Bellerophon* bearing, with the sealed letter, the first deceptions and the announcement of the deportation. He certainly realised that he might be, or must be, banished from Paris ; in any case, his career seemed ruined and he scarcely even hoped to share the Emperor's lot.

The English allowed the Emperor only three officers, Bertrand, grand officer of the Crown and divisional-general, being rightfully master of the household. Further, his name was on the lists of outlaws and his safety was dependent upon his departure. Montholon could assert that this was his fate, too : chamberlain, diplomat, general, he lent himself to any duty : he had offered himself and had been accepted ; he moreover became obtrusive as he exerted himself on behalf of his wife who from now onwards took first place even over Mme. Bertrand, and surpassed herself in making herself pleasant. But Gourgaud ? For all the duties which neither the Grand Marshal nor the General chamberlain could perform a subordinate officer was appointed and, among the faithful few who accompanied him, the Emperor selected Planat, whose sagacity, energy and willingness he estimated highly. He then included him in the roll submitted to the English on the morning of August 7. But Planat was not aboard the *Bellerophon* ; by Admiral Lord Keith's orders he had been transferred first to the *Liffey* and then to the *Eurotas* ; he could not be immediately informed of the decision taken regarding him. Gourgaud, who was on the *Bellerophon*,

heard of his exclusion directly and flew into a towering rage; he used every means, threats and prayers to prevail upon Bertrand to induce the Emperor to change his decision, and was finally listed on the roll of officers who were to go.

That was a great misfortune: between Montholon and Planat no rivalry existed, and if Planat, as in due time was confirmed, was suspicious and sullen, loyalty mollified him and he overlooked annoyances. Gourgaud, general, was necessarily in constant opposition to Montholon, his senior, whose feats of arms were not worthy of consideration. From the career which he had enjoyed in less than three years, from captain to brigadier-general, how could he avoid being swollen-headed, this man of thirty-two years, so great, so strong, so confident, who was to be seen, the only one in the entire army, wearing a beard, neatly trimmed, thick and luxurious? Ever since Moscow and his appointment as Baron "his pride knew no bounds"; vehement, coarse, "a bad bed-fellow," but at the same time courageous and happy when sword in hand, he was born inconsistent, and his education did not improve him. He might have bettered himself with a regiment but, if he reckoned on the 6th Artillery to do it, he scarcely appeared with it. With his superiors he restrained himself, but since he was of the Household, did he recognise any superiors? If he lost control of himself he spoke in a nasty declamatory tone; he got excited, emotional, not knowing what he said, where he was saying it or to whom. He was a conscientious worker, provided he was kept constantly at it, and was all the while obliged to undertake tasks which while they appeared futile to him at least brought him recognition and distinction. His real, but specialised, intellect had been germinated in his irregularities by his study of mathematics, by the *artilleur* spirit, which was one of criticism and disparagement, by the rapidity of a promotion which fulfilled all his ambitions, and the check in such an ascent, the fall from such a height, appeared to him, even in the Emperor's presence, decrees of Fate. Thenceforward he showed dissatisfaction. A good son and a good brother, he worried about his mother and sister who, he said, would be left without means. He often repeated this and it led him to comparisons, jealousies, and covetousness. He took offence at everything, and waxed voluble; he saw insult and provocation everywhere. He could endure that, but the other things! He had dreamed of being the companion, friend, and confidant of the Emperor, and of holding premier rank,

at least on equality with Bertrand, but already Montholon was insinuating himself with practices he knew would be agreeable and a style which Gourgaud could not emulate Then, too, another appeared, one still more formidable

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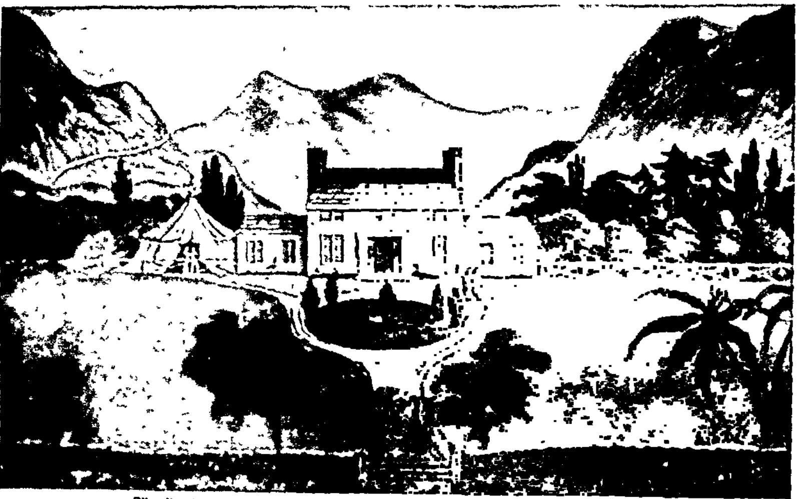
(LAS CASES)

In view of their future mode of living—one of conversations, of answers intended solely to animate the Emperor's discussions, of respect, courtesy, even flattery if anyone so desired for if it is disinterested, flattery under these circumstances becomes holy—Napoleon had to have in those around him, so few in number and so moderately interesting, a new conversationalist, one capable of listening to him, even of absorbing his words and explaining them, sufficiently well educated in all foreign matters as to be able to participate in a profitable conversation, but one who was not too well versed in the history of the Empire that he could not take delight in relating it to him In the Count de Las Cases he found the companion he had dreamed of, a man of the Court, possessing the modes and manner of speaking of the old regime—that was why, from the outset, Gourgaud meted out to him his hatred and provocation, as in course of time he did to whomsoever appeared to win a favour which he was maddened at being unable to monopolise

It is said that towards the end of the 11th century, when Henri of Burgundy crossed the Pyrenees to fight the Moors and conquer their kingdom, he had with him a standard-bearer of incredible courage who on several occasions helped him to victory In one of these fights the standard was borne so far into the thick of the battle and suffered so much at the hands of the Moors, desperate to capture it, that in the evening only a blue strip with a red edge was left hanging on the staff Henri, king of this conquered Portugal, made a gift to him, to whom he attributed a share in his triumph, of all the houses—todas las cases—in the neighbourhood of the battlefield Hence his name Las Cases, whose arms were gold on a blue band with a border of red Later in Andalusia and in Seville, the lineage of the standard-bearer succeeded—at least in part—Blanche de Castille in France The Las Cases bought huge estates there, settled in Languedoc, underwent varying fortunes, but by their marriages and their services unfailingly retained premier rank

Marie Joseph Emmanuel Auguste Dieudonné de Las Cases was born at the Château de Las Cases, in the parish of Belle-Serre in Languedoc, on June 20, 1766; he was the elder son of François Hyacinthe, Marquis de Las Cases, seigneur de La Caussade, Puylaurens, Lamothe and Dournes, Knight de Saint-Louis, and of Jeanne Naves de Ranchin. He was educated at the Vendôme College, run by the Oratory Fathers and graduated to the Military School in Paris. It has been said that his small stature and the weakness of his constitution decided him to enlist in the navy: he was above all relying on the support of the high-admiral, the Duc de Penthièvre, before whom his cousins of the youngest branch, the Marquis and Marquise de Las Cases-Beauvoir, the latter née Budes de Guébriant whose mother was Kergariou-Coëtilliau, could not fail to support him; the Marquis de Las Cases-Beauvoir, subordinate colonel in the Penthièvre infantry in 1776, Colonel of Languedoc in 1782, became in 1786 first nobleman of the Duc de Penthièvre, and the Marquise from 1782 was lady-in-waiting to the Princesse de Lamballe. A cadet in 1782 and immediately appointed to the *Actif*, commanded by Cillart, he thus participated in the final operations of the war against the English and was himself wounded on November 20 at the siege of Gibraltar. Transferred from the *Actif* in 1783 he embarked on the *Téméraire*, commanded by Puget-Bras, bound for Saint Domingo where he spent the three years from 1783 to 1786: he made two expeditions on the *Patriote*, under the command of Beaumont, with whom he had to re-enlist as a midshipman after a short stay on the *Alouette*. On November 7, 1787, he was appointed first-class midshipman on the *Achille*. He was commended for having thereupon sailed in different latitudes and for having begged a place in La Pérouse's expedition. He seems to have been an officer with ambition and plenty of go, requesting important commands when no more than a lieutenant, and putting forward for consideration his qualifications, his patrons, his relations and his parents, for he was again approached by his cousin Las Cases with a view to seeking the hand of his niece, Mlle. de Kergariou-Coëtilliau, and he had made the most of his introduction: on July 13, 1790, Lord Emmanuel de Las Cases had been presented to Their Majesties. Nearing September of that same year he emigrated: firstly to Worms, in the following of the Prince de Condé, next to Mainz and Cologne, to the court of *Monsieur* and the Comte d'Artois, and then to Aix-la-Chapelle, to the court of the Princesse



The Pavilion at the Briars where Napoleon resided before going to Longwood

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de Lamballe: here he saw born and flourish all the hopes of a triumphal return. In the Army of the Princes he was in the invasion campaign, was demobilised like his companions and succeeded in reaching Rotterdam and England. How did he live there? By tutoring, it has been said—by teaching in the afternoon what he learnt in the morning. Must we entirely credit what he relates of the opportunities which came to him and of which he voluntarily abstained from taking advantage, such as the direction of a big concern in Jamaica or a most lucrative position in the Indies? The events which were at that time part of his existence were "a fruitless undertaking in the Vendée," the Quiberon expedition, "whence he only escaped by a miracle," and the conception—in case it really was his, which had been denied—but in any case the compilation "of an historical and genealogical atlas in which, by ingenious methods, he traced perfectly clearly the successions of dynasties and the reconstruction of empires." Las Cases, who adopted the pseudonym of Le Sage "at first only produced a sketch of it and this effort was crowned with the happiest results. It seemed to him like the possession of a little property, a circle of pleasant acquaintances and friends whose intimacy gave him great pleasure."

Whatever pleasure he derived from living in England, he presented himself at the end of the year X, with his brother, senior officer in the Auvergne regiment, before the Calais commissioner to whom he made the legal declarations and submissions. In this way he obtained his "ticket of leave" under the name of Emmanuel de Las Cases, called Le Sage, and he made good use of his spare time by "giving greater scope and a new format to his historical atlas," which was, he said, an unqualified success and the publication of which advantageously replaced his patrimonial property which had been compulsorily sold. On September 22, 1806, he wrote to the Emperor a most condescending letter paying his respects. He had forgotten this letter when, later, he asserted he had never sought to present them. In the same way the letter dated March 10, 1808, in which he requested the star of the Legion of Honour, which would have acceptably supplemented in France the Cross of Saint-Louis which in 1796 he had received at the hands of the Duc d'Angoulême in England. Neither then nor later did he receive the cross of the Legion, but on January 28, 1809, he received the authority to establish an estate with the title of baron, and he had his

arms amended in which, although he was not a member of the Institute, he was allowed the first quarter of the baron's shield. On February 10, testifying on this occasion his gratitude to His Majesty, he devoted himself "heart and soul" to his service. In order to prove this, upon the descent of the English on Flushing he hastened, it is said, to leave as a volunteer; it has even been asserted that he was then employed on the staff of Bernadotte which fact had not been used as a recommendation with the Emperor. He doubtless found other supporters, for at the end of 1809 he was recommended to the Emperor for a post as chamberlain with this remark: "Baron de Las Cases, senior naval officer, author of the *Atlas historique* published under the name of Le Sage, possessing £30,000 income, acquired as much of his own accord as from Mlle. de Kergariou whom he married; a well-educated man, of very good breeding having long begged the honour of being attached to the Household of His Majesty, having been presented to him and boasting the highest character." He was therefore included in the enormous promotions of December 21 but, like most of his colleagues, he was not appointed to any duty; further, he used his title to seek more active employment and six months later, on June 27, 1810, he was in fact appointed *maitre des requêtes* to the Council of State, Naval Department. That same year he was sent to Holland to commandeer all that might be of use to the navy and to naval construction. The following year he presided over the Commission of debt liquidation of the Illyrian Provinces. "Entrusted with this special duty" on June 6, he prevailed upon the prince archchancellor on July 4 to request for him the cross of the Legion. It was again refused. By way of compensation, in common with all his chamberlain colleagues, he received on August 15 the title of Count, and on his escutcheon he altered the first quarter from baron to Count in the Imperial Household: D. A. *Domus Augusti.* He said that, since the birth of the King of Rome, the Emperor, having seen his Atlas, had considered him for a situation with his son; the vanity of the author having on every conceivable opportunity proclaimed and broadcast the tremendous success of his work and taken advantage of the least opportunity of furthering his self-advertisement. With Las Cases his vanity as an author corresponded to his aristocratic vanity which was no less, but this latter was unproductive while from the other he expected to derive decided advantages. We know that about 1810 the Emperor had conceived a system of licences to vessels which, by

means of the exportation of a certain quantity of French goods, were allowed to import a like quantity of colonial commodities. Publications of the French press were included among the exports, but the books thus sent never found readers for they were thrown into the sea and replaced by sugar, coffee and indigo. Obviously, therefore, books which were still "best-sellers" were not included. So the Library Commission fixed a sum which the licence-holders must pay to authors and editors, and decided upon the discount on the net price. Las Cases did not allow the price of his Atlas to be cut. On February 12, 1812, he wrote to the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Collin de Sussy, who had taken advantage of the licence system to send to England numerous copies of his "Historical and Genealogical Atlas"; now, the Library Commission laid a discount of 5 per cent. on his work. There was a manœuvre of rivals jealous of his success, and he advised the Minister to cancel the measure put into operation by his subordinates because in England his Atlas would find at least 20,000 purchasers. Twenty thousand copies for England alone! At 120 francs a copy this would have brought in 2,400,000 francs. Certainly in France there had been editions in 1803/1804, 1806, 1807, 1809, and again in 1814, 1820, 1823, 1824, 1826 and so on, and Las Cases seriously considered he had produced the book of the century.

In 1812, he secured a mission to inspect public charitable institutions, prisons, hospitals, ecclesiastical foundations, and workhouses, and he immediately—for he was a modest man—had printed at the top of his paper: "Chamberlain of the Emperor, *Maître des requêtes* to his Council of State, on a special mission to the institutions of the Empire." His reports disclosed supreme satisfaction with himself, incredible inexperience, good intentions and restricted administrative capacity. Some of the particulars were astounding.

At the time of the organisation of the National Guard at Paris, Las Cases was made second in command of the 10th Legion of which, during the crisis, he was sole leader. He did not seem to distinguish himself, but these duties prevented his carrying out the directions of the archchancellor and his accompanying the Regent on the Loire. What happened to him then? Must we believe that he was forgotten and that, far from requesting anything, he left for England to avoid spectacles which were offending his patriotism? It was not, however, before being appointed naval captain and a councillor of state. Nevertheless, immediately upon the Emperor's

return, he hastened to him; his appointment as a councillor of state was confirmed and he was nominated President of the Committee of Petitions. After Waterloo, with Montholon, he was the only one to perform the duties of chamberlain which up till then he had never discharged. He continued as such at Malmaison, and here it was that he made up his mind to accompany the Emperor wherever he went. Napoleon, who scarcely recognised him, regarded him with amazement when he "begged to be allowed to share his destiny." "Do you know where that might take you?" he said to him. "I have given no thought to that," replied Las Cases, "but the most ardent of my desires will be fulfilled if you will entertain my request." "Well, well!" returned the Emperor. And Las Cases, regarding these words *as an affirmative, hastened to Paris to pack his bags*; to provide himself with money, of which he brought away enough to preclude any possibility of shortage; to take his son away from the Lycée, a lad of 15 only, but with intelligence, tact and development far in advance of his years, whom he wanted to go with him; finally to kiss his wife and his other children whom he thought would not be slow to rejoin him—actually there were numerous requests on the part of Mme. de Las Cases-Kergariou to this end.

The latter had had a singularly distressing life. Her fiancé had left her in 1791 to rejoin the Princes' army, and had not seen her again until 1799 when at the risk of his life he went from England to Brittany to find her again and to have their union blessed by an unordained priest. He did not marry according to the civil code until 1808.

Las Cases packed in his trunks a naval captain's uniform in which he dressed to appear on the *Bellerophon*, and thereupon asked the Emperor to decorate him with the Legion of Honour; that must be noticed because the motives which induced Las Cases to throw in his lot with the Emperor remain obscure. He did not do so out of moral compunction like Bertrand; he did not, like Montholon or Gourgaud, seek the opportunity of righting his fortune or of evading probable banishment; he was not so young, at fifty years, as to be recklessly carried away by his enthusiasm, and he very well knew how to discipline himself; he had scarcely approached the Emperor during his reign. "Of all those who followed him," he wrote, "I was the one who knew him least." Why was this so? Did not Las Cases' character take its rise from his former career? Doubtless he was convinced that the Emperor was a great man and perhaps the greatest among men; surely he was willing to dedicate

his life to the service of this unfortunate but great man, he did not intend to derive from this sacrifice any particular or material benefit, he quite voluntarily gave his services and in spite of the fact that he had served in the Hundred Days, the Bourbons had not been severe on him And so the vanity of a literary man, which was so patent with regard to the Atlas of Le Sage, was going to be repeated in some account of the Emperor's life, in a narrative of the chief acts of his life and a vindication of the crimes with which he was charged, in short, if M de Las Cases was appointing himself the spokesman of Napoleon, the authorised interpreter of his word, then there would no longer be twenty thousand copies of the Atlas for England, but millions and millions of volumes which, in every language, to the end of time, would bear to the furthermost ends of the earth the name of Las Cases united to that of Napoleon

He was, besides, informed of many things of which his companions were ignorant, further, he offered himself to the Emperor as a new conversationalist, eager to listen to him, happy to attend upon him, proud to record his sayings and to play a rôle with so distinguished a companion, besides that, he had been a sailor which on a long voyage made him interesting, he had viewed events from an aspect different from that by which the Emperor could discern them, he alone belonged to that society from which Napoleon was pleased to recruit his temporary confidants, whose approbation he sought, and whose education and manners he valued, he had the advantage of understanding the English language without the English being aware of the fact They distrusted Madame Bertrand, whose father was an Englishman and who was thus related to the English, but how could they imagine that a Frenchman belonging to Bonaparte's retinue was able to speak English?

Las Cases, accepted as a secretary in addition to the three officers allowed by the English Government, was looked upon as an inferior by Montholon and Gourgaud, and from the first moment was bullied by the latter who believed him to be a submissive victim, but he was going to raise himself to the first rank and become in a very short time the only man whose conversation—which was of the best in consequence of his habit of listening attentively—was agreeable to the Emperor It was he who, without boasting or bustle, rendered material service, for Madame Bertrand, although she had near relations in England well situated to be of use to her, was not able, did not know how, or was not willing, to establish communication

with them which would have been of advantage to the Emperor, while Las Cases, through a certain Lady Clavering whom he had known in France had, immediately upon the *Bellerophon* entering the roadstead, begun a correspondence the first result of which seems to have been the appearance of the dreadful bearer of the writ. This Lady Clavering was French: the Dillons said she was a milliner at Orleans with a not very illustrious reputation. Milliner maybe, although she appeared in the *Baronetage* as Clara, daughter of Jean de Gallais de la Bernardine, Comte de la Sable, in Anjou—names and titles which conjure up visions—but certainly a brave lass because if the friendship she bore Las Cases inspired his endeavours they were no less skilful, disinterested and compromising. In the course of time Las Cases achieved lesser successes through her, but it can be assumed that she was always ready to put herself at his service.

The Bertrands, the Montholons, Gourgaud, Las Cases, such were the social factors which were going to be associated and compulsively at loggerheads; they were the most incongruous lot one could conceive, and nothing, it can be truly asserted, could render cohabitation tolerable to them. Ceremonial etiquette slackened; and being no longer embarrassed by ambition, by regal prestige or military discipline, their true instincts came to light, antagonism commenced and those who were worsted were either the best or at least the most sincere.

The Emperor, though he did all he could to preserve equanimity among his followers, found that what satisfied some did not satisfy others: in order to appease them he would have been obliged to camouflage the words he addressed to them with scientific precision; he had his reasons for demanding of his companions the formalities of the days of his eminence; he owed it to himself solemnly to protest against the abuse of force of which he was the victim; he owed it to his son, to the dynasty he had founded, whose rights he had saved from being outlawed; finally, he owed it "to the people," to the people who had entrusted their fate to him and who, defeated with him, were prisoners like himself. But if he had not had such weighty and such exalted reasons, he had at least one means of keeping his companions in apparent agreement, and that was to impose upon those around him a manner of living, a behaviour and observances which as often as possible forestalled any social clashes.

(Dr. Maingault).

What caused serious complications was the absence of a French doctor. The doctor whom Corvisart had brought to Malmaison to deputise for Doctor Foureau de Beauregard, whom the Emperor had commanded to remain in Paris to carry out his duty, had, on board the *Bellerophon* while in the Spithead roads, declared that he did not wish to proceed further. He had agreed to go to the United States, where he had business, but not to St. Helena. This Maingault also asserted that if he had pledged his word to go he had signed nothing. A start had been made, and there was no opportunity of obtaining a doctor from France nor even of arranging for one to join the Emperor later. They then relied on Foureau and had to take immediate advantage of what was to hand. The *Bellerophon's* surgeon, Barry Edward O'Meara, from whom certain of the ship's passengers had received attention, was then approached. He stipulated that he should remain an English *officer in the pay of the Admiralty and should in no wise be dependent* upon Napoleon: in this manner were born innumerable difficulties, avoidable annoyances, and useless troubles.

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(Piontkowski, The Priests, The Doctor).

In so small a cast supernumeraries became leading players. Certain of them did not appear until later and scarcely played any part at all, but are mentioned here so that their arrival need not be explained if ever their names appear in the narrative. Others played important rôles and deserve particular mention.

It is difficult to deal with the mysterious Polish officer Piontkowski who, after accompanying the Emperor from Malmaison to Rochefort, followed him to England and then when all his companions—those not allowed to proceed to St. Helena—were deported to Malta, succeeded, it is not known under whose patronage or by what influence, in joining Napoleon, found himself suspected at the same time by the English and the French, and after a stay of some months during which time he remained a riddle, was taken back to England: then, as a reward for his six months' hypothetical devotion, received annuities and assistance by means of which he lived in luxury during nearly fifty years of journeying round Europe.

At St. Helena no one asked for him, no one enquired about him, no one grieved for him and he was verily a mystery-man for whom, for no conceivable reason, obstacles were removed and orders countermanded. He appeared before the Emperor in a uniform to which he had no right, took firm root, and was tolerated. He was a glib liar, quite useless, and he departed with no better reason than he had for coming. He was probably only a sharper —this individual who pulled the legs of the English Government, Emperor Napoleon, Sardinia, Austria, Russia, and the rest of Europe.

On the contrary, the priest whom Cardinal Fesch had sent to St. Helena upon the Emperor's request and the doctor who was to take O'Meara's place displayed a feverish eagerness.

Fesch had selected three Corsicans, certainly the most incongruous and the least fit for such a mission: the chief, if he may so be called, was a certain abbé Antonio Buonavita, 65 years old and a native of Pietralba, formerly a rector in Spain and Paraguay, at the moment apostolic protonotary, whom Madame had discovered in Rome at the time of her stay there in 1814 and whom she had engaged as chaplain on the island of Elba and in Paris. He was a very holy man who after leaving Madame was engaged by Princess Pauline, but in addition to the fact that his intelligence had always been limited and that he spoke only Italian and Spanish, he had recently experienced two apoplectic fits which had left him in a perpetual tremble and "sometimes unable to speak." It must be understood that at first Fesch had thought of an abbé Parigi whose immorality had been denounced by the Archbishop of Florence and whom "the Holy Father ordered should be relieved of the offices with which he had been invested by Cardinal Fesch." Le Duc de Blacas had not supported this objection, but "took no further step to prevent Buonavita—whom he regarded as an octogenarian—being invested with the necessary powers." Taking into consideration his advanced age and his infirmity, Fesch had given him the assistance of a younger priest, Ange Paul Vignali, who was born in 1789 at Bilinchi, a district of Morsaglia, and who had, it appears, passed through the seminary of Saint-Sulpice and after finishing his theological studies in Rome, had studied medicine; he had spent some time at Elba while the Emperor was there and had then returned to practise in Rome. It was asserted that the abbé Vignali was, in everything but medicine, so ignorant that it made it

difficult to estimate the skill attributed to him, and the Emperor informed him that at Longwood he would have to restrict himself to his ecclesiastical duties. He allotted him a stipend of 8,000 francs at the time when he was giving the abbé Buonavita double that sum.

These two priests were gloomy and of no use to the Emperor, but at least they did not annoy him. This was not so of the surgeon, Francesco Antommarchi: he was born in 1779 at Morsaglia, a village on the Capo Corso and claimed that his father was an attorney—an attorney in a Corsican village of 673 inhabitants! He left Corsica, he said, at the age of fifteen years. Where had he been educated? Perhaps at Bastia, about eight leagues distant only; *he has never told us. From Corsica he went to Leghorn, then to* Pisa and Florence. He was, so he said, admitted as Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine at the University of Pisa in 1808 when he was twenty-nine years old. This was prior to the annexation of the Kingdom of Etruria to the Empire and the time when a doctor's degree could be bought. From Pisa, still so *he* said, he went to Florence where he gave himself up to physiological studies and became attached to the hospital of Sainte Marie Neuve. In 1812 he obtained from the Imperial University the diploma in surgery, and the Principal appointed him prosector in anatomy, attached to the Academy of Pisa and resident in Florence. What appears definite is that he became assistant to Professor Mascagni in his anatomical work, and that after the death of this learned man, a "Society of Friends of the Arts and Mankind" which numbered several Englishmen among its members, having undertaken to publish, for the benefit of the Mascagni family, his posthumous works, commissioned him to superintend the edition and to correct the proofs. Antommarchi knew a certain Simon Colonna di Leca, who had been intendant at Aquila under Murat, and who since 1814 had been in attendance on *Madame Mère*, for whom he acted as chamberlain or knight of honour. This Colonna was a Corsican, completely in Fesch's confidence and when for various reasons the Cardinal made up his mind to turn down Foureau de Beauregard, who offered his services and whom all the Emperor's loyal adherents recommended, he had Colonna write to Antommarchi who understood immediately the share he would derive from this stroke of luck. Scruples were unknown to him, as was the path of duty; his general intelligence was on a level with his medical knowledge, but he

questioned nothing and considered himself everyone's equal, Montholon's, the Grand Marshal's, even the Emperor's, speaking to each of them in an offensive tone of familiarity and even claiming a superiority. This odious man was of no use to the Emperor and only caused him infinite displeasure.

The priests and the surgeon seem to have been invited to the Emperor's table upon only one occasion—January 1, 1820: they sometimes lunched with him in the garden when, during the early months of that year, he delighted in working there and put a spade and a pick-axe into the hands of all around him.

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(The Servants).

From the beginning servants played important parts in the everyday existence. By force of circumstances some of them became unique witnesses and confidants, and showed themselves to be loyal friends, the only friends: who were they and whence did they come?

Out of the numerous personnel which the Grand Marshal had brought from Malmaison the English allowed only a dozen domestic servants to embark: Marchand, chief valet to His Majesty; Saint-Denis and Noverraz, his footmen; Cipriani Franceschi who performed the duties of steward; Pierron, butler; Rousseau, white-smith; Lepage, cook; the two Archambaults who, retiring from the stables, were taken as postilions, like Gentilini, from Elba. We come now to the Corsican Santini who during the Hundred Days was a cabinet usher; two domestic servants—Bernard and his wife—to serve General Bertrand, his wife and their children; a waiting-maid, Josephine Brule, for Mme. de Montholon, and that was all. Nicholas Gillis, who served the Emperor for a long time as valet, had to return, as also did Toutain, a steward, a secretary, an office-boy, seven footmen, two keepers of the wardrobe, a messenger, a wheelwright, besides the Grand Marshal's two secretaries, and eight domestic servants of the Bertrands, the Montholons, and Gourgaud. Gourgaud managed to embark his valet, but he was sent back upon arrival at St. Helena.

Of those servants, not one of them is without interest, but one above all deserves particular attention: a romantic figure from

whom one could expect explicit information, because his very profession demanded that he should shun attention and eschew curiosity, but from what one saw of his life he played a more important part than he was given credit for He was Cipriani Franceschi Republican by conviction and opinions, he had been most attached to the Emperor since his misfortune, in fact, perhaps this Corsican had always known Napoleon and was one of the patriots who took refuge on the continent in 1793 It was said that he had served in one of the Corsican battalions that is possible, although neither his name nor his particulars have been found, but it was seldom from the military that Saliceti recruited his men and Franceschi was always very much in the confidence of this interesting, mysterious and little known person. Cipriani seems to have been employed in 1808 in bribing the Corsicans in English pay who constituted, with a Maltese battalion, the garrison of the isle of Capri, but this plot did not prejudice the scaling of the rock. It is said that in 1814, having rejoined the Emperor at Elba, he was commissioned to go to Vienna to elicit information there, that it was he who notified the Emperor of the design the Allies had formed for transporting him to an island in the African waters Cipriani does not figure in the registers of the Imperial Household prior to the Hundred Days when he was a qualified steward, as such his duties must have been interrupted, but that was not his chief employment at St. Helena He was entrusted to make inquiries, to elicit news, and he alone—or practically so—discharged the duty of providing information The Emperor had complete confidence in him and he showed it in a manner which aroused the jealousy of certain of his companions "He would give us all up to keep Cipriani," said Gourgaud This Corsican no doubt had an ancient connection with the Bonapartes, one of those family associations, in the Roman fashion, in which the servant finds himself always admitted to the house, as well as his wife and children. Cipriani's wife, Adelaide Chamant, was at Rome with her children, her son with Cardinal Fesch, her daughter with *Madame Mere* Their prosperity was quite remarkable, and they were far from being deprived of means, Cipriani having considerable investments in Genoa

Next to him, of an inferior rank, was another Corsican Giovanni Natale Santini, 25 or 26 years of age, a Corsican rifleman in 1812, since when he had been employed as express messenger to General

Headquarters. In 1814, he had voluntarily accompanied the Emperor to Elba where to keep him occupied he had been appointed keeper of the portfolio and usher. Now it was known only too well what ought to be done with him, but Napoleon never gave it a thought to supersede him by someone else who could make himself useful: he was a Corsican.

The Emperor's personal service was assured by his chief valet, Louis Marchand who, quite young, had given proof of his sagacity, his loyalty and his tact. He was enrolled into the Imperial service in 1811 when 19 years old, in a batch of youthful servants recruited from the middle classes, having received a certain amount of education and furnished solemn moral guarantees. His mother was nurse to the King of Rome and showed herself absolutely devoted. That year, 1811, Marchand accompanied the Emperor on the journey to Holland. In 1812 Mme. de Montesquiou, governess of the Children of France, had begged the Emperor to exempt him from military service. Napoleon refused, but from his privy purse he paid a substitute. However, he did not know this humble supernumerary, who had accompanied him on the Dresden journey and then returned to Paris. Marchand was at Fontainebleau at the time of the abdication. Constant, the chief valet, and Roustam, the mameluke, had fled in face of the master's misfortune. The Emperor seemed little accustomed to the other valets. Perhaps he had reasons for not desiring them, although certain of them were loyal and devoted, while several of them were well educated; they were chiefly scattered among the services sent on different errands and had been unable to rejoin him. Marchand was chosen by the Grand Marshal to replace Constant, and while his mother was in attendance on the King of Rome in Vienna, he accompanied the Emperor to Elba. His attention gave satisfaction on account of the diligence, the ability and the tact he displayed. The Emperor took him into his confidence and never regretted it. As at Paris, so at Porto-Ferrajo, Marchand was not intoxicated during the Hundred Days by his sudden prosperity—huge wages, 8,000 francs and 1,500 francs' worth of clothes, a liberal table, a carriage, admission to the imperial theatres—and he was as attentive, as devoted, as respectful at Rochefort and on the *Bellerophon* as in the Tuileries and at the Elysée. He was a man of wonderful health and incredible resistance, he was above all a man of courage. This is well borne out in his *Mêmoires*.

After Marchand, the man who approached the Emperor most closely and often was Louis Étienne Saint-Denis, footman, or if you prefer it, mameluke. The son of a riding-master, at the royal stables, he was born at Versailles in 1788 and after reasonably comprehensive studies and a course as junior clerk in an attorney's chambers, he was engaged in 1806 in the Household as under-groom. He campaigned in Spain and Germany and took part in the Holland affair in 1811. At the end of that year Napoleon wanted a second mameluke. Saint-Denis was chosen, assumed oriental attire and was christened Ali. He served under Roustam who, on account of his violence, could not be kept in the apartments and whom the Emperor had relegated at Fontainebleau. Henceforth, Saint-Denis discharged in one of the Services the same duties as did Roustam in another, as valet and footman ; he took part in the campaign bearing the Emperor's spy-glass and a silver flask of brandy. Thus he served in the Russian and Saxony campaigns, but being included in the Service left at Mainz, he rejoined his master on Elba where he was his only mameluke, returned with the Emperor to Paris and never left him during the Belgian campaign. He was a man who, with a good primary education, had a taste for books and like Marchand wrote a neat hand, which was improved and reduced in size during the captivity by writing an infinite number of letters legibly on the smallest pieces of satin or paper. By his loyalty, his zeal, his honesty, his tact, he was the equal of Marchand whose friend he became. But Saint-Denis, older than his companion, had not, it seems, the same ability nor the same resistance, and only particular circumstances precluded his enjoying the same prosperity. When, as it must be hoped will be the case, the *Souvenirs* of Saint-Denis are published, the mutual attractions of the two men will be better understood.

Pierron, who was the real steward—Cipriani performing the duties rather of controller as they are called in princely houses—ought to have been butler for that was his sphere. He had been taken on as under butler in 1807 and had gone on to Holland before accompanying the Emperor on the 1813 and 1814 campaigns. Finally he was one of the six butlers at a salary of £450. At Fontainebleau he begged to leave for Elba in the stead of one of his superiors who had "deserted," and he went as butler. He retained the post upon the return to Paris, saw the campaign through with the Emperor and never again left him.

The "high table" of these folk at St. Helena consisted of Cipriani, Pierron, Marchand and Saint-Denis: they constituted the domestic hierarchy.

At the servants' table there sat, with Santini, a footman named Noverraz. A native of the Vaud district, he was admitted into the Household in 1809 and in 1813 he was the last of seven footmen enrolled from the service of the chief equerry and reached a salary of 960 francs; as a footman he was present during the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 on the box of the imperial carriage. He was promoted a valet, with a two-cornered cocked hat and attired in the traditional uniform which, as is known, permitted its wearer to carry arms. During the journey from Fontainebleau to Fréjus, Noverraz was on the box of the Emperor's carriage. At Orgon a man hurled himself like a madman at it in an attempt to open the door. Noverraz drew his sword with one hand and holding a blunder-buss in the other, without hindrance from the crowds, threatened the first man who dared to approach the carriage. The Grand Marshal immediately lowered the window and cried to him to keep calm. Nevertheless, having gained a little time, the horses were changed and a further start was made. Noverraz was a man whose loyalty could be relied upon, but he was a little out of his depth when immediately associated with the Emperor.

Of the two Archambaults who went to form the personnel of the stables, one Achille Thomas L'Union was enlisted in the service of the chief groom in 1805. In 1814 he obstinately sought to accompany the Emperor to Elba and was in charge of the footmen there. Upon the return to Paris on March 20, he retained his post and fulfilled it on the Belgian campaign. His brother, Joseph Olivier, had like himself graduated as footman through the stables. Both were coachmen of incredible dexterity, so necessary at St. Helena, driving quickly according as the Emperor ordered, as well in four-in-hands as on postilions. As to loyalty, these two men were among those one must praise since their character surpassed the credit they received.

In the Household, Rousseau had been a whitesmith. At the moment he was intended as keeper of the plate, which would be no sinecure considering the quantities taken, because at the time of the departure Colin, controller of the Household, had amassed a dozen sets like the one the Government Commission had ordered. He had added all the plate from the Tuileries so that there was a triple or quadruple service, with a number of large pieces and a complete

dessert service in silver-gilt. Gentilini, who had gone to Paris from Elba as footman, was still a footman at St. Helena.

All these servants had at least done service in the Tuileries. Lepage, the cook, on the contrary, came from the household of King Joseph. At Rochefort, Ferdinand Rousseau, chef at Elba and then at the Tuileries during the Hundred Days, began wrangling, and *finally refused to go saying that he had not been paid* what *he* was promised for going to Elba. Consequently great inconvenience was caused. Joseph offered his cook, Michel Lepage, a waiter from Mortefontaine, who had accompanied him and was going with him to America. Lepage as a favour agreed to accompany the Emperor, but he was a poor hand at his trade and a bit of an "artful dodger," of difficult temperament and questionable loyalty. He had to be sent back in 1818.

There were certain changes in this staff: Cipriani died on St. Helena; Archambault junior, Rousseau, Santini were nominatively forced by the English to leave their master; Gentilini taken sick, was sent back home. To take the places of Cipriani and Lepage, the Imperial family sent the butler Jacques Coursot and the cook Jacques Chandelier. Coursot came from Madame Mère, one of whose valets he was; Chandelier, born at Melun in 1798, was engaged in 1813 as cook-apprentice in the Household, and after 1815, served Princess Pauline. He enjoyed poor health, but was sincerely devoted. These two men were of the same class as the other servants and did not discredit them.

Further, General Bertrand had as valet a certain Bernard Hayman, a native of Ghent, whose wife was waiting-maid to the Countess. *They had with them their son of fifteen. Bernard* who used to get drunk and then pick a quarrel with his companions was discharged by the General, and sent back to Europe. During 1819 he was replaced by Étienne Bouges, the son of a farmer in a small way, who had offered to rejoin his master, showed himself loyal and intelligent, and whose *Souvenirs* made entertaining reading. Bernard's wife was replaced by the wife of one of the soldiers of the garrison, but *for her children* Mme. *Bertrand requested Lady Jerningham, her* aunt, to select a governess whose admission to St. Helena she should effect. Lady Jerningham sent her a young girl, Betsy Hall, whose beauty made a great impression on the prisoners at Longwood—so much so that Saint-Denis married her. As it was, any girl would have found a husband among these delightful bachelors and

Josephine Schouter, Mme. de Montholon's waiting-maid, married Noverraz, with a little opposition from the Emperor who "did not regard this marriage to be to the advantage of a man whom he wished well." In this climate and latitude, a kind of amorous madness possessed the people; nurse, waiting-maid, kitchen maid, creole or negress, it made no difference, it was a woman, and it gave rise to competition round the sink for these domestic Helens.

Such was the complete retinue. Among the personages in the foreground were differences of birth, education and means, and they seemed powerless to institute friendly relations among themselves, and incapable of endeavouring to conceal their animosities even to please their master. Just as their rivalries, their ambitions, and especially their greed necessarily promoted ill-feeling, so on the contrary the supernumeraries, domestic servants of all capacities, emanating from similar families, having received a like education, trained by the same discipline, found themselves quite steady amidst varieties of temperament, refinement and manners, united by the loyalty they bore the Emperor and the honour they dedicated to him. They were sensible of the continual evidence on his part of a goodness which, amidst the worst sufferings, never varied, reappearing after crises which sometimes caused him momentary anger, showing itself by a word, a smile, a look, and penetrating these simple hearts with a sacredness to which their families remained, even to the present day, unobtrusively faithful.

III

# The Prison, the Gaoler, the *DRAMATIS PERSONAE*

AT Auxonne in 1788, Lieutenant Buonaparte studying elementary geography from the abbé de Lacroix's book, wrote in an exercise book the chief ideas he wished to remember. When he reached 'British possessions in America, Asia and Africa' he wrote: "Africa, Cape Corse in Guinea, a fairly strong castle, on one side is Fort Royal protected by 16 pieces of cannon.

"Saint Helena, a little island . . ."

And after writing "Saint Helena, a little island," as if Fate stopped his hand, he wrote no more and left the rest of the page blank.

There are some mysteries of human foresight which defy all explanation and preclude analysis.

"A little island"! That was all Napoleon knew of St. Helena in 1788 and by 1815 the public was scarcely better informed. Nevertheless, that vigil which the English had kept over the Ocean and on which they waged so many wars had not failed to attract and hold the Emperor's attention.

From Mainz on September 30, 1804, he wrote to the Minister of Marine to order three expeditions: one to the West Indies, a second to the Dutch colonies of Surinam, a third to St. Helena: "Take Saint Helena," he wrote, "and station a cruiser there for several months: 1200 to 1500 men will be required . . . Regarding the Saint Helena expedition," he added, "I have sent you a memorandum to Boulogne. Fetch the writer of this memorandum who is at Givet. The English are in no wise expecting this expedition, it will be a simple matter to surprise them." He further said, "The man who is at Givet will remain with you until the last moment when he will leave post haste for Paris, return to Toulon and embark immediately upon the admiral's vessel bound for Saint Helena." The expedition, which consisted of two vessels, four frigates and two brigs, carried 2,100 men under the command of Brigadier-General Reille. Everyone was on board when the Emperor gave up the St. Helena plan to reinforce the Surinam expedition which Lauriston

commanded and to whom Reille gave his support. It set sail, but just off Toulon the squadron ran into a gale and was obliged to return. This was the beginning of the weakness and the procrastination of Admiral Villeneuve. Surinam as well as St. Helena was now abandoned. Further, they had only the information of the man from Givet who was an Englishman, for at Givet numerous Englishmen were interned who had been arrested at the violation of the Peace of Amiens.

Though it miscarried then, Napoleon did not forget his plan. At the end of the year XIV, when he set the fireship of Willaumez, "a fantastic and incalculable exploit," he called it, against English shipping, he ordered the squadron to make its way from the Cape to St. Helena and to anchor for two months windward of this "very high and very healthy" island; the enterprise failed wretchedly and the squadron, of which the *Vétéran* commanded by Jerome Buonaparte, was part, did not even get so far as to recognise Diana's Peak.

In spite of "the man from Givet," Napoleon was probably no better informed than his contemporaries of the climate, fauna, flora and population of St. Helena, and actually there were scarcely any means in existence whereby this information could be obtained. The most comprehensive *Portable Geographical Gazetteer*, that by Vosgien, Canon of Vaucouleurs "translated from the third English edition by Laurence Eckard," gave this description of it: "The hills which are revealed at 25 leagues are for the most part covered with verdure and all species of large tree such as ebony, etc. The valleys are very fertile in all kinds of excellent fruits, vegetables, etc. The fruit trees there bear at the same time flowers, green fruit and ripe fruit. The forests are full of orange, lemon and citron trees, etc. There are game and birds in quantity, poultry and wild cattle. No savage or hurtful animal is found there, and the sea is full of fish."

Vosgien, Canon of Vaucouleurs, was actually a Sieur Jean Baptiste Ladvocat, born at Vaucouleurs and royal censor, doctor, librarian and Sorbonne professor, who compiled his gazetteer at Bagneux, near Paris, and published the first edition of it in 1747, but he had barely done more than abridge the comprehensive *Geographical, Historical and Critical Gazetteer* of M. Bruzen de la Martinière, geographer to H.M. King Philip V of Spain, which in 1726 contained this commonly accepted description of St. Helena.

As Bruzen de la Martinière had copied the *Description of Africa, containing the names, situation and boundaries of all its parts*, by Olivier Dapper, of which a good translation from the Flemish had been published at Amsterdam in 1686, and as Dapper had drawn inspiration from the *General Description of Africa* by Luis Marmol Carjaval, dated 1573, it can be said that it was a tradition which geographers had been kindly handing down for more than two centuries without any corroboration and which very likely was the work of travellers who visited St. Helena less than fifty years after its very discovery by Juan de Nova in 1502. According to this description the soil of the island, naturally very dry, was capable of producing all kinds of fruit when watered by frequent rains; most of the hills were covered with verdure; ebony in particular was found there; "then there are other fine trees which produce beautiful flowers, pink and white, something like tulips, and which make a lovely decoration." And there were luscious oranges, pomegranates and lemons enough to provide refreshment for the crews of five or six vessels. And all kinds of herbs grew there which cured scurvy in eight days. And there were goats with large numbers of kids, wild boar, and different breeds of swine. And there were partridges, pigeons, doves and peacocks, but no savage animals, birds of prey or poisonous snakes. Everything would have been perfect had it not been for huge spiders, flys as big as grasshoppers, and above all rats which, according to an English traveller, Ovington, proved themselves particularly annoying.

Actually the first monograph on the island appeared in London in 1808, under the title of *History of the Island of Saint Helena*. The author, T. H. Brooke, belonged to a family which had frequented the island since the English occupation; he had lived there personally for fifteen years, had occupied the post of public secretary, and thus had access to all the archives departments, but with the exception of a particularly favourable descriptive introduction, the work of Brooke was essentially historical. There in detail could be found the most insignificant course of events in the administration, and this narrative is particularly tedious and dull. Moreover, no copy apparently crossed the Channel and the Englishman seemed scarcely better informed than the Frenchman.

In 1815, the general idea of St. Helena was that derived from handbooks and gazetteers. The endless descriptions which were published to satisfy public curiosity upon the announcement of

Napoleon's deportation—descriptions which the Government transmitted and speculation spread abroad—did no more than reproduce conceptions at least two hundred years old. And here are some of them: "Although from every side this island appears to be only a pile of volcanic and barren rocks whose most modest heights reach eight hundred feet, the mountains which rise from the centre of this steep mass are covered with excellent vegetable mould eighteen inches in depth, which freely produces all kinds of herbs, roots and shrubs . . . Large forests of ebony trees, rose wood and aloes rise up on the slopes of the heights . . . The forests abound in fallow creatures such as wild goats, many of which are as big as little calves, wild boar of different kinds, etc. . . . No savage or carnivorous animals, no birds of prey, no wolves, or lions, or bears, or hawks, or vultures, not even poisonous creatures like serpents are met with, but on the other hand there are partridges, turkey-hens, doves, pigeons, wood pigeons, peacocks, pheasants and guinea fowl to be found in plenty.

"When the Portuguese took possession of St. Helena they transported there various fruit trees from their country, peach, citron, orange, pomegranate. All these trees prospered amazingly . . . There is enough fruit each year to fill six ships.

"Chappell Valley resembles a veritable earthly paradise. On every side are beautiful avenues of citrons, oranges, pomegranates, palms, figs, bananas, pineapples. In addition, most of the plants are covered with flowers, ripening fruit or fruit ready to be gathered.

"And everywhere through the wonderful valleys flow streams which feed 2,400 to 3,000 head of cattle the meat of which is most nutritious and delicious. Apart from cattle there are great numbers of pigs and English sheep, and there are small horses which walk well and are of great advantage to ladies.

"And besides the fruit, there is an immense quantity of berries and vegetables. Flowers, too, cannot fail to flourish in a climate so suitable. The sea abounds in fish and to crown the picture, the women are charming. If any of them are courted they all observe a rigid morality. They are strictly honest and are not self-indulgent."

The abode of the "Helenians" could be regarded as a bit of Heaven on earth. "The spectacle of their happiness," said the author of the *Description*, "cannot be a more cruel punishment for Napoleon than his exile."

It was not only in cheap, popular *Descriptions* that these con-

ceptions were accredited. It was from the little books for all purses. M. Toulouzan de Saint-Martin, one of the authors of the *Essay on the History of Nature*, wrote: "One would say that Le Tasse has combined in this landscape (of St. Helena) colours which he used to paint the charming abode of Armida amidst the barren rocks of the Happy Islands . . . The interior of the island is an earthly paradise. The rock, forbidding in its appearance, is pleasantly varied in the centre by hillocks and mounds covered with dwellings and gardens. A plentiful supply of clear water runs from the rocks and waters the extremities of the valleys to-day transformed into meadows There grow plants of two worlds, the most delicious fruit, and the most fragrant flowers; the air is so pure and the climate so equable that invalids are restored to health in a very short time . The air, always pure and calm, is momentarily affected only by clouds which disappear the moment they have discharged the rains on which the numerous springs rely. Destructive insects which are fatal to the hope of the labourer are unknown . . . Much pit-coal is burned on St. Helena and there is, on the western side, a mine of considerable size"

A discord is to be heard in this melody. Malte-Brun is indignant and warns the imprudent: "The unanimous enthusiasm of travellers who have admired the picturesque valleys of the interior of St. Helena must," he says, "dispel the unfounded assertion of a learned and otherwise eminent man, M. Bory de Saint-Vincent who, with overweening conviction asserts that he has in conversations with English officers had proof that the interior of the island is covered with ashes, lava and a withering vegetation." Could he have thought that, ten years later, Bory de Saint-Vincent would, in 1815, for having published the *Journey to the Islands of Africa*, been put by the mercy of the King on the second list of exiles—those whose heads were not demanded, but who were banished for life?

Bory de Saint-Vincent was not worthy of credence so far as Malte-Brun was concerned, but hereupon J. Cohen, an old royal censor, published an extract from Brooke's book from which enthusiastic descriptions were obtained. From this particularly favourable book Cohen actually modified the expressions and even the amounts Brooke gave a chart of the maximum and minimum cost of the usual articles of food. Cohen quoted only certain articles and gave the lowest price. Here, however, one faces realities, but it is from a comparatively expensive book which does not come

to the hand of the man in the street, whereas the *Descriptions* sell for a few pence. They are still met with in hundreds, so it is said, used by hard hands which have turned their dirty leaves and thereby as it were sanctified them.

Pessimists admit there are rats there, scores of them, but in the popular eye they were neither a pest nor a danger, and at the worst only an inconvenience. There was applied to this vermin a kind of comical enchantment which bore witness to the multitudinous proverbs or quotations in which the name was to be found. Maybe it is not elevating to speak of them, but the rat was unknown until its arrival in Europe, the black in the 14th century, the brown in the 18th. For many it is an object of disgust and detestation; for the scientist it is the constant propagator of serious epidemics, is a source of laughter among fools, so what does it matter if there are rats on St. Helena? Without endangering Bonaparte's life they were an object of derision. This idea was particularly rife in England, probably spread by English sailors who had put into harbour at St. Helena twenty years back. Every Englishman knew there were rats at St. Helena, Napoleon went to the Island of Rats, he was transported there and that was very funny. What luck for the cartoonists? Likenesses reached the continent from England and these were imitated and copied. Here is the Emperor amidst his new subjects; he is suggesting to them an additional Act; he enters in triumph into his States; he flees before his rebellious subjects; he fights them, astride a goat or a cat; he has rats for valets and courtiers; he manœuvres an army of them; a new Robinson, he tames and drills them; he himself becomes a rat and, caught in a trap, delivers a speech. All this kind of thing was to be found in England as well as in France and Germany, thirty efforts attaining such success that certain of them saw light in all three countries. So popular was this conception of St. Helena that, immediately after the departure of the Emperor, manuscript accounts spread abroad in Chester and neighbouring places announced that the Government, in order to exterminate the rats infesting the island, had decided to send a ship-load of cats there. One of the King's officers went to Chester and announced that on a certain day he would pay sixteen shillings for a Tom cat, ten for a she cat, and half-a-crown for a kitten. From all corners of the county country-folk arrived on the day stated laden with baskets full of cats and when they discovered that it was all a hoax of the merry men of

Chester, they flew into a rage, let their cats free in the streets, sacked the Town Hall and wounded several citizens. During the following three weeks more than 4,000 cats were killed in and around Chester.

The rats and the repulsive appearance of the island, an impregnable fortress, are the facts which struck the people, and which were emphasised in these cartoons, but between the perpendicular walls which precluded an entrance to the sole port, Jamestown, could be seen always, in the drawings, a valley of wonderful fertility such as Bruzen de la Martinière had asserted.

By these descriptions, by these prints and these cartoons, the Bourbon police endeavoured to gain credit in France for the idea that Napoleon was going to be as happy, materially, as he would have been in an enchanted abode, and thus ruin in advance any effect which his complaints might produce if the echo of them reached Europe. After some time the police thought it advisable to suppress the cartoons being of opinion that silence was preferable to satire, however exaggerated it might be, and as soon as the public demanded information upon St. Helena the editors supplied it with what they had found in those works which, having been written for no special purpose, had to be taken as authentic.

The English Government was scarcely better informed than the public, for with the exception of a few engineering officers sent to organise a system of fortifications, it did not maintain on St. Helena which was under the control of the East India Company, any agents who could keep them informed. The officers who had advised Bory de Saint-Vincent ought to have presented their findings, but they had been instructed to render a technical and not a descriptive report. Besides, nothing is so irresistible as a legend and the ministers doubtless relied on it.

Actually this legend was not wholly false. There are at St. Helena some corners of verdure under the bare and barren mountains; there are some plains where trees from the temperate zone as well as those from the tropics flourish ; gardens where European vegetables grow as well as American fruit, but these blessed corners are not really very numerous and if, in certain crannies in the rocks where the sea breezes do not penetrate, the heat is excessive, there is at any rate shade there, spouting and running water, cool springs, cascades which, falling from such a height, give at the same time the appearance of crystal coolness, rivalling the rainbows.

There were built at St. Helena the various habitations which appeared suitable to house Europeans—Rosemary Hall for Colonel Smith, Sandy Bay for Mr. Doveton, The Briars for Mr. Balcombe, and the chalet for Miss Mason, but most of these houses would fittingly accommodate only a middle class family They had, however, good gardens, covered walks, verdure and streams, especially Rosemary Hall which it was later suggested be bought to house the Emperor.

There was no comparison, however, between Rosemary Hall and Plantation House, the residence of the Governor. Situated three miles from the town, Plantation House was a beautiful house, well built and of fine appearance, constructed between the years 1791 and 1792. Art had been combined with Nature in making this the most beautiful place on the island. Among the native plants were to be found plants and trees of the most distant countries and the most diverse climates, mimosa from New South Wales grew there with the same luxuriance as in its native land, among the pine-trees of the North and the bamboos of India. Sheltered by the chains of mountains outstanding among which were Diana's Peak (2,700 feet) and Halley's Mount (2,467 feet), Plantation House was shielded from the south-east wind so fatal to all vegetation.

In this house, which was a palace filled with Chinese and negro servants, the governors appointed by the East India Company entertained travellers of distinction coming from or returning to the Indies. It was a really lovely house in the middle of a wonderful park, and travellers in printing their narratives, no doubt remembered only the sumptuous hospitality they received there and from that considered the whole island to be like it.

The higher one goes the sourer becomes the soil, the poorer the vegetation, the more violent the wind. By successive stages heights are reached where a penetrating mist prevails, the result of moisture rising from the ocean. One speedily passes from a moist heat which soaks the clothing to a chilliness which obliges one frequently to resort to fires. Small shrubs and poor trees which try to grow all lean one way, due to the sea breezes, and give the appearance of insecurity and confusion. With no shade their foliage is dried up, sparse and wretched. Little gum-trees which have been planted are dead and their name alone survives in that of a wood, *Deadwood.*

Five hundred metres above sea level there stretches quite an extensive plain on the side exposed to the wind and fairly near the

Longwood House in the time of Napoleon

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sea The sea coasts from Sugar Loaf Hill to Prosperous Bay are inaccessible, the sea ceaselessly eroding them, and with the exception of a road following the projection of the mountains between the bay and the rock, opening out across the plain after intricate zigzags, the land is no less inhospitable than the ocean

*Longwood*

In 1815 there stood here a kind of barn erected in 1755 at the time when Governor Dunbar, thinking that this plain was fertile, had it put under cultivation The first harvest of barley, oats and wheat gave such hope that this barn was built, together with several other buildings, to accommodate the Company's farmers, but the succeeding harvests having produced nothing the barn was transformed into a country house for the Lieutenant-Governor This agricultural failure was attributed to the climate and to some peculiarity of the soil, and it was officially denied that the seed was consumed by rats However, these rats were so numerous that "in 1756, for lack of any other food, they skinned the gum-trees at Longwood"

Despite this setback, there was on the island some arable land and in 1777 it was planned, in order to use Longwood in creating pastures, to direct water there by means of an undertaking which would have cost immense sums of money The Company momentarily rejected the scheme and decided to replant the woods despoiled by cattle, goats and sheep The trees on the island were of so uncommon a species that it was forbidden to fell them under severe penalties All fuel, wood and coal, came from England To plant Longwood Italian poplars were decided upon because of their rapid growth and the shade they might afford, but they did not flourish and a return was made to gum-trees which alone were capable of withstanding the wind and of growing in this rocky soil The enclosure and plantation of Longwood, roughly 600 acres, cost the Company more than £8,000 sterling without ever yielding to it a single foot of timber

To prevent a military insurrection like that of 1811 when the Lieutenant-Governor was carried off to Longwood by the mutineers without being able to defend himself, Governor Wilks, who had wonderfully developed Chinese labour in the island, planned in 1813 to put under cultivation certain stretches of land on the plain, at a place called Deadwood, and to station troops there He had

cleared and enclosed a piece of 36 acres on which he combined barracks, guard rooms, a government house, a hospital and other buildings, and which he maintained in water by means of aqueducts and reservoirs the construction of which cost £13,000 sterling. This conglomeration of buildings was erected on the same plain as Longwood but a fair distance from it. The water, which contained much magnesia and was scarcely fit for drinking purposes without being firstly boiled, was directed by canals only to the Deadwood barracks. For Longwood drinking water had to be fetched from a spring, a distance of 1,200 metres from the house and, carried in open casks which had contained wine or rum, it arrived foul and thick.

*The Cost of Living.*

In the Longwood enclosure the Company's cattle wandered at will and no one disturbed them. Moreover, except in the Company's garden, fresh vegetables were hardly ever found elsewhere on the island. The few inhabitants who could make anything out of their land grew only potatoes, which they sold to advantage to the ships in harbour and of which they grew between six and seven thousand bushels a year not caring about products which might have been a little more costly. All articles of food came from the Cape of Good Hope, England, Brazil or the coast of Africa, but primarily from England and the Cape. So too clothing, furniture, even building materials, and coal of which, despite the assertions of geographers, not one lump was ever found on the island. A pound of veal cost 6½d.; of beef, first quality, 1s. 2d., second quality 11d.; mutton from 1s. 2d. to 1s. 6d.; lamb, hindquarters, 10s.; pork, per pound, from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d.; fowl 6s. to 9s.; turkey 30s. to 40s.; a ham £3; eggs 5s. a dozen; butter 3s. a pound; candles 3s. 6d. a pound; candy sugar 2s. a pound; refined sugar 3s. a pound; cheese 3s. a pound. The cows arrived from the Cape like skeletons, the sheep were so thin that now and again at Longwood a candle would be placed inside a carcass of a recently slaughtered sheep before it was cut up and a lantern made of it. When they came from the Cape, Rio or Angola the animals were most often in such a state of exhaustion and consumption that they could not recover on the poor pastures of the island where, furthermore, they were allowed to chew the cud as little as possible. The sheep grazing, by a strange phenomenon, did not fatten their bodies or legs but only their tails which were in consequence large but odious.

One lived at the mercy of the wind, from one day to another one might be reduced to frozen meat There was no lack of this for the English had taken care to maintain a reserve sufficient to feed the garrison and the inhabitants for three years, but these provisions were rationed out Moreover, the regulations were like those aboard a man-of-war The English residents, all, or nearly all, employees of the Company or licensed purveyors to the ships, had to obey the laws which each new Governor exerted himself in making more strict you may not fell trees or kill your own cows, you may not shoot pheasant—game reserved for the Governor's table, it is true that doves or partridges could be shot, but on condition that once shot they should be recovered from the ravines The slightest suspicion meant dismissal Negroes, mulattos, Chinese and Indians lived according to His Excellency's pleasure—slavery being the lot of some and semi-slavery that of others

There were several roads, one a very good one, from Jamestown to Plantation House, and a very rough one between the rock and the abyss, without a parapet or rails, leading to Longwood However good a rider one was the falls were many and each a dangerous one

*The Garrison*

The Island it seemed defended itself, but the English had everywhere increased the fortifications, there was not a seemingly accessible point but that a battery was established there 'Upon the arrival of the Emperor, sentries will be stationed on all the coasts, a system of signals will keep the Governor informed of everything at all times There will be on the island 500 pieces of artillery in batteries, 24 fighting pieces and several mortars, there will be a considerable number of other pieces in the storehouses The troops will be divided between the three chief points · Deadwood, Ladder Hill and Jamestown Outposts will be in position at Sandy Bay, High Peak, Lemon Valley, Egg Island, and Tag Lake, at Deadwood camp there will be established the light dragoons of the 21st to the number of twenty commanded by a lieutenant and serving as orderlies or guides, the Royal Engineers, twenty men commanded by a lieutenant, the 2nd battalion of the 53rd (the regiment will vary, but the effective force will remain obviously similar), 26 officers, 619 N.C.O.'s, corporals, drummers, and soldiers At Ladder Hill, quite near Deadwood, there will be of the Royal Engineers, 3 officers and 45 men, of the Royal Artillery, 3 officers and 66 men, of the

island infantry, 19 officers and 288 men ; at Jamestown, the principal portion of the 2nd battalion of the 66th regiment (17 officers and 420 men), the island artillery (16 officers and 376 men), and the Volunteer infantry (12 officers and 530 men).' So 493 officers, N.C.O.'s, corporals and drummers, and 2,291 men would be appointed to look after Napoleon, to prevent any secret landing, any attempted escape, any communication. And they would do service as before an enemy and any of those not actually under arms must be ready at the first signal.

*The Squadron.*

In addition to this internal garrison the island would be guarded, as a second line, by an entire squadron: three vessels or frigates, two "men-of-war," each carrying 20 guns, and six brigs with ten or twelve guns to do duty as scouts or messengers. The little desert island of Ascension being a possible base of operations for attempting liberators, a brig would be stationed there and on the rock would be erected and armed a battery guarded by 65 seamen who would be kept supplied from St. Helena with food and fresh water.

*The Officers of the Company.*

Prior to 1815 St. Helena had only one master, the representative of the East India Company, under the control of the Council of Directors. At the moment the Company had temporarily resigned its powers into the hands of the Crown, and the Governor, appointed by the King, assumed all authority. But he no longer exercised the authority of Governor of the Company which, if he was a superior officer, was none the less somewhat of a contractor for it, offering hospitality to travellers going to or returning from the Indies. Paid and supplied to this effect he had maintained a courtesy from which no servant of the Company had deviated even regarding the prisoner of Europe.

The Company's servants certainly had no authority over him, and had received no instructions from the Company except that they should return to England. Their reign was without doubt at an end and they gave way, but they were still able to find means of showing their enmity or their bad breeding.

On the other hand, Colonel Mark Wilks, in his duty since the Emperor's landing, appeared to Las Cases "a man of the best breeding and very pleasant; his wife was kind and amiable, his

daughter delightful "—so much so that Gourgaud almost immediately fell madly in love with her. "There's a woman," he cried every time he met her, "The adorable Laura." The Emperor's officers were received in the best possible manner at Plantation House. The Governor, with his wife and daughter, came to visit the Emperor and, besides being of good standing, he had taken part in events likely to interest Napoleon, having for a long period been diplomatic agent of the Company among the various Indian princes. In 1810, under the title of *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, he began the publication of a *magnum opus* in which he related events in the Kingdom of Mysore up to 1799. It was the history of the sovereign who might have been a most valuable ally to France and one to whom Bonaparte from Egypt had wished to lend a helping hand. Who knows but that these two, Tippoo Sahib and Bonaparte, might have destroyed the power of England in the Indies? But in front of both of them arose the man of fate, that Arthur Wellesley, who was to be the Prince of Waterloo . . . What a conversationalist this man who had so well known the heroic defender of Seringapatam would have been for the Emperor!

And then with Wilks he might have enjoyed other subjects of conversation: chemistry, the continental blockade, the military systems of the two nations, and the two ladies might have adorned the relations with a charm and a particularly welcome pleasantness.

The society of the Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel J. Skelton, might have been more invaluable still. The Emperor who had followed the Skeltons into their house at Longwood gladly persuaded them to stay to dinner when they came to see him, rode and drove with the Colonel, and played chess with Mrs. Skelton in whom he inspired a respectful compassion.

Here is a proof of this which no one will question. When, about a month after the Wilks, the Skeltons were due to leave St. Helena, on May 13, 1816, Mrs. Skelton showed herself disturbed, apprehensive and reluctant at leaving the Emperor in the new Governor's hands. "She said she would very much have liked to take away with her some souvenir of the Emperor; she spoke like someone who desired a present," wrote Gourgaud who, in a genuine desire for a memento, perceived a greedy disposition. She received nothing, not even a flower which his hand had touched, and immediately after her landing in England she wrote to *Madame Mère*. She gave her news of the prisoner, and assured her that on May 13

he was very well. "You cannot conceive," replied Fesch to her on August 22, "the happiness your letter has brought to my sister and me; it is the first time we have had any news from Longwood. What request can I make of you without presuming to be troublesome to you? You yourself can realise how his mother and his uncle cherish with all their hearts any good news you can tell them. Has he received our news? Can we get any to him? Would you be so obliging as to inform us of anything you learn from St. Helena? Would you let us know what we can send him which will be pleasing to him, books or anything?"

Was it not a kindly thought of this woman to remember with maternal solicitude that, despite national hatreds and prejudices, there was a sorrowing mother? She wrote very simply: "I have seen him. He is well." And this letter brought the first proof that he was still alive.

*Sir George Cockburn.*

Such consideration was not to be expected from Admiral Sir George Cockburn who temporarily assumed the duties of both Commander of the squadron and Governor of the island. He was more proud, less obliging, more convinced of his own importance, more affected on account of his birth and rank, for he was descended from an illustrious family, he was well-bred and fashionable, but he was English, a soldier, an admiral, his watchword was strictness and he knew how to enforce it. "As gaoler, we could not but commend him," wrote Las Cases, "but as host, we were obliged to complain." Cockburn did not consider himself host or that he was supposed to offer hospitality to Buonaparte. Being responsible for his detention, he had to perform his duties as a loyal subject of his King and at the same time to show his prisoner the respect which his former position merited, the career he had enjoyed, and the good fortune which had now deserted him, but to remember that Napoleon had once been Emperor, that he had legitimately occupied a throne, never! The English conception was quite the reverse.

Sir George Cockburn, who traced his antecedents from the beginning of the 13th century and a distant ancestor of whom had in 1358 obtained from David II, King of Scotland, the barony of Carriden, in the county of Linlithgow, was descended from a family which, throughout the centuries, had played a conspicuous part in the army, in parliament and in politics. His brother, major-general,

had been Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, he himself, born in 1772, entered the navy at a very early age and was, at 23 years of age, commander of the frigate *Meleager* at the battle of March 13, 1795. In 1809 he flew the flag of commodore on the *Pompey* at the time of the capture of Martinique. He had participated in the Walcheren expedition and, promoted admiral on August 12, 1812, had taken an active part in the war against the United States. He was destined for the most important duties and the highest office—Lord of the Admiralty, adviser to Admiral the Duke of Clarence, Admiral of the United Kingdom, and decorated with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath. Such a man could not fail to be strongly attached to the policy which had prevailed in his own country, to have become imbued with the prejudices of the party which he was soon to support in Parliament and which was going to associate itself with his administration, but at the same time, he was too well-bred to stoop to those bickerings which he considered unworthy of a man of his class.

Certainly, being English and an admiral, he had nowhere forgotten his superiority and when, the Emperor being seasick, Bertrand had requested a larger cabin for him, Cockburn had replied : "Tell the General it is contrary to the ship's regulations to lend the Admiral's cabin to anyone, much less to a prisoner of war." He heard that the Emperor was conforming to the rules which he had formulated and when, the dinner gong having sounded at three o'clock, Bertrand came to tell him that the Emperor, who was ill, requested that it should be delayed, he replied : "Tell the General that I have an official order to make no alteration in the routine of the ship." He certainly showed that he intended to be master on his own ship—and in a manner so uncompromising that certain of his companions demurred, but at St. Helena, while reserving the best residence for himself as an Englishman and Governor, he was eager to render the accommodation chosen for Buonaparte less unpleasant. He had tents erected and he organised the rooms ; then, when Longwood was selected for want of another, and Napoleon conceived a desire *to be housed there in the hope of avoiding intruders and of enjoying* a kind of freedom in a naturally fortified enclosure which he could perambulate at will or merely to seek a change, the Admiral found himself obliged to accommodate, in the little house of the Lieutenant-Governor, the unwieldy retinue of the Emperor—twelve *maîtres*, fourteen French domestic servants, some English domestics, negroes

and Chinese almost to the number of a hundred, and turned to with laudable zeal, augmenting the workmen with carpenters from his own ships and from the parties of sailors who were hauling wood brought from the Cape or the African coast from Jamestown to Longwood ; he contrived to give the house an appearance other than that of dilapidated walls and floors, internal misery and wretched poverty.

Napoleon suffered less from that than others, less than certain of the men who surrounded him. He said that he had no needs: that was true, and his retinue was of little consequence to him. He had his genius and that was sufficient. Since the dormitory of Brienne and the attic in the Military School, he had, everywhere and always, encamped without stopping anywhere more than a few days. Except during the early period of his Consulate he had seldom spent more than a month at a time in his capital. He went from inn to elaborate bedroom, from tent to palace, from vicarage to Imperial Palace and to all around him he was blind. Did he ever see anything of it? We cannot say—but everywhere he took with him such possessions as his sub-lieutenant's kit, necessaries, arms, portraits, and certain family objects which he treasured above everything, not for their artistic or monetary value, but because of the memories they revived—of people, events, of glory and grandeur. As soon as he was surrounded with these souvenirs, he sent away his suite and arranged his boxes, there by himself, be it at an inn, a cottage, or a castle. He lived rough, he remained a Corsican: he did not suffer directly from the lack of convenience or comfort. If care had been taken to make him comfortable he showed a certain satisfaction, not because he derived a sensual pleasure from it, but solely because he considered he had been treated as he ought. And it was in this way, in his wounded pride, in the changing of his habits—of his moral rather than physical habits—that he was destined to suffer.

Under Cockburn's government there was, despite the irritation which the Emperor displayed on different occasions, only a discharge of the positive instructions of the English Government, and so Napoleon, even in face of the abuse of force which England used against him, did not feel justified in saying or doing anything for it would be unfortunate if his vehemence or mischief, either in word or deed, placed him in antagonism with the Admiral to the latter's detriment at home.

The Emperor felt keenly the Admiral's refusal to address him by the title bestowed upon him by the French people, but the English Government had expressly forbidden it The Emperor could not without anger see himself confined within limits guarded by sentries, that every time he went beyond these limits, he must be accompanied by an English officer, that he could neither receive nor despatch a letter without its being read by the Admiral, and that this prohibition affected even the letters which he might write to express a desire or a request to the English Government, but all this was definitely stated in the memorandum, in 26 articles, which Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the War Department and for the Colonies, had transmitted on July 30, 1815, through the Lords of the Admiralty to the Admiral This memorandum was accompanied by a letter, written in the name of the Prince Regent, in which "in enjoining the Admiral to observe all possible deference to the General's requests," emphasis was laid on the condition that there should be nothing contradictory to the essential necessity that the Admiral, as well as the Governor of St Helena, must always observe of a strict guard "over the person of General Buonaparte" Such then were the instructions issued to the Admiral His orders, of an almost liturgical formalism, restricted him within such narrow confines that would barely allow him to use his own discretion, his spirit of conciliation, his impartiality Even in infringing certain articles, he must never please the Emperor, much less ingratiate himself with him, but in keeping himself strictly in his place, in allowing nothing that could be harmfully interpreted, in writing the least possible, in handling affairs of importance with calmness, without anger and self-interest, he was to take care to provoke no disturbance, to foster no controversy, in short, he must play the perfect rôle "The Admiral was a *gendarme*," Napoleon said Was this not praise?

What rendered Cockburn's position less difficult was the fact that his post was temporary, for he knew on the voyage out of his supersession, that he was going to hand over his duties with the difficulties associated with them to a general officer who had had wide experience, and whose ability he did not overestimate Secondly, he was provided with instructions the precise performance of which to some degree was subservient to his feelings, and his Napoleonic mission was in addition to his command of a squadron

*The new Governor.*

The Governor who was due was to be permanent. His duties did not depend upon a ministerial memorandum and a letter from the Prince Regent, but upon an Act of Parliament proclaimed in most solemn manner on April 11, 1816 (An Act to render more effective the confinement of Napoleon Buonaparte, 56 George III, Chapter xxii). In that, with its eight laws in eight paragraphs, the English Parliament enacted " that it will be legal for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, to confine and to put the said Napoleon Buonaparte in the custody of such a person or persons, in such a place in His Majesty's possessions, and under such restrictions during the good pleasure of His Majesty, his heirs and successors, as may seem from time to time suitable to His Majesty, his heirs and successors."

In the same Act " the Very Excellent Majesty the King," the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons testified that until the date on which the Act was proclaimed, April 11, 1816, Napoleon's confinement was illegal and unconstitutional. The legality vested in it at the moment was scarcely any greater. The British Parliament had no right to pass laws concerning a foreigner who was not subject to its jurisdiction, but English hypocrisy covered with legal phraseology an action which no Act of any Parliament could render legitimate.

By the second paragraph, it would be legal for His Majesty and his successors to place " Napoleon Buonaparte, regarded, considered and treated as a prisoner of war, in the custody of such a subject of His Majesty as has been appointed and nominated by a warrant," to determine the place of his detention, and to invest the custodian with " full power and authority to use all the ways and means of confining the said Napoleon Buonaparte . . . which can be legally employed in the detention and custody . . . of any prisoner of war."

It then prescribed the death penalty, as in the case of treason, for any subject of His Majesty who should free or attempt to free the said Napoleon Buonaparte or who, knowingly and voluntarily, lent help or assistance in an attempted escape, together with the most detailed enumeration of the events which might lead to an escape, and with the extension of English jurisdiction over anyone accused of having " aided or co-operated with the aforementioned Napoleon Buonaparte to escape and go to other possessions or places whatsoever," be they " in any other country " or even " on the high seas."

And it said that "all contraventions of this Act whether committed in His Majesty's possessions, outside His Majesty's possessions, or on the high seas, will be dealt with, tried, judged and punished in some county of England as if they had been committed in that county" And it dealt with the legal detention and conveyance to England of anyone apprehended in the contravention of this Act, and laid it down that if any person took legal action of any kind on account of anything done in pursuance of this Act, the court concerned could flatly refuse to interest itself in the matter so much so that no plaintiff could expect any redress

It remained to select someone to administer this law The man who introduced it should be able to choose the man to be entrusted with its application, and constantly to take good care that this subordinate did not slacken in his severity, because of all the aristocrats who waged war against France and against Napoleon, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies was the most vehement and irreconcilable He regarded them with a hatred which he applied to all policy which was not strictly, purely conservative He detested France as much as he abhorred constitutional reform, Napoleon as much as the Pope As he came from a middle-class family and as he discovered in its fourth generation the nobility of a London alderman, so, from this Alderman Lancelot, who lived in the 17th century, to himself Henry Bathurst, Earl Bathurst of Battlesden, and Baron Apsley of Apsley in Sussex, his line increased in distinction and dignity without any of its members carrying a sword or shedding a drop of blood for their country As all the glory the Bathursts acquired came to them by chicanery or from their association with some Danish princess or certain Hanoverians, *Lord Bathurst*, Earl Bathurst, naturally carried loyalist implacability further than the posterity of conquerors or the descendants of those who made England He was not likely to allow any relaxation in the severity of the restrictions regarding the prisoner of Europe, since that hospitality which Napoleon sought had, for reasons of State so-called, been changed to captivity Not to make the least attempt to show the prisoner any sort of courtesy, by respect, formality or physical comfort, which would cost nothing, would not compromise the balance nor the security of the Three Kingdoms Others who had been soldiers or sailors knew that to such a soldier—acknowledging Napoleon to be only this—was due the consideration which, after

battle, officers of every country show; others, who knew his history and appreciated his genius could, since England was definitely victorious, show the captive in ways that would please him that the strict interpretation of their orders did *not blind their personal* admiration. That was not impossible for Admiral Cockburn's successor, Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, showed it. He was not Governor certainly, but if he were his conduct would have been the same for he was well-bred, educated, from a military family, and his wife, née Elphinstone, shared with Napoleon feelings of gratitude partly his own, but Lord Bathurst never entrusted the security of Napoleon to such men. The man he wanted, as he said in the order he issued, was one who would be continually on the watch "so that General Buonaparte cannot escape or establish communication with anyone"; a man who would see that the article in the order prescribing the necessity of General Buonaparte being constantly accompanied by an officer and soldiers was not neglected; who would keep him in custody within the bounds guarded by sentries every time a vessel arrived at St. Helena; who would prescribe any regulation that seemed necessary; open and read all letters addressed to Napoleon *himself or to any of his suite*; confiscate any letter or object not transmitted by the Secretary of State to St. Helena; who at his will would transform the whole island into a prison from which any suspected person should be expelled and where no fishing boat, no foreign vessel, no merchant ship should land. This man should determine what could properly be allowed the prisoner. He should decide about the house to be sent and erected at St. Helena and about the furniture to be installed in it. "The intention of His Majesty's Government is that the apartment occupied by Napoleon Buonaparte shall be suitably furnished, but that unnecessary expenditure must be avoided; the furniture must be strong and carefully selected, but without any extra expense."

Thus Lancelot Bathurst, alderman of London, might have spoken. Despite his titles and distinctions, the great-grandson had not learned to be a great lord and he remained a City merchant . . .

Can there be found in the English army a general officer disposed to accept "a post involving so much embarrassment, so much responsibility and exclusion from society?" asked Bathurst himself of the Duke of Wellington.

It is true the financial advantages were considerable. Over and above the salary of his rank (for a lieutenant-general £2,000, 50,000 francs), the salary as governor was £12,000 (300,000), with all the advantages of accommodation, service and supplies which the governors of the East India Company had, and without the duty incumbent on them of receiving and entertaining the Company's passengers and officers, but was not this prosperity only an inducement to some of the officers of high rank (all or nearly all belonging to the aristocracy of the United Kingdom, all or nearly all having the reality or the hope of great wealth, occupying equal social status at least in their military rank), to be attracted, however sincere might be their loyalty, by these duties of gaoler, of governor of a colony which was only temporarily dependent upon the Crown, the climate of which was notoriously poor, and where all habits of worldly and social life must be given up?

According to Lord Bathurst himself there was only one officer in the whole army who would resolutely overlook these inconveniences and be prepared for all the emergencies which might arise, an officer who, although holding the rank of major-general, remained, so-to-speak, on the fringe of the army, a self-made soldier, without relatives, family or wealth, who had not distinguished himself in battle, who had not displayed any super-ability or genius, but one who had gained a reputation for his strict observance of rules, by a ceaseless diligence to duty, by a formalism which regarded an order as sacred Of absolute integrity, for he had emerged a poor man from those places where many others had become rich, austere in his private life, sober, having the presbyterian trait of an unrestrained faculty for speaking or writing, and the inexhaustible fluency of a clergyman, in addition, to guard Buonaparte, to understand his temperament, *to see through his ingenuity, to baffle his tricks, to impose* "the restrictions" on him, this officer had, in Lord Bathurst's eyes, a qualification possessed in like degree by no other English officer, that of having lived for nearly fourteen years among Corsicans, of having demanded conditions of them, and made them submissive to his orders

So on July 24, 1815, Lord Bathurst, without any hesitation whatever, appointed that officer, Major-General Sir Hudson Lowe, Colonel of the *Royal Corsican Rangers*

Only those who had no idea of Lord Bathurst's character denied that the appointment as custodian of the Emperor of an officer who owed his whole promotion to commanding Corsican rebels in France

was a premeditated insult. As for the gaoler himself, whether it was of the Emperor of the French or of mercenaries who had by bribery deserted their country to serve a national enemy, it was of no consequence, they were all Corsicans, they deserved the same treatment and must submit to the same master.

To this Englishman, so typically English, who *was* Napoleon exactly? "A Corsican adventurer" who had rebelled against his King, who had amassed incredible wealth, but remained none the less a rebel. Nothing remained in the eyes of a loyal Briton of what had happened in France since the Revolution. The English—except certain Whigs, a very few and in no favour—did not know, did not care how France had lived, fought, and prospered for twenty-five years. Ranks, titles, names, duties, they did not recognise. When Lord Bentinck, commander of the English forces in Sicily, negotiated in the name of England and in his own interest with Murat, King of Naples, Grand Admiral and French prince, he addressed him with a great effort as marshal, and with what affectation! He nevertheless made this great effort in spite of himself and over national pride. For Bathurst, for Lowe and for the majority of Englishmen—nearly all of them—it was gracious enough to accord Buonaparte the title of General. Had he not received it at the hands of the Executive Council of the Republic and then from the rebels? What would he legally have been had not England at the Peace of Amiens been so weak as to give him the title of General?—Captain. For the latter rank he received royal assent; since '92 he had secured promotion, but only at the hands of the rebels and this did not count. So the Comte de Provence having succeeded his nephew who "has reigned in chains," took the name of Louis XVIII and dated his first act as the 19th year of his reign. Unfortunately he could not effectually blot out history and was unable to erase, even by destroying all its monuments and all traces of it, the 23 years which had passed since the triumph of the revolutionaries. One sovereign alone had been logical, inspired and consistent, the King of Sardinia, and on his return to Turin he put everything in the places they occupied before his departure—colonels were relegated to pages, generals to lieutenants: that was the complete Restoration. What if Louis XVIII had restored Buonaparte to the rank of Captain before having him shot as a rebel, that would have delighted the descendant of Alderman Bathurst as well as Sir Hudson Lowe. *General* Buonaparte!

This *rapprochement*, which any man who courted harmony might have avoided, appeared from the outset a grand thing to Lord Bathurst This was a trait in his genius No one had recommended Hudson Lowe, no one had intrigued on his behalf, he himself had known his possible appointment only by an order he had received to return in all haste to England The choice of him was spontaneous and wise; proposed by Lord Bathurst, it was deliberated and voted upon by the administration of which Lord Liverpool was the head, and the members of which were Lord Westmoreland, Lord Vansittart, Lord Musgrave, Lord Melville, Lord Sidmouth, Viscount Castlereagh and Lord Bathurst These names must be manifest for they were the judges It is meet they should be judged

Hudson Lowe was the son of John H Lowe, surgeon of the 50th Foot, and Eliza Morgan, daughter of John Morgan of Galway He was born at Galway in Ireland on July 28, 1769, being thus 18 days older than Napoleon In his early childhood he was taken to America by his father who had accompanied his regiment there, and in his old age still retained the memory of the magnificent manœuvres of the Hessian troops, he never again found soldiers so well drilled Upon his return from America, he went to school at Salisbury where he continued his education It was said that "To the end of his life he remained much attached to this town and its magnificent cathedral" While at college, twelve years of age, he received a commission as ensign in the East Devon militia which qualified him at 18, in 1787, for the appointment as ensign in his father's regiment, garrisoned at Gibraltar He distinguished himself there by his diligence and his honourable service He recalled in the later years of his life the reprimand which he received from a superior officer because in patrolling the ramparts in a hurricane of rain and wind he had not challenged him at the regulation distance. After five years' service he obtained leave, but this was not spent in futile pleasure-seeking; with very little money he made a long journey across Italy without knowing even a smattering of the language He thus learned Italian and spoke it fluently which was of great assistance to him in his career Further, he witnessed many things, including the death of [illegible] at Rome

From Gibraltar, whither he had returned, he went to Corsica with his regiment under the supreme orders of Sir David Dundas,

who had commanded the English garrison at Toulon. He participated in the campaigns and apparently in the battle of Bocognano where the 50th sustained losses. He garrisoned Ajaccio, the capital of this kingdom with which Paoli had baited English conceit to render her well-disposed towards Corsican greed. He associated there with certain islanders in English employ, such as Campi, who was secretary general of the Liamone district in the year VI and who waged an implacable war against anyone not of his opinion. Campi related to him enthusiastic accounts of Napoleon Buonaparte and his service at Toulon. The Corsicans, even when rallying to England, displayed before this new general that desire for possession which made them personally foolishly vain of the glory or the prosperity of their compatriots and induced them to believe that one or the other ought to belong to them. Besides, Campi was intimate with the Buonapartes and later he had in affairs of importance the entire confidence of Mme. Buonaparte and Lucien. It was not necessarily astonishing to find him in the service of the English. The number of Corsicans who sat in the Anglo-Corsican Parliament, who held posts and received favours from the British Government was such that when France took possession of Corsica, the decree excluding from public duty Corsicans who had served the English was almost immediately repealed. Hudson Lowe, moreover, seems to have received from his friend Campi very inaccurate accounts of the Buonapartes, for according to him he asserted that during the English occupation, Mme. Buonaparte and certain of her children remained in Corsica.

From this association with Corsicans, Hudson Lowe, a captain since 1795, retained not only memories but historical accounts, for after the evacuation of the island, he had garrisoned firstly Portoferraio where he was appointed deputy judge advocate to the Council of war, then Lisbon and Minorca where he was detailed off to recruit, organise and train a battalion of 200 men composed of Corsicans and called *Corsican Rangers.* It has been asserted that there was such an abundance of Corsican refugees in the Balearic isles that this mobilisation was a very easy matter. Not impossibly the persecutions of the directory of Liamone of which Campi, the secretary general, was the live wire, forced opponents of the victorious clan to fight, those being at the moment the Catholics. However in 1799 the majority of the fugitives were able to return, the Liamone directory being quashed, the elections, conducted perhaps with greater freedom, changing the administration. It is not very likely that

Lowe recruited from the political outlaws, but rather from the refugees who would have grudges against justice. Domestic strifes, possibly from the crimes they committed, possibly from the terror which neighbouring vengeance inspired, pervaded the adjacent islands.

Whether he found his recruits in the Balearic isles or mustered them from Corsica, Hudson Lowe succeeded in assembling a battalion of 200 men of which he received the command with the temporary rank of major. At the head of these Corsicans he took part in 1801 in Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition against the French occupying Egypt. His corps was in the reserve commanded by General Moore and was in action in the engagements of March 8, 13 and 21, but despite the fact that he had been under fire, it was chiefly in every-day duty that he distinguished himself. "Lowe," said Moore to him, "when you are at the outposts, I always feel sure of a good night's rest." Following the evacuation of Egypt, Lowe came to Malta, and at the Peace of Amiens the *Corsican Rangers* were disbanded. For some while on half-pay in the ranks of the 7th Fusiliers, Lowe was appointed an assistant quarter-master general at the time when the uncertainty of peace gave birth to fears for the invasion of England. Then he was sent on various secret missions, chiefly to Portugal. Actually he spoke Portuguese as well as Spanish and Italian, but his learning availed him nothing in this instance. The Prince Regent of Portugal having concluded—with bad grace no doubt—a treaty of alliance with France and abandoned the plans for the defence of the kingdom by the English, Lowe was sent to the Mediterranean "to recruit a foreign corps which should be composed of men of the same country as that which he had formerly commanded." "It is not superfluous to record," wrote one of his biographers, one of his companion officers, "that this mission presented many difficulties, this country being under French rule, and Sardinia neutral." (This perspicuity in mentioning Corsica showed that no one shared Lord Bathurst's opinion).

Lowe made a first journey to Sardinia with a view to obtaining permission to mobilise there the recruits he had undertaken to enlist, but the Court having given no official consent, he was obliged to take secret measures and it was the island of Madagascar which he adopted as headquarters. He sent agents through Corsica who communicated with Maddalena by a system of signals and ensured the crossing of the individuals enlisted. He himself sailed the

Mediterranean, from Naples to Sicily and Sardinia, promoting the enlistment of men originally from the different Italian states, particularly Piedmont. Of the officers under him one of the most trustworthy seems to have been a certain Count Rivarola who in the English army attained the rank of major-general. The corps thus constituted in 1805 and called the *Royal Corsican Rangers* was composed at first of five companies which were increased to ten after one year's service. Whatever the number of companies the effective force never far exceeded 700 men (709 on November 1, 1805; 656 on August 1, 1806; 728 on December 1, 1806; 700 on July 1, 1807; 730 in June 1809). Lowe held the command with the rank of lieutenant-colonel (December 31, 1803), and the second lieutenant-colonel and the major were English. Of the ten captains, seven according to the *Army List* of 1810 were Corsican (Domin. Rossi, A. Giuteria, P. A. Gerolami, Giovanni Arata, G. Panatieri, Giovanni Susini, M. Carabelli), of the 13 lieutenants, ten were Corsican (Bernardi, Boccheiampi, Manfredi, Zerbi, Ciavaldini, Gaffori, Della Giudara, Ordioni, Astuto, M. Scipioni), four at least of the nine ensigns were Corsican as was the quartermaster. In 1806 the *Royal Corsican Rangers* also supplied most of the officers in a battalion of 500 men raised in Sicily, in English pay and wearing the English uniform. That went to prove that it was not a question of a collection of Italians or foreigners, but of Corsicans, at least a vast majority. Unfortunately, no more details are available, Lowe's English biographers being dumb regarding the recruitment and organisation of the *Royal Corsican Rangers* of which no history seems to have been written.

The first affair in which the regiment took part was in November 1805—an expedition into the Bay of Naples. It was included in the combined Anglo-Russian army—25,000 strong—whose one duty was to have forced Napoleon, victorious at Austerlitz, from conquering the kingdom of Naples. The English general, Sir James Craig, did not risk opening fire against the French to stop their progress. He retired with his men into Sicily.

Lowe with his *Corsican Rangers* was thenceforth identified for the most part with operations directed from Sicily against the French in the kingdom of Naples. Thus it was that two or three hundred of his footsoldiers figured in the operation the chief episode of which was the battle of Sainte-Euphémie: Lowe was not there in person. With five companies which were shortly to rejoin the detached

companies, he had been ordered to occupy the isle of Capri where Sir Sidney Smith had recently decided to take up position and which Capt. Sir Charles Rowley had taken with incredible vigour.

The English, owing much of their success to the absence of fortifications, hastened immediately to put the island in a state of defence, and Sir Charles Stuart, who had succeeded Sir James Craig to the command of the British forces in Sicily, utilised a large part of the resources at his disposal in rendering unassailable a site remarkably effectively fortified by Nature. As for the governor Hudson Lowe, he did not fail to use all his energy in transmitting to Naples news unfavourable to France and in inaugurating a system of information and *espionage*. In August 1808, he was reinforced by the Malta Regiment of ten companies. This regiment had had a poor reputation for courage, but it was asserted that under its new commander, Major Hammil, an officer loved and respected by his men, it would behave better.

The garrison consisted of 1,400 regular soldiers—Corsican or Maltese—in English pay, in addition to a number of the inhabitants of Capri, armed and drilled, when on October 9, 1808, it was attacked by 1,600 Franco-Neapolitans under General Max. Lamarque. Lowe was warned the evening previous when a boat had arrived from Naples with letters, papers and a verbal communication from one of his agents informing him of an early attack. He was therefore able to take precautions, but was nevertheless forced to capitulate after a 13 days' siege. He managed, however, to return to Sicily with his men despite the injunction of the King of Naples. At any moment he might receive reinforcements. The island was surrounded by English frigates, 400 English soldiers had already landed, eight to nine hundred others were awaiting a calm, the forces besieged at Capri were at least equal in number to the French who attacked them. It was of supreme importance that the fortifications, on which millions had been spent by the English, should remain intact, and speedy action was vital. "I have allowed," wrote Captain Lamarque, "Monsieur Colonel Low (*sic*) to evacuate the position, abandoning to us all the magazines, which are very considerable, all munitions and everything belonging to the Government."

The expedition had been formed from detachments taken for the most part from French and Neapolitan regiments stationed at Naples and from the main part of the Royal Corsican regiment,

previously the Corsican Legion, in the service of Naples. "Among our officers and men and theirs," wrote Lowe in his report dated October 18, "there are brothers, cousins, relations, and for twelve days some were constantly face to face with the others. Proclamations signed by M. Saliceti were addressed to my officers and men, urging them by all manner of promises and threats to leave His Majesty's service and to join the French, but the attempt proved abortive. During the whole progress of hostilities, the most rapid fire was ceaselessly maintained between them and not the slightest suspicion of treachery resulted."

It appears certain that during the action the *Royal Corsican Rangers* remained true to their flag, presumably after the capitulation the number of those who crossed to the Neapolitans was negligible, but if Lowe had his police at Naples, Saliceti had his at Capri—perhaps the agents were the same. Saliceti had organised the expedition and a Corsican, his most reliable agent, Cipriani Franceschi, was employed to the best advantage when this same man accompanied the Emperor to St. Helena, and knowing that Lowe, who had never seen him, knew him under the name of Franceschi, he called himself by his Christian name, Cipriani.

Returning to Sicily at the head of his regiment, Lowe took part in the expedition directed by Sir Charles Stuart in June 1809 against the kingdom of Naples which terminated in an attack on the islands of Ischia and Procida. Lowe, with 400 *Corsican Rangers*, was part of a detachment which, under orders from Major-General MacFarlane landed at Ischia. He seems even to have signed the capitulation of the fort with General Colonna who had fled there, but scarcely were the English masters of the island than they deemed it wise to evacuate it. In September, Lowe embarked with his regiment for the expedition under Brigadier-General Oswald directed against the Ionian islands. The islands were not in a state of defence and the English without firing a shot got the better of those who commanded the garrisons of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca and Cerigo. To Lowe the honour of signing in the name of the conquerors the capitulations of Zante and Cephalonia seemed compensation for the fall of Capri. Even by uniting the governments of the two conquered islands, there was but poor retaliation. There was a better stand made when at Santa Maura on April 10, 1810, after a series of very lively engagements and a nine days' bombardment, General Camus de Moulignon, deserted by his Albanian

troops, was forced to surrender One can ask oneself whether Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe, accustomed to police-like practices, had not prepared the conquest of Santa Maura by the opportune intervention of the English Guinea troops

Following the capture of Santa Maura, Lowe was appointed to the presidency of a government comprising also the islands of Cephalonia and Ithaca He then had to deal with extremely involved matters, as much with the British residents and the various island authorities as with Ali, Pasha of Janina, and he prosecuted an energetic attack against Corfu although the inferiority of the British forces ought to have been considered On January 1, 1812, he was graded a colonel, after 24 years' service, without thereby losing his regiment which, 1,160 strong, was still at Corfu in March 1815 and was not disbanded until the beginning of 1817 · in February he left for England which he had not seen for nine years Before sailing he received from the administrative council of Santa Maura a commendatory address and a gold sabre on the blade of which had been engraved his exploits—the usual token of Ionian compliments

His leave lasted a year At the beginning of 1813 he was sent on a mission to the north of Europe with General Hope to whom he was attached His duty was to organise and train, under the name of the Russo-German Legion, bodies composed as largely of deserters and prisoners from contingents of the Confederation of the Rhine as of recruits, to be stationed in the territories which the Allies were reckoning upon conquering It was anticipated that this Legion would attain the strength of one army corps The Prince Royal of Sweden was appointed to undertake its command which naturally devolved upon him But upon their arrival at Gothenburg on February 4, the English emissaries learnt of the Convention of Tauroggen and the desertion of the Prussian General Yorck which seriously restricted their negotiation After a short stay at Stockholm, Lowe was sent by General Hope to inspect the detachments of the Legion which had commenced training and which were to be in English pay He passed through St Petersburg where he renewed acquaintance with Pozzo di Borgo, whom he knew in Corsica and who very lately had left London. He followed the Baltic coasts as far as Königsberg whence he came to Kalisz, the headquarters of the Emperor Alexander He rendered account of all he had seen to Lord Cathcart who presented him to the Emperor.

"I hope," Alexander said to him, "the English people will be satisfied with what I have done."

From Kalisz he set out again to pursue his business of recruiting and organising, and above all was entrusted, it seems, with the duty of directing the effective troops in view of the subsidies which England was paying Europe. In May he returned to the allied headquarters and arrived in time to be present at the battle of Bautzen. It was there that "thanks to his good English spyglass," he saw Napoleon for the first time, and where he proudly pointed him out to the sovereigns and their staff in the vicinity. He was with the allied army during its retreat in Silesia where he remained during the armistice. Then he went to the mouth of the Elbe where the Russo-German Legion under Count Walmoden was intended to join in the operations against Marshal Davout and the Danish. In November he returned to the allied headquarters arriving just in time for the battle of Leipzig, and although no official knew him there he joined Blücher's staff as "honorary" observer. He accompanied him in the French retreat, sending very precise and most useful reports to Sir Charles Stewart. After the battle of Hanau, he returned to the North where he was engaged in inspecting German and Hanoverian levies. It was only at the beginning of 1814, after the commencement of the campaign, that he received instructions appointing him to Blücher's staff. Life was fairly tolerable here for the subordinates, even for foreign officers, but Lowe apparently enjoyed the particular favour of the marshal. He rejoined him at the battle of Brienne and was present at the battle of La Rothière; the next day he sent his chief, Sir C. W. Stewart, a dispatch containing nearly all the facts related up till then in the official reports.

It would be interesting to have the whole text of the reports written by Lowe during the retreat of the army in Silesia. According to certain extracts that have been printed, he gave evidence of political and strategical information, and his dispatches in which he has reported the battles of Laon and Fère-Champenoise, together with the movements of the Prussian army, supply details unprocurable elsewhere. He wrote at great length, but in a precise and clear manner. At this juncture he was in Blücher's good books to such an extent that the latter entrusted him to deliver to the Prince Regent the news of the capitulation of Paris. Either Lowe must have left before this was actually effected or else circumstances

favoured him, for he reached London before any other messenger, was granted an audience of the Prince, whom he found in bed, and this exploit secured for him, with the Order of the Bath, a knighthood and the rank of Major-General (June 14, 1814).

He had nevertheless rendered good service to the Allies, if credence be given to General von Gneisenau who, as chief-of-staff to Blücher, had done everything possible to repair the mistakes made by the marshal. "It was with the greatest satisfaction, my very dear and distinguished general," he wrote to Lowe on November 23, 1814, "that I received your letter of September 15 telling me that you still remembered a man who was very greatly attached to you and who during as memorable a campaign as ever was, learned to appreciate your rare military talents, your profound judgment in major war operations and your imperturbable serenity in battle. These qualities and your loyal character will bind me to you for ever." He recalled to him that he had constantly "opposed timid advice with resolution in face of adversity and that he had never departed from the conviction that, to restore Europe to a state of just peace and security and to crush the government of imperial Jacobinism, the capital must be taken There was no salvation without that."

Major-General Lowe seemed in a fair way towards achieving every ambition During the Summer of 1814 he was appointed quarter-master-general of the army in the Low Countries and as such examined and inspected the condition of the fortresses to be utilised as a barrier against France He was thus engaged when Napoleon returned from Elba The Prince of Orange was commander-in-chief, with Lowe chief-of-staff Unusual negotiations were then begun between him and the Prussian generals to direct the latter to the Meuse; they were almost immediately cancelled by the King of the Low Countries and infinite disorder and panic existed everywhere. If the Emperor had begun an offensive immediately, without doubt events would have taken a vastly different turn

In April, the Duke of Wellington arrived to take command of the army. The ceaseless uneasiness and the procrastination of Lowe "which was," said Lord Seaton, "very disturbing," caused his supersession. Lowe could not give a reply to a question without deliberating at great length and without having taken every care to ensure that he was not making a mistake. "Where does this

road lead, Sir Hudson?" the Duke asked him one day. Lowe began by taking his map from his pocket and consulting it for a long time. Wellington, most exasperated, remarked to an officer in an undertone, "Damned old fool."

This eminent lord, intolerant of the upstarts and self-made officers around him, was also anxious to request the replacement of Lowe who, in May, was sent to Genoa to command the troops intended for embarkation in the fleet of Lord Exmouth to make an attack in the South. In rejoining his post he passed through Heidelberg where on the 10th he had a secret meeting with the Emperor Alexander and arrived in Genoa after the fate of France and of the Emperor had been decided at Waterloo. Lord Exmouth's vessels saw Marseilles and Toulon hoist the white flag without firing a shot. The campaign was noteworthy only for the massacre of the mamelukes at Marseilles, the assassination of Brune at Avignon, the murders committed by the Verdets in the South. It was at Marseilles that Sir Hudson Lowe received the proposal to go to St. Helena to be Napoleon's gaoler. For this duty he was given (November 9, 1815) the rank (*local rank*) of Lieutenant-General; the *local rank* was granted more or less to general officers exercising an independent command (74 in 1821—61 in 1827), and did not carry with it, for any one, the actual rank (*army rank*), which Hudson Lowe did not receive for another fifteen years, on July 22, 1830, but there were the aforementioned monetary advantages which were intended to tempt an officer without means, without family, and without relatives.

Such was Hudson Lowe's career. In order to gain him the attention of the ministry account should not have been taken of his services in Blücher's army, if such were real, nor those in Lord Exmouth's fleet, so little distinguished. Suffice it to say that from 1799 to 1812 he had commanded the *Corsican Rangers* and them only, for he had not the slightest association with any regular regiment in the British army and that was why the Minister for War, who recalled his records of service, decided to take advantage of his experience for the custody of the Corsican Buonaparte. If this motive be not put forward, it must be asserted that in appointing this officer, the ministry intended to do the Emperor, deemed a rebel against his rightful sovereign, the bloodiest of wrongs. We do not want to believe that. Nevertheless it was the period which the Emperor Alexander chose to introduce to Paris a Corsican like Pozzo

di Borgo who, having proclaimed a vendetta against Napoleon for eighteen years, had spent them in arousing his enemies and in laying ambushes for him, and in this manner had Pozzo triumphed over Napoleon. Was it not the time when the Duke of Wellington, victor of Waterloo, writing to Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, recalled that he also had stayed on St. Helena and had resided at the Briars the house of Mr. Balcombe where the Emperor was living, and added "Tell Boney that I found his apartments at the Bourbon Elysée very comfortable, and that I hope he will like mine at the Balcombes'." Did Lord Bathurst choose Hudson Lowe because he had commanded Corsicans, English mercenaries and even excellent royalists? Or because among the aristocracy of the Three Kingdoms there was no one found to undertake such a mission? Why had this major-general been selected, who had served his military career outside the regular army in corps of foreign mercenaries, and who although embellished with a rank and invested with a title was no more a general in the eyes of the Army generals than he was a noble in the eyes of the United Kingdom nobility?

He was, Wellington said one day to Lord Stanhope, "a man lacking education and judgment"; another day he said: "He was a stupid man, not malicious by nature, but ignorant of everything *du monde* and like such people was suspicious and jealous." That was sufficient and explained everything. He might have been "stupid" and *du monde*, that was not incompatible; he might have lacked judgment, even education and been *du monde*, but "not being *du monde*" was intangible, unaccountable, it explained all his stupidity, all his tactless words, utterances, acts and proceedings. And that was not like a rank or a decoration, it could not be acquired.

Such was the man whom, by a warrant dated April 12, 1816, the Secretary of State for War, Earl Bathurst, decreed should guard the Emperor: "Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe, Knight Commander of the most honourable military Order of the Bath, was appointed Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's army at St. Helena and Governor of the said island of St. Helena to undertake the custody of the said Napoleon in the said island, to hold him and guard him as a prisoner of war, to treat him and regard him as such under the restrictions and in the manner already given to him, or to be given to him from time to time, expressed on this account by His Majesty under the signature of one of His Majesty's chief Secretaries of State."

Lowe selected subordinates like himself demanding of them the same diligence as of himself, and exacting from them the same attention to duty. He organised his headquarters of soldiers in whom he had every confidence, and who were no more interested in the methods and customs of the world at large than he himself. There were Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Thomas Reade, Deputy Adjutant-General, Major Gorrequer, aide-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster, superintendent of militia, Major Emmett of the Royal Engineers, Lieutenant Basil Jackson from headquarters, and Doctor Baxter: the last-named certainly came from the *Corsican Rangers* and doubtless some of the others also. These men were the masks which Lowe wore, no other personality could be attributed to them but his. Besides, Lowe was so domineering that he imparted this trait to most of the general or superior officers living at St. Helena. Under his orders, they would become quite different to what they were prior to his arrival; they would submit to his influence not only in the course of duty, but in their relations with the prisoner and the officers of his suite; with him they would lose all sense of respect; they would no longer be "*du monde.*" And if that was so of the officers of the troops, what of the staff officers? They were like Lowe. They stood steadfastly by their chief, should he be pensioned off or die, and they accepted the responsibility of all his actions. Nevertheless, just as he made them go, turn about, run, so he reprimanded their least mistake and demanded ceaseless vigilance of them, for his energy equalled his uneasiness, he was always on his feet, always in a hurry, always harassed, full of responsibility, imbued with duty, and exalted by an importance which at the same time frightened him. He was intoxicated by a promotion which surpassed his most optimistic dreams, by a title which effected an entry into the social hierarchy otherwise as firmly shut as the military, and by his very recent marriage (on December 31, 1815) to the sister of Colonel Sir William Howe de Lancy, one of the heroes of Waterloo, the widow with two daughters quite children—the elder 10 years of age—of Lieutenant-Colonel William Johnston. Thus opened before him an aristocratic paradise he feared to lose. He feared for that huge salary augumented by all sorts of allowances, quite legal—for he was very honest—all the comforts which the East India Company granted to all its officers and which allowed him to assure to Lady Lowe and her two daughters the luxuries of a lavish existence, without which her forty-six years might have appeared a

trifle trying to a woman whom everyone agreed was delightful, extremely desirable, altogether distinguished and superior

However, it need not necessarily be believed that he was out of favour with Nature, nor that he remembered especially those portraits published of him which depicted a countenance in harmony with the actions attributed to him One of his friends wrote: "Sir Hudson Lowe was rather below medium build, not endowed with great power but versatile His forehead was wide and a little high, the back of his head broad, his eyes sunk in their sockets and lowering, his eyebrows very long and thick, his nose rather aquiline, his upper lip projecting, his chin pointed He had a high colour and his hair was fair, he held his head high and never, even at 77, had any tendency to stoop His gait and his movements were usually rapid and sometimes 'abrupt' While talking he often had difficulty in expressing himself and in society he alternated between extreme taciturnity and vehement animation" He had, further, enjoyed amorous conquests A liaison formed "in the Mediterranean lands" had produced two illegitimate children, and of Lady Lowe he had, at St Helena, two sons and two daughters He was then neither a monster nor a greybeard, and he must be painted as he was

He was above all—and far be it from us to reproach him for this—a loyal Briton, a Briton who was, in commanding foreigners, all the more convinced of the pre-eminence not only of England over all nations, but of the Englishman over any individual of any other nationality Nationality is not even the right word the Irish to him were not English

He was a worshipper of the hierarchy the first rung up the ladder of which he had attained and where, very high on a rung he would never reach, titled men and women hovered He did not envy them, nor was he jealous of them; he boasted of it and was proud of it, and by that admirable national sentiment which was found among all Englishmen, he elevated himself to their place and prided himself that there were in his country such beings with whom he could associate firstly by his nationality, then by his rank and finally and above all, by his knighthood

He was indifferent to everything foreign, attaching no [illegible] to it, scarcely recognising it. There was England, the King of England, the peers of the United Kingdom in order of [illegible] bearers of titles, holders of posts,

And then, afar off and very lowly, there were dynastic and loyalist foreigners, emperors, kings, princes, all of whom he regarded more or less as English mercenaries. As to the French, he very naturally put them behind all other peoples, and it was not his fault that he did so.

The man had double, triple blinkers. Nothing could lift them for him, nothing could make him other than what he was. He had quality, breeding, character, education, even the scribbling mania of an adjutant order bearer, and England had made a Lieutenant-Colonel of him to appoint him the Emperor's gaoler.

Everything arose from that fact, from those different elements which constituted his mentality and formed his character. In his home and his private life he was, as his defenders say, probably an excellent man—though frightfully tiresome. He had some virtues and in a high degree those in particular which constitute a perfect subaltern. He made a religion of military duty, was always ready and assiduous, lived only for duty, and dreamed of it to such an extent that he had lost his head over it. He was not responsible for this duty, but he had given his word to carry it out and he discharged it. Once or twice he took the responsibility for procrastination, and on his part it was the triumph of a gentleman's conscience over a soldier's conscience. He blushed for his superiors and the orders they gave him, for their meanness and villainy, but with these exceptions he introduced into his life a stiffness, a lack of formality, an absence of manners, an ignorance of who his prisoner was, all of which seemed just so many insults. He was certainly not "*du monde*."

The theory was not Hudson Lowe's but the English ministry's; the practice was Lowe's and that was enough, but the ministry knew whom it had got hold of. It had selected Lowe out of them all because Lowe was a man such as they knew he would remain and nothing would change him; it had constantly approved of Lowe's sort, it had expressly advised him to live so. Not once during five years did it rebuke him for exceeding his orders, on the contrary it reprimanded him with extreme severity for not displaying sufficient strictness and for showing undue consideration.

In giving Hudson Lowe a major part, the story of the captivity had been falsified, and to this end the Emperor, his companions and French writers united their efforts with English ministers and writers. Every kind of hatred was heaped upon Hudson Lowe and he

has been depicted entirely different to what he was. The French at St Helena were sensible of only him, every instant suffering his inquisition, being the objects of his feverish anxiety, suffering through him, and attributing to him the persecutions of which they were the victims. The English ministers for their part thrust upon this man who possessed nothing, who had neither name nor fortune, and whom they crushed like a disused instrument, the responsibility for the orders which they gave him. It suited British historians to sacrifice an obscure citizen to save the reputation of the dynasty, the administration and the nation. Lowe was the result; the result was given prominence and so the cause was buried in obscurity. Had the cause been disclosed the struggle would have been worth while relating, not that pitiful struggle which humbled the Emperor Napoleon the Great to the level of this poor devil, the colonel of the *Royal Corsican Rangers*, but the epic struggle which enobled and elevated him who attempted it, a struggle which lasted 25 years and the last episode of which was taking place with Napoleon, champion of France and the Revolution, alone, dying, having no communication with the outside world, without any news of those whom he loved more than life itself, with nothing to hope for but death, held in judgment by the European oligarchy of whom the English Oligarchs were appointed executioners.

*The Commissioners*

Europe had to have a hand in the sacrifice if only by means of delegates. That was what she had agreed to do in accordance with the treaties of August 2, 1815, Article III of which read: "The imperial courts of Austria and Russia and the royal court of Prussia shall appoint commissioners who shall live in the place chosen by the Government of His Britannic Majesty for the abode of Napoleon Buonaparte and who without being responsible for his custody shall assure themselves of his presence," and Article IV: "His Most Christian Majesty shall be invited, in the name of the four courts aforementioned, also to send a commissioner to the place of Napoleon's confinement."

England who had sheltered behind Europe to violate its own laws and with hypocrisy to maintain every appearance of generosity, hospitality and liberalism, England who, through Lord Castlereagh, had suggested that Europe, in relinquishing the custody of Napoleon to her, should all the same be able to adopt a certain

superintendence over him, was by no means anxious, having gained her point, that Europe should share her arrangements regarding the prisoner. Even before Napoleon was in her hands, Lord Liverpool wrote to Lord Castlereagh on July 15: "In the matter of where we shall take him, we would prefer that there were no commissioners there appointed by the other Powers, but that he should be entirely handed over to our own discretion." On the 21st, he wrote: "We are extremely reluctant to allow commissioners from the other Powers. Such an arrangement could be permitted for a few months, but when such personages reside in a place where they have nothing to do they soon become bored, more often than not quarrel among themselves, and this wrangling can become seriously embarrassing to the prisoner's official guard." The idea of commissioners having been suggested in the first instance by Castlereagh himself, he had to admit upon consideration that they might give rise to many objections but was awkwardly placed to abolish them now. Liverpool then suggested that to safeguard the principle, and at the same time for the Allied Powers to practise economy, it would be simple by means of a mutual arrangement to send a commissioner in turn for one year thus giving less bother and producing less intrigue than three or four. The principle of sending commissioners was nevertheless adopted on July 28 (the seventeenth sitting), by the delegates of the four Powers (Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia)—the Conference of Four which then decreed the fate of France—and Lord Castlereagh made no fuss of signing the convention of August 2 four days later. It is true that Lord Liverpool immediately drew this conclusion from it that Napoleon being Europe's prisoner, Europe must contribute to his custody and maintenance; that both would cost a lot—three millions or close on (2,946,350 francs) for military and civil expenses alone, and more than three millions (3,280,875 francs) for the squadron, a total of £300,000 sterling, about 7,500,000 francs, not counting his upkeep. This was money, and if the Emperor of Russia had not hesitated to pay his share, the King of Prussia would certainly have refused his, Blücher having suggested far more expeditious means of settling it. Lord Liverpool did not, however, carry into effect his threat to make it a subject of negotiation. He would have had too much to lose by it; as much by the loss of prestige as by the inevitable complications which would arise from the control and settling of the costs, the endeavours of them all to ensure the custody of the captive, the rivalry over

influence and even precedence He therefore submitted to commissioners, but he found very opportune the determination of the King of Prussia not to maintain one and according as one of the three Powers recalled its commissioner, he took care not to insist that he should be replaced For the moment Russia, Austria and the King of France did not fail to make use of a right which put a seal upon their triumph

It was not that the Emperor of Russia might decide to intervene to obtain more favourable treatment for the man to whom he had so often sworn friendship, it was not that he claimed to be regularly responsible for his physical needs, his moral sufferings, to assist the former and alleviate the latter, but he expected to have at St Helena someone to listen and observe, someone who might report to him the least gesture which the prisoner made to overcome his weariness At the moment when the deer had been taken to the trap and shut up in an iron cage was it not necessary to set someone to record his struggles, his violence, his cries, his appeals? No pity but the insulting joy of finding crushed, overwhelmed, miserable and lamenting he whom the world had seen supreme, glorious and dreaded, and of whom it had such fear

The man whom the Emperor Alexander chose to send to St Helena was named Alexander Antonovitch Balmain, who was descended from the family of Ramsay of Balmain, the male line being extinct in Scotland on February 21, 1806 by the death of Sir Alexander Ramsay of Balmain, 6th Bart and Member of Parliament, but a branch of it was perpetuated by him who, having remained faithful to James II, had accompanied him in his banishment, and of which one member was at Constantinople, whence he crossed later into Russia with Bruce, and was destined for such success

Bogdan Andrianovitch Ramsay of Balmain, the first one to enter the Russian service, attained the rank of colonel in command of the regiment of the Trinity and was killed at the battle of Villmanstrand in 1741 He seems to have taken the title of count. A title of Count Holderness, created in 1621 by James I of England (James VI of Scotland) in the interest of James Ramsay, his old page, was renewed in the Ramsay family, but this title became extinct in 1625 by the death without heir of the James whose one brother was created a baronet only that same year, and the Russian branch was not even any relation to the latter

[illegible], the son of Bogdan, was Governor-General of Koursk and

Orel and took a distinguished part in the Caucasian wars because upon his death in 1790, the Empress Catherine endowed his widow with a substantial annuity and several thousand tithes of land. Alexander Antonovitch was then 9 years old. He was promoted standard-bearer, enrolled in a cavalry regiment of the Guard and appointed to a Cadet Corps until the completion of his studies. The Empress also appointed his brother Karl a cadet, known later for his extraordinary courage and his worldly successes, who riddled with wounds died at the age of 26, a major-general. His third brother became one of the pages and his two sisters, the elder of whom was lady of honour to Her Majesty, were sent at the Treasury's expense to a monastery.

Alexander Antonovitch was second captain in a cavalry regiment of the Guard when in the month of March, 1801, "having accompanied a comrade making whoopee," he struck a police officer in the face. The Emperor Paul ordered him to be reduced to the ranks, deprived of all the rights of nobility and enrolled as an ordinary soldier in an infantry regiment in barracks at Petersburg. He spent only three days there; the Emperor Paul having been killed on March 23, the first care of the Emperor Alexander was to reverse all the decisions taken by his late father.

Nevertheless, the three days Balmain had spent in the infantry barracks had disgusted him with military service and he hastened to quit it. On August 20, 1801, he entered the Department of Foreign Affairs and was at first attached to the legation of the King of Sardinia whence he went on January 3, 1803, to the King of Naples. On June 30, 1810, he was appointed secretary of an embassy to Vienna; in 1812, after the commencement of hostilities, he was sent on a secret mission to Gratz and Trieste, and, after the crossing of the Niemen by the French, to Prague, Carlsbad and Dresden; on October 3 he was appointed secretary of an embassy to London. On March 23, 1813, he resumed military service with the rank of lieutenant-colonel and left London with dispatches for the imperial headquarters at Dresden. Until the armistice he was in the advance-guard of the forces commanded by General Walmoden, was transferred to the army of the Prince of Sweden and participated in the battles of Grossbeeren, Wittenberg and Dennewitz—for which he was decorated with the order of Saint-Vladimir, 4th class, with ribbon. In September, attached to Czernitcheff, he took part under Colonel de Benkendorff in the Cassel affray, which won for him the

Cross of Saint-Anne, 2nd Class. He accompanied Czernitcheff in the pursuit of the French army as far as the Rhine and was then entrusted with certain missions to Wintzingerode and Bernadotte who conferred on him the Order of the Sword, but he fell seriously ill at Brême and when on March 1, 1814, completely restored to health, he tried to rejoin the detachment of General Count Vorontzov, he failed because the communications were broken off by the French. He therefore had to remain at Nancy until the allied entry into Paris. On April 4, he went to announce to the French Government the surrender of the fortresses of Metz and Luxemburg which secured for him from the King of Prussia the Order of Merit. On June 11, 1815, he was, by order of the Emperor, sent to the Duke of Wellington with whom he remained until the second occupation of Paris whereupon he carried out, not without danger, several important missions which testified to the complete confidence his sovereign had in him. To the exclusion of his superiors he was on various occasions chosen on account of his tremendous energy, his promptness, his intelligence and his tact, but in selecting him for St. Helena the Emperor Alexander showed even more clearly that he valued him, but for very different reasons.

Balmain was a witty man. Under the Russian uniform he reserved a certain amount of Scottish humour and the amusing fancies which he now and then slipped into his official despatches highly entertained the staff of the Foreign Affairs. He was the lion of drawing-rooms where women surrounded him because he excelled in making the foolish laugh and in reducing them "to hysterics." The subjects which he had to handle certainly needed a cheerful guise, and he was expected to present them embellishing the picturesque and inserting details to make the august recipient laugh. Unfortunately for the chronicle, Count Balmain found at St. Helena allurements which caused him gradually to lose sight of the object of his mission. He was interested to the extent that he finished by marrying Miss Johnson the elder who was in the favour also of Emperor Alexander, he being full of attention towards her as well as towards her step-father, Sir Hudson Lowe.

Count Balmain had not been favoured in the matter of salary; actually to [illegible] than when in Petersburg, Vienna or Paris; of the sum to be [illegible] the agents sent to St. Helena. The [illegible] ministry considered [illegible] 12,000 francs, and [illegible] for travelling expenses. [illegible]

very first Balmain proved that he could not live on this sum and requested to be recalled, his debts amounting to £1,000 at the end of a year. His sovereign then granted him an annual salary of £2,000 (50,000 francs), and a sum of £1,600 (40,000 francs) to pay off the arrears. He said he was satisfied.

The Austrian colleague of Count Balmain, Baron Stürmer, did not receive any such instructions as his companion. While the Russian must keep himself informed of every detail, insinuate himself into the secrets and make every effort to satisfy his sovereign's curiosity, the Austrian need not meddle in whatever was going on, and after ascertaining the presence of Napoleon on St. Helena need only reassure himself monthly. "You must with the greatest care avoid all relations with Napoleon Buonaparte and members of his suite," he was told. "You are to reject, in a peremptory and definite manner, any proposal these people may make to you and if they take the liberty of actual approaches, you should inform the Governor immediately." Unless by despatching a commissioner the Emperor of Austria, certain that these confidential instructions would never be disclosed, desired to gull public opinion into believing that he was interested in the fate of his son-in-law and that in stationing an agent near him he expected to ensure his safety and wellbeing, his intention was not comprehensible. He certainly had no other aim than that of receiving the continuous assurance of Napoleon's incarceration. Or, with the pertinent knowledge that their assistance was unnecessary, did the Austrian oligarchs want to derive smug satisfaction from giving the impression that they also had custody of the prisoner of Europe?

The commissioner appointed by Emperor Francis, like Balmain, followed a diplomatic career. The very recent elevation of his family was due to the proficiency his father had attained in oriental languages. His published works had gained for him a post of interpreter to the internuncio at Constantinople and there he had enjoyed an authority like that of which Ruffin was possessed in the French interest, so much so that he himself was appointed internuncio. Raised to the nobility in 1800, he was created baron in 1813. His elder son, Bartholomew, was born at Constantinople in 1787 and upon returning to Vienna with his parents, he was sent to the Academy of Oriental Languages which opened to him the career of interpreter. But he firstly worked in the office of the high commissioner Count Wrbna who employed him in correspondence with the French during

the occupation, whence he went as interpreter to Constantinople and in 1811 was sent as legation secretary to the imperial embassy at Saint Petersburg. In 1812 and 1813 he accompanied Prince Schwartzenberg into Galicia in the capacity of reporter and private secretary "to help the Prince in his correspondence with the ministers or generals of the Allied Powers or in other like eventualities." He carried on the same duties in 1814 and was present at the Congress of Châtillon. After a fairly lengthy stay in Paris, he was appointed legation secretary at Florence, but before taking up his post he married a young French girl to whom he had become engaged. It was said that she had been a chambermaid, which was not so. Nor was it true, furthermore, that her father had the least right to a title of baron the income from which, according to the German custom, was usually given to the daughter. This girl was called Ermance Catherine Boutet, and was barely seventeen. Her father, an engineer in the employ of the Ministry of War, was the son of a certain Jacques Boutet, a hatter of Loches, who in 1824 (June 15) was raised to the nobility and forthwith until his death was called Baron de Boutet. As such he was known in Austria.

When she arrived at St. Helena Baroness Stürmer introduced no such fictions: "Two or three years ago," wrote Las Cases to the Emperor, "a clerk in the War Office came to my house to give lessons in writing and Latin to my son. He had a daughter whom he intended to make a governess, and asked us to recommend her if ever we got the chance. Mme. de Las Cases sent for her: she was pretty and altogether a most bewitching creature. From that time, Mme. de Las Cases invited her now and again to our house, endeavouring to teach her things which might be useful to her." And it was she, the young Boutet girl, whose husband was appointed commissioner of S.M.I. on October 31, 1815, and she took the greatest care not to recognise Las Cases, who had anticipated her coming with expectations destined immediately to be shattered. This pretty young woman was most prudent and Baron Stürmer certainly did not lack tact and discretion, but upon his sovereign's instructions he had brought with him a Court gardener, named Philipp Welle, entrusted with the acquisition of whatever the island of St. Helena could supply in the way of natural history, particularly botany. Of what dramas this innocent botanist was the cause.

Like his Russian colleague, Baron Stürmer had a salary of only £1,200 sterling: this sum was not increased and the St. Helena

mission ruined him, at least temporarily, for he found himself spending more than £4,000 a year. However, with the exception of two or three occasions, he refrained from speaking of his real destitution, while this was practically the one topic with which his French colleague embellished his dispatches.

His French colleague, alas! he was, for Balmain and Stürmer, Lowe and Reade, Malcolm and Gorrequer, for everyone on the island, from the highest Englishman to the lowest Chinese, the object of mockery, the ogre whom children pointed at; he was, in flesh and bone, the Emigrant, like him of whom Béranger and Debraux sang. This commissioner studiously included in his dispatches and petitions the subject of the songs he had listened to from the royal box. He was there to prove that nothing was exaggerated and nothing contradicted. He was Claude Marin Henri de Montchenu; his father, Joseph de Montchenu, styled himself Seigneur de Thodure. He himself, on May 22, 1789, in presenting his marriage contract to Their Majesties, was Baron de Montchenu, and after wavering for a year or so, between count and marquis, he definitely decided on the latter title as being more imposing and in keeping with his person. Born in 1757, enrolled at 15 in the Light Horse of the Guard, lieutenant in the Dragoons in 1775, he was its captain in '79 and colonel in '83. It was known that the Court had created this rank which, without any apparent utility, had doubled the number of colonels from Versailles in order the sooner to give the nobility access to the high grades. Actually Montchenu came from a very ancient family and was very distantly related to the Houses of France, Savoy and Spain.

Baron de Montchenu, discharged in 1788, in the following year married one Maupeou d'Ableiges, emigrated in 1792, was identified with that corps of the Duc de Bourbon which appeared nowhere and which, ready to act on September 1, 1792, was disbanded on November 22. Then he refrained from any step likely to compromise his person and after staying in Westphalia for eight years, returned to France barely a month after Brumaire, by presenting a certificate from the Mayor of Versailles, issued on the oath of eight witnesses testifying that citizen Montchenu had resided at Versailles from May 1, 1791 until 20th Fructidor V. Despite certain difficulties arising from the superfluity of Montchenus regarding "superintendence," Claude Marin Henri, backed by the consuls Cambacérès

and Lebrun, succeeded in getting himself paid off. He lived in Paris, then at Lyons and in the cafés he frequented he used to say: "When *this man* has fallen, I shall beg the King to appoint me his gaoler." It was in 1811 that Montchenu scented danger from afar and his limitless ambitions were at first incomprehensible. Despite his campaigns, his name and his services, he was not, at the first Restoration, treated according to his deserts. So he came to petition at Vienna! For what? An indemnity, so it was said, for the fodder consumed at the time of the Seven Years War. He was an intolerable gossiper, a dupe of the first water and of the formidable kind! Talleyrand had seen him and thought a lot of him, and it was Talleyrand who suggested the marquis, who had rejoined the King at Ghent, for the St. Helena post. Did he, as was said, yield to Mmes. de Jaucourt and de Laval who had appointed themselves Montchenu's patronesses? That was possible for he refused them nothing. However, Talleyrand decided on the eve of his fall and on September 22 "Montchenu, colonel, was appointed by the King his commissioner to St. Helena." On the 23rd, Talleyrand was no longer a minister, but he had made his masters the laughing-stocks of Europe.

The Duc de Richelieu tried in vain to persuade Monchenu in lieu of going to St. Helena to accept a post as *chargé d'affaires* or even as minister in a little German court. But the latter insisted that "his errand was of the greatest importance to France," and, besides "sending him 2,000 leagues from his creditors," she allowed him a salary of 30,000 francs, which he was in hopes of being soon increased and which was in 1817 actually augmented to 60,000 francs, a sum he then requested might be raised to 100,000 francs, a demand which was not acceded to. Further, he was appointed major-general on November 22, 1815, and thereby obtained an additional salary of 10,000 francs for which he did not give even a glass of water to anyone, and became a sponger on the Governor, the commissioners, the English officers and merchants so much so that he was called the *Marquis de Monter-chez-nous*. "He was," said one of these officers, "a perfect example of *L'Ancien Régime*." That was exaggeration; Montchenu was only a caricature of it because of his simplicity, his foolishness, his ignorance of contemporary life, his innate hatred of Buonaparte, his greed and his gluttony, conventional traits it may be said. He was an unreal character, so far carrying to the extreme all the ridiculousness of which he seemed markedly

IV

# The Drama

WHEN Napoleon embarked upon the *Bellerophon* he was treated as an Emperor, receiving royal recognition and everywhere taking the first place The British Government then took it into its head to deny him his imperial title basing its decision not upon the double abdication, but upon the assertion that it had never officially recognised this rank Actually it had for fifteen years avoided with remarkable persistency every opportunity it had had of attributing to the head of the French Government the title which that people had conferred upon him, which the head of the Catholic religion had ratified, and which all kings and emperors had acknowledged Even while negotiating with him, for instance at Châtillon, the English ambassadors had avoided addressing him as Emperor It is true that in this last instance they had novel means for avoiding it on account of the action of the Emperor's representative who, in all the protocols, had admitted that he was called "the ambassador of France" or "the French ambassador," and had never claimed his master's rights Further, while ratifying in so far as it concerned itself, the Treaty of Fontainebleau on April 11, 1814, Great Britain had at first presented a draft which was not accepted On April 27 it returned and forthwith gave its agreement to a treaty which had for its object the granting "to the person and family of Napoleon Buonaparte sovereign possession of the island of Elba and of the duchies of Parma, Plaisance and Guastalla, as well as other articles," with this exception that "His Royal Highness should not by this act of accession be considered a contracting party in the name of His Majesty to any of the other stipulations contained in it." From the very first it concerned itself with the titles retained by Napoleon and the members of his family

When the outrageous violations of the Treaty of Fontainebleau by the government of Louis XVIII had forced the Emperor, under conditions well known to everyone, to come to reclaim the right he had to live in France, the Allied Powers charged "Napoleon Buonaparte with having destroyed the only legal title with which his existence was connected," and asserted that he had "put himself

outside the pale of civil and social relations and that, as an enemy and a disturber of the peace of the world, he had been delivered up to prosecution." There is no doubt they intended, after this last declaration, to put a price on his head, but they dared not do it—at least not officially. From that moment the Emperor was no more to them than Napoleon Buonaparte—the "u" being inserted as an insult and additional humiliation. Legitimate sovereigns reigning in Europe then declared his deposition "in the name of the Blessed Trinity" and by virtue of the rights which a legitimate sovereign has over his people. On the same consideration they had transformed into a prisoner the guest who had come to take shelter under the British flag. Thenceforward he would be confined in a fortified enclosure, shielded from view, treated as a general officer, frequently referred to by his rank and even permitted to reckon on being given his discharge: that was a great concession.

So bitter were the insults thus inflicted on his dignity that Napoleon was reduced on board the *Northumberland* to consider himself a passenger forced to endure, as in a floating inn, the ribald jests of his hosts. Nevertheless, if the Admiral had plainly indicated that he intended to remain master of his own vessel, he had at least acted courteously. He came into the cabin at five o'clock to inform the Emperor that dinner was ready, and if the two courses lengthened the meal to an hour or an hour and a half, there was an air of the most genteel politeness. The Admiral went out of his way to do the honours, shortening the meal the Emperor found too long, and did not take offence at his rising from the table when he had finished, all the diners standing up as he left. The Emperor also became familiar enough to play vingt-et-un with him. All on board the vessel, from the lowest cadet to the Colonel of the 53rd, Sir George Bingham, paid him a regard and a deference indicated by their actions, gestures, and general attitude towards him. The Admiral used to come to present himself to the Emperor after dinner, and if the Emperor took his arm and prolonged the conversation, he used to appear very honoured. In this manner his prejudices were dispelled: with the Great Soldier these soldiers understood with whom they were dealing. Enemies though they all were, they had admired and respected him whom Fortune had raised high only to hurl him down. They had fallen for the charm of his genius, for that attraction which he exercised over anyone who approached him, and who added the clear light of his grey eyes to the irresistible charm of a smiling mouth.

They had seen how simple he was in his manner and habits, sober, easy to please, in want of nothing, and they had for him that kind of admiration born in any man who cared to consider the contrast between the grandeur of his former state and the equanimity with which he bore his present lot.

Given more freedom even in this detention than the members of his retinue, the Emperor had his likes and dislikes, and lived almost solely with the Grand Marshal and Las Cases The latter acted as his interlocutor which pleased him, since almost all his life and his record were new to him Las Cases gave him just the answers calculated to produce a reactive effect, reminding him of engagements, recalling names to him, settling proceedings between kinsfolk or relationship between sovereign families, supporting the ideas on which the *ancien régime* was founded and the France of the Emigration, a member of which he had been In short, he showed an admiration the sincerity of which was evidenced by his devotion and voluntary exile.

The Emperor knew he kept a diary and appeared to have no objection, but the narrative therein contained was only written in fits and starts, and Las Cases was ardently desirous of compiling the History or the Memoirs of the Emperor Napoleon for his part had a long time since conceived a similar plan "I wish", he had said to the soldiers of his old Guard when bidding them goodbye at Fontainebleau, "I wish to write of the wonderful deeds we have done together" Little persuasion was necessary to make up his mind, and without waiting to land at St Helena or procure books wherein to find dates, corroboration of facts and a guide to his memory, he began to dictate to Las Cases and before long this work so took possession of him that he spent all available time on it He even tried to learn English from Las Cases who, it appears, knew a little—the translations of English pieces which he gave him were dreadfully faulty, and after a few lessons he became discouraged at finding it more difficult to write than to speak, added to which his natural inaptitude for foreign languages was one of the characteristic phenomena of his brain He seems not to have been able to speak Italian correctly, and despite the consequent relations he had had with the Germans from the Ulm campaign until that of Leipzig, a period of nearly nine years, he had never had the inclination or the patience to attempt to learn German. As for English, although he had at first showed some keenness, he failed to maintain it and if at intervals he resumed the attempt it was obvious that he never learnt enough to

consult the *Annual Register* or read a paper. Actually his history, either what related to it or contained incidents which he could affirm, was only to amuse him. No other study occupied him at that moment. The only way he busied himself was by recalling his campaigns, by ruminating upon their moves, by expounding upon their results, by conceiving or deducing the reasons for his triumphs and the causes of his failures, never once entering into any philosophical or moral discussion.

It was on September 9 that he began to dictate the story of his life to Las Cases and went as far as the siege of Toulon, then he passed on to the Italian campaigns. After the first dictation he displayed little keenness, but the regularity with which Las Cases pursued it, the habit once acquired, the endeavour once bearing fruit, stimulated him and he found a fascination in the work which rendered it almost a necessity.

Thenceforth he adopted a mode of work which remained unchangeable so long as he could push along successfully with it, so long as he found it a diversion from his unhappy lot, so long as he was assisted by collaborators capable of listening to him. About eleven o'clock in the morning he would send for Las Cases who would read to him the dictation transcribed the previous evening of which his son had made a fair copy. He would make corrections and then dictate again until four o'clock. Las Cases would then hasten to the apartment assigned to him, by the main-mast—the embrasure of a canon secluded by a sail—and there he would dictate to his son, his cabin companion, what he had compiled, thanks to a kind of shorthand reporting and to an impression fresh in his memory. In the evening, whilst walking on the bridge, the Emperor would revert to the morning's dictation. The following morning "upon beginning he complained that this dictation business had become burdensome to him, he seemed to distrust himself, saying that he would never reach any result. He then ruminated a few minutes, arose, began to pace up and down, and commenced to dictate, and from that moment he was another man: everything came naturally, he spoke like one inspired, expressions, dates, places, nothing any longer stayed his progress."

Each corrected dictation necessitated a new dictation of the same subject but with a different interpretation. The second version, "more exact, more comprehensive and better constructed," sometimes even differed from the first. The following day this second

version was put before the Emperor At the first correction he dictated everything again, and this third dictation incorporated the first two, thus making one whole Hereafter "were he to dictate a fourth, a seventh, a tenth time, which was not unprecedented, there were always the same ideas, the same content, almost the same expressions of speech" That accounts for the number of versions of certain narratives which are extant, and the kind of similarity existing between them

But the Emperor was not content to dictate to Las Cases only From October 7 he began to dictate to Gourgaud, and upon the same epochs of his life, the siege of Toulon and the Italian campaigns, as if he were desirous of comparing the narrative which his dictations produced and to profit thereby for a final version

This was without doubt the principal pastime of the voyage on which recreation—chess and vingt-et-un—was the sole diversion It was just the same during the early days on St Helena

The Emperor, upon disembarking at Jamestown after dinner on Tuesday, October 17, remained only one night in the boarding-house kept by a Mr Porteous At six o'clock the following morning he mounted his horse and accompanied by Admiral Cockburn and the Grand Marshal, and attended by only one servant, he went to visit Longwood which was intended for him, and breakfasted there with the Skelton family who were living there In accordance with his disposition at the time, which was to avoid the curious, he found this solitude not too displeasing and he did not look too closely into the serious inconvenience which the site engendered and which the insecurity of the building and the absence of cellars aggravated If the Skeltons, who were well-intentioned, gave any information it was concerning the Summer months during which Longwood was definitely much cooler, and much less stifling than Jamestown since there was, so it was said, a difference between the two places of ten degrees Fahrenheit, but they did not know it was to be a Winter as well as a Summer residence, that the Emperor was doomed to a sedentary existence without any recourse to the town, in a country where the miserable vegetation contrasted still more sharply with the height of the mountains, the ruggedness of the rocks and the giddy depths of the abysses Such a Nature did not permit one to be gladdened by grass or flowers She remained harsh and discouraging, with her trees dwarfed and hung with half-dead foliage, all leaning in the same direction because of the force of the wind and presenting the appear-

ance of fleeing in terror. The Emperor, however, who had just spent three months on the sea, found himself in the same position as visitors from China or England by whom the legend of this earthly paradise was founded, and appeared satisfied. On the other hand, did he want to express an opinion—a personal opinion—of his prison? From the moment when England assumed the right to incarcerate him, might he not have considered that it would be becoming of that country at least to examine cursorily what comfort he would enjoy? The Grand Marshal was not the man to hint at such complaints, any more than Napoleon, for his part, would have been the man to utter them, at least at this outset.

Leaving Longwood, the Emperor noticed, in the midst of a veritable desert, a pretty house built on a kind of green mound, an avenue of fig-trees led up to it, and it was as it were overgrown with huge pomegranate trees and myrtles. Flowers abounded and at the back was an orchard where grapes, lemons, oranges, guavas and mangoes ripened together. A waterfall falling from a height of two hundred feet and cascading merrily in its fall, filled this corner of the garden with coolness and liveliness, and through a chink in the rocks could be seen, half a league away, Jamestown and the Ocean. But from here the Ocean was not offensive, it did not oppress, it did not force its wild vastness upon one, and in consequence endlessly extend the confines of the dungeon. One would not go so far as to say that Napoleon would feel free there, but at least he could sometimes forget that he was not.

But the house was inhabited by a Mr. Balcombe, a merchant who, like most ' general merchants ', provided the victualling of the vessels and bore the title of Purveyor of the East India Company. He it was who was entrusted with providing all the necessary stores for the Emperor's house, a duty he discharged to the best of his ability. Balcombe was at the Briars with his wife and two daughters, Jane and Betsy, two pretty blonds, of shy, retiring disposition.

The Emperor was so reluctant to enter the town where he might have aroused the curiosity of the citizens, that he considered himself happy enough to have found refuge, thirty or forty steps from the Balcombe's house, in a little summer-house, " a kind of country-box," on a hillock where the family took tea on fine days. It had one room on the ground-floor, almost square, seven feet by seven, with two doors and two windows, one on each wall ; above, an attic in which it was difficult to stand upright.

Here he wanted to settle himself, and the Admiral, who leased this little house to Balcombe, at a distance set a guard of an artillery captain and two servants. Several days later, in order to lengthen the room, a fairly large tent, lent by Colonel Bingham of the 53rd, was erected, and curtains and various articles of furniture were brought along, but of what consequence was this to Napoleon? He could still dream he was at war and that he had bivouacced in one of the cottages to which victory had by chance brought him and which, for one night, was called the Imperial Palace. He sent the Grand Marshal back to the town and instructed Las Cases to join him.

These were fairly happy days, these days of campaigning on which, to complete the picture, his attendants, rolled up in their cloaks, used to lie before the door, and where Las Cases and his son used to occupy the attic which was filled with their two beds. What was worse than war was the food—two or three dishes—which during the first few days had to be brought up from Jamestown where the cook prepared it; it was cold and, what made it worse, jolted about and mixed up. But Napoleon was at liberty to go into this garden where everything was new to him. He found jollity there, smiles, the foolish questions and nonsense of the Balcombe girls, *their attractive beauty, their blond tresses, the simplicity of young* English children, petulant, unaffected and at their ease. These latter did not displease Napoleon who had always had a sort of sympathy for youth and even infancy. The severe, hard time he had undergone while at school, with his regiment and, finally, in the command, that life of poverty which had not allowed him to indulge in even the amusements of his fellow officers, that life on half-pay after the Toulon and Italian campaigns; then, all of a sudden, plunged into a storm of passion, that period of fame, that Icarian transition to the all-mighty—that life had engendered in him a delight in playing, in rambling about, in listening to simple things and repeating them. He sometimes acted so with Josephine, with cousin Stéphanie, more especially with Marie Louise who did not understand *this levity, and the misses Balcombe appeared at this moment,* the right moment, with their Anglo-French jargon, their odd chronology, their comical questioning and the horror they had for the terrible Boney which might so easily have turned to affection.

The day was spent at work with Las Cases who at the Emperor's injunction had rejoined him together with his son who was indispensable to the compilers. The Emperor, rising early, walked around

the garden, breakfasted at ten o'clock and took another walk. Then Las Cases read to him what had been dictated the previous evening and recopied by morning by young Las Cases. The Emperor then resumed dictation which occupied him until 5 o'clock when he went out, at 6 o'clock dinner arrived from the town. The evenings became tedious, Las Cases playing neither chess nor piquet, and six hours of discussion followed by six hours of dictation had exhausted all subjects of conversation. Sometimes the Emperor, remaining at table, had his spoils brought in, which were scarcely less bulky than his equipment as an artillery officer, and displayed the snuffboxes, the portraits, the medals, relating their stories, but very often, when in especial need of distraction (to escape the attention of Las Cases, who, ceaselessly animated, greedily stored up all his expressions), tired of speaking only for the History, he used to spend the evening at the Balcombes' where he would play whist with the mother and the daughters when the father had the gout. Court language was not maintained and the very silly questions were often indiscreet and usually fatuous, but his mind had to enjoy some relaxation from Las Cases. One does not quite know whether to hold the exaggerative memory of the narrator responsible for the frequent relation of facts not strictly true, or to put it down to the elaborations and mistakes which Las Cases certainly made in them, firstly in writing them and then in editing them for publication and in inserting in consequence apocryphal paragraphs which made the authenticity of the entire work controvertible, which was most provoking. It can be said that from this time all the endeavours of Las Cases were most readily and amply directed towards what the Emperor related and dictated of his public and private life, his military and diplomatic career. So thoroughly was this done that at the end of October 1815 he said: "We are already at the end of the Italian campaign." This tête-à-tête which was interrupted only by the appearance of the little Balcombe girls and by walks in the garden which, deserted by the military guards, had become, for work and recreation, an annex to the imperial "country-house," was no longer disturbed by unexpected visits as in the early days. During that time people, sometimes the Admiral, sometimes a naval officer, used to come to the Briars, knock at the door or even enter without knocking. This was not impertinence or ill-will but ignorance, so much so that the Emperor took the opportunity of entrusting to Captain Desmond of the *Redpole* a note to England protesting

"against the strange steps taken against him." He once more declared that he could not be deemed a prisoner of war, that if he had chosen England it was on account of the confidence he placed in her laws, besides, he could not be a prisoner of war for there was no war and since laws of humanity had been violated in his case the English Government could "resort to the custom of savages who put their prisoners to death. Such a law might have been more humane, more considerate than a justice which sent him to this dreadful rock. The death which he might have suffered on board the *Bellerophon* in the Plymouth roads would in comparison have been a kindness." He concluded by saying that "the first principles of Christian morality precluded his putting an end to this horrible existence, but that if the British Government felt obliged to persist in its injustice and violence, the Emperor would regard death as a distinct blessing."

Such a state of mind was not usual with him. He protested on principle and gave a political character to his protests, adhering to his opinion regarding the law violated in his regard, but he did not point-blank stoop to complaints against the locality, his subsistence and his food.

Every time, however, his companions in captivity came to Jamestown to visit him, he was depressed by their griefs and the bitterness of their recriminations. Had they sufficient influence over him to induce him to complain to the Admiral or did he think that it was useless to air protests the nature of which the Admiral, despite the absence of ill-will, could not possibly redress?

Certain wants inconvenienced him greatly and he might have sought some remedy. For instance a bath, a carriage, and horses, but the Admiral had already made his arrangements. He desired the disposal of his arms and they had been returned to him. He desired also that he should not see his guards, and that he should move about the island at will without being accompanied, but that was contrary to the instructions received by the Admiral. Finally, he requested that all his companions should reside near him which would be convenient at Longwood, but was not possible at the Briars. He did not at least put his name to the document. The Grand Marshal, after considerable hesitation, many corrections and the suppression of unseasonable details, drew up a note which he signed and sent to the Admiral. It still contained many superfluous words, referring to Napoleon directly as Emperor which caused Cockburn to reply "that he was ignorant that there had ever actually been an Emperor

on that island or that anyone possessing that rank had come with him on the *Northumberland*." Nevertheless, the Admiral protested his good intention and could have given proof of it except that since October 22, he had by his orders forestalled most of the requests addressed to him by the Grand Marshal: to demands contrary to his instructions he could only reply by a peremptory refusal.

This was therefore—and could be no other—like a sword-thrust in water serving only to render relations with the Admiral more strained. But at this time the controversy was not altogether continuous, and a lull occurred during which Montholon frequently visited Plantation House. All the French party, including even Las Cases, was present on the 20th at a ball given by the Admiral, and stayed to supper.

If there was a respite in the quarrels with the English, those between themselves persisted. From the time they were aboard the *Northumberland*, Las Cases and Gourgaud were at daggers drawn, the latter accusing the former of having disclosed certain indiscreet statements to the Emperor. The Emperor had given Gourgaud a piece of his mind and the latter had never forgiven Las Cases. This feud was aggravated by the preference shown by Napoleon for Las Cases, his having him at the Briars, and making him his confidant and private secretary. Montholon considered that he had charge of the household affairs and complained, and Bertrand showed unusual opposition towards the Emperor. Gourgaud, whose sensitiveness was ceaselessly awakened, set an eagle eye on one and all, and made himself heard if he thought that someone was being treated better than he. The two ladies quarrelled and called each other names, Mme. Bertrand accusing Montholon of being a spy. And this was the state of affairs a month after landing.

Idleness was without doubt responsible as much as jealousy. So the Emperor, possibly at the suggestion of Las Cases who could see storms ahead of him and who wanted peace, contrived to employ all his companions at the same time upon his work and to attack the Italian and Egyptian campaigns, the Consulate, and the return from Elba simultaneously. It must be admitted, as Las Cases had hoped, that by such an arrangement "the hours seemed shorter, that this wonderful work made rapid strides, and that those employed were less miserable." Starting on October 22, Gourgaud was engaged upon a narration of the siege of Toulon, of the fortification of the coasts, of the 18 Brumaire, and the birth of the Consulate.

Montholon, a little later, that of the 13 Vendemiaire, and Bertrand that of Egypt. As there were several books, including the *Annual Register*, which he had to translate, Gourgaud was kept busy. After taking down the dictation and reading the fair copy of the preceding one, these gentlemen stayed to dinner. The cook was actually in residence at the Briars, linen and plate were brought out and the meal became a welcome interlude, but afterwards the visitors returned to the town, and with some difficulty the time was passed until eleven o'clock when the Emperor retired to bed. An unsuccessful attempt was made at walking, often he would remain seated at the table under the tent to chat with Las Cases, but more often he would sit down in a glade where the Balcombes joined him with their mother and told him the news: the rumours prevalent in the village or the camp, the gossip which the ships in port had brought from England or the Cape, foolish idiotic stories scarcely worth repeating, but which momentarily aroused curiosity or hope. In Paris, or Vienna, or Berlin, Napoleon had always delighted in hearing his wife, his mistress or, at a pinch, his valet, recount stories to him in this way even about people whom he did not know and whom in all probability he would never have any chance of meeting.

I would not go so far as to say that he did not enjoy happy hours during these evenings when the coolness of the day had a refreshing effect on him. He used to sit in a favourite glade where his coffee was brought to him and where he would stroll about for a long while chatting. He would gaze into the cloudless sky among new constellations as if looking for his star. He returned to happy times, talked of Josephine and Marie Louise, and became affected at the thought of his son. "Perhaps one day," he said, "this lane will bring pleasant recollections."

Up till the end of November his health had been perfect, but about the middle of the month he caught a feverish cold and on the 23rd he was very unwell, kept to his room, and refused to see anyone. This cold of which he had a slight recurrence at the beginning of December was not at all serious and never once was there any concern regarding his general health: it was the idleness rather than the chill which became intolerable to him. The tête-a-tête with Las Cases lasted six weeks and formerly he "settled" a man in less than an hour. He at least desired to vary his interlocutors and sent for Gourgaud from the town whom he put in the tent. Gourgaud was certainly industrious and intelligent, but "an artful dodger"

He had the wars and the campaigns at his finger-ends for he had followed the Emperor since 1812, he wrote quickly, composed well, knew numberless anecdotes about the people of the Court which could provide amusement, but he was by nature a contradictor, easily offended, suspicious, inquisitive. He inflamed the Emperor against the Admiral upon very conceivable opportunity, and against Colonel Bingham who nevertheless increased his acts of good will and doubled his readiness to oblige. On the pretext that at the first ball the Admiral had not shown the Frenchmen—and especially Gourgaud—the deference due to them, the Emperor decided to forbid all his companions to go to a ball given by Governor Wilks, and Mme. Bertrand and Mme. de Montholon put back into their trunks the dresses they had intended to wear. Furthermore at the Briars Gourgaud now grew tired of relating how the Admiral, or the Colonel, or the Governor, or some officer or another, had been disrespectful to him, and therefore had been disrespectful to the Emperor. Montholon arriving from the town retailed some wonderful news upon which his imagination had been working in order to please his master. France was in revolt, an army of 150,000 men had been mobilised and the whole populace were demanding the Emperor, England was terrified and arming her forces, and they went on this assumption without suspecting that there was no longer a French army and that 150,000 foreigners filled all the military positions. As for the Grand Marshal, who was often rebuked because he disliked being the bearer of fruitless complaints, he sulked a little, in a dignified manner.

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It was opportune for the colony that a distraction intervened to bring it out of this futility, and that for a time at least it was sufficiently occupied to ward off these ill-humours. On December 8, the Admiral came to announce that all the building was finished at Longwood and asked the Emperor what day he might call for him to take him there to see if everything was to his taste. The Emperor decided upon the following day, the 9th: "the Grand Marshal and the Admiral accompanied him, and he mentioned certain details

of lay-out, requested certain furniture which he needed, and personally thanked the Admiral for the speedy execution of all the alterations he had effected."

The stories he had been told respecting their establishment there led him to believe that it was worse than it was, but each of his companions looked after himself in the best possible fashion. Montholon, by flattering the Admiral whom he scarcely left to himself and at whose house in Jamestown he had, with his wife, dined as often as he had been invited. Gourgaud, by provoking a quarrel with Montholon and Las Cases regarding the apartment which should be reserved for him. Bertrand, in order to be accommodated separately, instanced to this end the noise which his children would make and the habits which the Countess had adopted. To have pleased everybody would have required a beautiful castle with huge annexes, and Longwood as the Emperor had seen it upon landing was nothing more than a miserable shed, with five rooms on the ground floor and a loft above. It had been immediately necessary to add to these five rooms sufficient accommodation for the two Montholons, the two Las Cases, O'Meara, the superintending officer and the servants. There had been added, therefore, square upon the original building, a wooden structure comprising one room for an antechamber or waiting-room, and a second for a reception room. This latter opened out into an apartment of the old house which, despite being very dark since it was lighted only by a narrow window, was made the library. This later became the dining room, and the library was thereupon moved to a room which opened on the left of the dining room. The study opened on the right of the same apartment and although it boasted two shuttered windows it was extremely narrow. A fairly large table occupied the centre of it, sandwiched between a bookcase and a little camp bed. The bedroom, of the same size, and hung with nankeen bearing a red border, came next, almost entirely filled by a camp bed, a sofa over which hung the portrait of the Empress Marie Louise holding his son in her arms, a chest of drawers between the two windows, a little table on which the Emperor had to have breakfast, and a huge silver wash-basin brought from the Elysée by Marchand. The chairs, armchairs and sofa were painted green, with cane seats. In front of the drawing room door was a fireplace the mantelpiece and shelves of which were of grey painted wood, and the hearth of which was furnished with a little coal grate, decorated with a small chimney frame of little

gilded columns containing a tiny mirror eighteen inches by fifteen. On the shelf Marchand stood two indispensable silver candlesticks, a silver-gilt cup and saucer, and a silver scent box. On each side of the looking-glass he placed a portrait of the King of Rome and, beneath, the alarm clock of Frederick the Great and the Emperor's watch. On the left of the fireplace, on a little table, stood the Emperor's dressing-case open, and on the panel above there hung another portrait of the King of Rome. Behind the bedroom and communicating with it by a little doorway, was a kind of narrow corridor, at one end of which the valet slept; on the other side, separated by a partition, was placed the huge wooden tub lined with zinc which Admiral Cockburn had instructed the carpenter of his ship to make for a bath.

This part of the building was separated by a small interior courtyard, usually very muddy, upon which the accommodation erected later for the servants looked out. The kitchen came next and adjoining that a little square apartment where Las Cases resided, through a trap-door in the ceiling of which and by means of a rope ladder Emmanuel de Las Cases entered a loft in which he could just about stretch himself. On the other side the three Montholons, father, mother, and a little boy of four years, had full possession of three rooms—a bedroom even larger than the Emperor's, a hall and a study. For the moment, while awaiting the construction, between the kitchen and the building intended for the Montholons, of three rooms for the two Las Cases and their servant, two for General Gourgaud, one for O'Meara, and one for the service officer, these last three were accommodated in the tent. The servants had lodging in the lofts, which had been properly floored but where they could stand upright only underneath the angle of the roof, and where the heat was intolerable. Later they were provided with bedrooms and a dining-room on the ground floor.

When the Emperor took up his abode here, there was beyond the old house only the wing built by the Admiral's orders and comprising two apartments overlooking each other. This projection came in the middle of the fairly long and narrow main building which, upon its other side, looked out upon the courtyard of the under-servants with the kitchen and the other offices: some short distance away was the little house built for the Montholons.

The Bertrands were at the most a mile from there, at Hutt's Gate where their establishment was but tolerably convenient, but

where they were secure from daily quarrels. Later, they came nearer and inhabited a little house which was built for them three hundred yards from the present abode of the Emperor, much nearer the better situated and better looking house which took four years to build for him but which he never occupied. The comparative isolation of the Grand Marshal led to complications detrimental to the Emperor's peace. At that distance Bertrand could not properly run the business of the household and no opportunity was lost of relieving him of the duty while they all allowed him to retain both the distinction of that office and, as Las Cases put it, the "supervision and superintendence of everything on a large scale." Montholon assumed control of all the domestic affairs, Gourgaud directed the stables, Las Cases attended to the furniture and the interior administration of the parts to be furnished. "This last business seemed to him to have much in common with domestic affairs, and he decided that collaboration with these latter would be so advantageous to the common welfare, that he all the more anticipated he would be able to be relieved of it, which was not difficult and did not take long."

Montholon then found himself responsible for all the duties surrendered by Bertrand and Las Cases and, excepting the stables, he reigned supreme. He alone negotiated with the contractors and gave orders. He alone drew up complaints regarding the food, the meat, the poultry, and the vegetables. As he was wonderfully skilful in anything pertaining to provisions and the upkeep of a house, and since he aimed at being provided against alarming emergencies, he made himself not only personally ridiculous by his despair if they were a dish short, and by his exultation if he discovered an expert kitchen maid, but he led the Emperor into recriminations from which the Grand Marshal and even Gourgaud strove to dissuade him and which seemed to the English so much the less interesting in that they knew perfectly well how temperate the Emperor was, and rightly attributed the indiscretion of such protestations to the proper quarter. Montholon alone was responsible for the appalling wastage which took place in the house, and which a better administration would have prevented, by means of which the Emperor might very differently have added strength to his legitimate complaints, and at the same time might have raised certain arguments with his gaolers which under existing circumstances carried no weight.

Everyone depended upon Montholon: Gourgaud who break-

fasted in his own room and as often as not dined there, too; the Bertrands also who, living apart, nevertheless received certain dishes from Longwood; the Las Cases made no complaint, and adopted the attitude of approval to everything, but O'Meara talked and at the same time noted Montholon's designs in order to ridicule him.

It drove Las Cases to write: "All these arrangements, however convenient, did not fail to sow among us germs of estrangement which quickly took root and soon blossomed. One found that he had lost, another wanted to add, too much splendour to his office; yet another found himself wronged in the rearrangement." Acting under orders from Montholon "Cipriani, *maître d'hôtel*, assisted him in the distribution of food for Longwood as well as Hutt's Gate... Balcombe became purveyor and in the words of Marchand the allowances of the government appeared adequate. Sometimes complaints had been made concerning their quality, but in general blame had rather to be laid on the conditions than upon the Admiral who when informed of the affair, remedied it as soon as possible." The wastage was such that a little later Gourgaud said to the Emperor: "We do not drink seventeen bottles of wine, nor eat eighty-eight pounds of meat and nine fowl!" The Emperor would willingly have inaugurated a scheme of "money for food"—eight francs a day for each French servant and three francs for the others—but Montholon dissuaded him from the only system which might have obviated complaints and investigations.

The stables of which Gourgaud had charge contained ten horses: four from the Cape for carriages and six saddlehorses—four of which were from the Cape and two from the imperial stables: *Fringant* and *Vizir*. *Vizir*, whose portrait had been painted by Horace Vernet and cost 250 francs in 1813, was most probably one of the horses offered by the Sultan to the Emperor in 1808. It was taken to England after Napoleon's death, and there it died. Its skin was stuffed and after many adventures is to-day in the Musée d'Armée in Paris. The Admiral had bought an open carriage at the Cape for the Emperor's use, the only one to be found on the island. The Emperor provided himself with a number of little carriages in particular for the use of Mme. Bertrand. Under Gourgaud's orders, the two Archambaults were the coachmen who drove Napoleon, and they had with them six sailors from the *Northumberland* dressed in the imperial livery who quickly became expert drivers.

The drive at full speed around the enclosure where the Emperor

had the right to walk without escort later became the only exercise he took. He drove Mme de Montholon, or Montholon, or sometimes Mme Bertrand. The occupants asked no questions, it was the Emperor who gave instructions. Ordinarily one would go to Jamestown on horseback and so it was necessary to send for Gourgaud, which became a regular practice. He gave permission or refused according as he felt, because each one wanted to be master and impress the fact upon him. And since the cost of the stables was somewhat alarming, the Emperor always wanted to economise on the fodder or the livery, and Gourgaud became exasperated.

In the kitchen, where Lepage became overcome with the work, three sailors were employed, with one in the pantry, some Chinese were added to their number and later took their places. For the wardrobe, Marchand had obtained a Chinese boy for the Emperor. Marchand's attendance was continuous, day and night. Saint-Denis and Noverraz, on alternate days, remained in the little corridor leading to the bathroom, and slept there. Santini was entrusted with outside duties and took up his abode in the first apartment, then called the maproom, to open the drawing-room doors.

There was, therefore, with the consent of the British Government and by the kind offices of the Admiral, a kind of suite around the Emperor. Sir George Cockburn was willing to allow the Emperor anything that could add to his comfort, and after busying himself most actively in having erected the buildings intended personally for Napoleon, he was no less keen to help in arranging the rooms to be occupied by the followers, redoubling his efforts on behalf of Bertrand. He lent tents for the servants and at the same time told off sailors from his flagship to help so much so that in a few months he succeeded in providing shelter for everyone, actually under roofs of tarred boards and between walls, and the Montholons, Gourgaud and the Las Cases were at length accommodated fairly comfortably, while the Grand Marshal left Hutt's Gate and resided within the enclosure, about three hundred yards from the main building. It was no concern of the Admiral if Bertrand, maintaining his customary independence as at Hutt's Gate, refused, despite the wish expressed by the Emperor, to dine with him every evening, and excused himself upon his state of health and the careless habits of Mme Bertrand.

In whatever concerned them, as with the rest, the Admiral showed magnanimity, but if he showed himself sympathetic with one

in misfortune, he felt himself no less obliged by his duty as an officer and his integrity as an Englishman to carry out his orders when he was dealing with the guard for the prisoner and the precautions prescribed by the Ministry.

The Emperor was not allowed to walk freely around Longwood without being accompanied by an English officer—that, in an area nearly twelve miles square. To guard him there was a camp at Deadwood, another at Hutt's Gate, and sentinels without end, cordons of them, around the bounds : sentries, so close together from nine o'clock in the evening that they could communicate with each other, completely surrounded the house whence no one could go out without being accompanied by an officer, and where no one could enter without permission.

The Admiral at first forbade anyone to go beyond Hutt's Gate or to approach Longwood during the day without a permit from the Governor, the commander, or himself. He later inaugurated observances which gave an appearance of liberty, being courteous enough—an example followed by all the English—to make application to the Grand Marshal for audiences with the Emperor, and displaying in his relations with the officers of the suite a cordiality which attracted them, and allowed them to enjoy magnificent hospitality, but he was none the less a gaoler, and a change of watchword of which the Emperor had not received notice, a misconstructed statement by an officer or a soldier, an exaggerated story by a comrade in exile, recalled Napoleon to reality and, respecting the English, he had continually to reckon with the anxieties of men infatuated with their responsibilities.

Even at Longwood an officer of the Governor was told off to keep an open eye on the Emperor, to report upon all his actions, to accompany him every time he looked likely to go outside the bounds, and to maintain constant communication with Plantation House by means of different coloured flags hoisted on a flagstaff. The appearance of a blue flag would result in the mobilisation of the entire island garrison and patrols would be dispatched in all directions because such a signal would have meant "Napoleon has disappeared."

The situation was extremely difficult for this officer. If he conscientiously performed his duty, he was bound to a supervision which, if not exactly spying, made life wellnigh impossible with those people with whom he was obliged to associate. He shared a

table with the Emperor's doctor who was actually an Englishman and an officer in the English service, but others took their meals with him and he had daily relations with the members of the suite whom he had to accompany, or escort, whenever they desired to go to Jamestown.

The Emperor, for his part, feared above all else the resort to trickery. He did not always remain serious, he derived recreation from the least things, playing with children, teasing them and bullying them, and then taking what revenge he could for his captivity by alarming, maddening, and driving his keepers to distraction by making by word of mouth or in writing outrageous demands of them in which they could not acquiesce without violating their instructions. The game he played with the orderly officer deputed to follow him at a certain distance was to lose him by raising a gallop at a turning in the road, and then hiding in some ravine while the officer searched the roads, gave the alarm and put the whole island in a ferment. He then calmly returned to Longwood. What happened was that the officer was instructed to follow at a shorter distance and Napoleon, disgusted at being so closely guarded, gave up horseriding.

The ordeal of Longwood was a much more intensive one than that of the Briars. At the Briars, Napoleon regarded himself as a traveller with an incognito. He encamped, literally, He had with him no one but Las Cases who only wanted him to talk so that he might greedily listen to him. No etiquette, in one room, eating in it, working and sleeping in it. If any complaints were made by those of the suite left in the town, they vanished with them and made no impression.

Quite different was the life at Longwood. It was indisputable incarceration: here Napoleon Buonaparte would be confined until he died. That word "eternal prison" destroyed all hope. All prospect of freedom was swallowed up in the vastness of the seas which, quite apart from the surrounding walls, stretched beyond the horizon. This did not, however, mean that all illusion was destroyed for everyone attempted to invent and maintain it in order to please their master, and it was born each morning only to disappear each night leaving merely the bitterness of deception. Nor did they refrain, as soon as a vessel arrived from Europe, from collecting or inventing news which seemed food for rumination, though it was very unlikely and extremely questionable. Everything naturally pointed to an early liberty, to a change in the ministry or in the

government, to a revolution in France, to the advent of a vessel to liberate them, and each time these bubbles burst, the confines of the prison seemed narrower.

Earlier the English had announced that Napoleon should reside at St. Helena until his death. Napoleon had asserted that the place of his incarceration was iniquitous, that he was a prisoner only by the abuse of force, and had raised his voice in no uncertain manner to protest this upon all occasions and under every circumstance. In the same way, the more the English refused to acknowledge the title which his position warranted, the more vehemently did he claim it, bear it aloft, demand it of all who had relations with him. With him it was not a case of vanity influencing him, it was pride, for he had been brought up to the observation of a principle. Four times elected by the French nation, consecrated by the Pope, and accordingly in everything Catholic sole legitimate sovereign, acknowledged as such by all Emperors and Kings of Europe, his title was indelible like his coronation. The English swept it away. What had been the Empire did not exist for them, with the stroke of the pen they abolished the National Convention, his coronation, and a period of ten years—those ten years from 1804 to 1814: they had never had an Emperor, and there was no Emperor. "I do not know," wrote Admiral Cockburn to General Bertrand, "the person whom you title the Emperor: there is no one on this island whom I can consider as having right to such a dignity, our respective countries being actually ruled by kings." If Napoleon allowed himself to be disqualified in this way, he would be admitting that everything done by the people was non-existent, and that he, Napoleon, was only a rebel. Further, he would admit that he was rightly a prisoner and would submit to captivity, he would negative the rights his son had received from him and which he intended at first to maintain for him. Without doubt he had abdicated his crown, but that abdication did not destroy his title. He might have been quite prepared, if his title had not been disputed, to conform to the custom adopted by the majority of non-reigning sovereigns, and assume an imaginary and suitable title, or a name even. But this could only be of his own accord and at his own free-will. No one had the power of forcing it upon him, and if this was not an imaginary name but the name he had borne before his elevation, the affront became intolerable.

This was not, as some have asserted, "a childlike affectation,"

it was, firstly, concern for his dignity and, secondly, anxiety for his inheritance, it was a claim to the right of a nation, the assertion of the rights of his son

Longwood was but a cottage water trickled from the walls down through the rotten floors, and across the ground went hordes of rats An ordinary English citizen would refuse to furnish it, yet this place was to be the imperial palace Etiquette would be as rigorously observed as at the Tuileries, generals would not appear before the Emperor except in uniform, no one would remain seated before the Emperor, passing foreigners would not be permitted to pay their respects without a letter of audience presented by the Grand Marshal After passing the guard-house they must then present themselves to the Grand Marshal At the barred gate to Longwood one of the Emperor's servants "fulfilled the duties of porter and the sentries had to direct visitors to him that he could inform them whether they would be received" Having reached the house, if they were people of importance, they would find the generals of the Emperor's suite in full uniform in the waiting-room, and they would be conducted to the Emperor's study where he would receive them standing and, if they did not understand French, address them through Las Cases · sometimes even, he would enter into conversation In due course, Gourgaud picked up enough English to act as interpreter, and Bertrand, whose wife was English and some of whose children could speak only English, soon knew enough to make himself understood The Montholons ultimately spoke English and Montholon, by the time he returned to France, found himself a decided Anglomaniac

When the visitors were familiar, like the Wilks, the Skeltons, the Balcombes, the Emperor often had his carriage prepared and invited the ladies to join him in a drive round the enclosure Despite the acknowledged skill of the Archambaults, the ladies, quite new to such a thrill, were very frightened and not in the least pleased As to the men, he sometimes took them for a gallop or walked on foot with them round the precincts, but no one sat down in his presence

He gave up the uniform of the Light Horse which he most frequently wore and which he had worn regularly since he left the Briars for Longwood, but the attire he assumed in its place, a hunting suit, still presented a certain military appearance He wore it with a waistcoat and breeches of d[illegible] blue, silk stockings and plain shoes

with gilt buckles, and those introduced to Longwood had to wear similar dress.

He scarcely ever invited anyone to breakfast, except his officers when he took breakfast in the garden, he preferred to have this meal in his room so that he need not dress himself until nearly two o'clock, spending the morning up till this hour in his sleeping attire, but at seven in the evening (at which hour dinner was at first held) he very often, almost daily, invited some to the meal: the Wilks, the Skeltons, the Admiral, Colonel Bingham, officers of the 53rd in turn, all those of any consequence on the island. And these guests left very much impressed. Santini, in livery, announced the guests, Gentilini, as head footman, and Rousseau laid the tables and instructed the sailors who were acting as footmen. Only silver was used: the silver plate was so considerable that when, later, more than 130 lbs. of it were broken up and sold, there still remained 234 plates, 34 dishes, 3 tureens, 2 sauce-boats, 96 tablecloths, and a quantity of smaller articles. The fare was not extraordinarily good despite the experienced taste of Montholon, but it appeared marvellous to the English officers in the main unfamiliar with French delicacies. Ordinarily the menu consisted of a soup, a curry, ,two entrées, roast joint, with two extra dishes, one of which was a sweet. Extreme moderation prevailed seeing it was an epoch in which, among private individuals, four entrées were the rule. The Emperor, however, had this number of dishes whenever he had distinguished guests, but even on these occasions, dinner never lasted more than forty minutes. *Maître d'hôtel* Cipriani, in a green coat with silver braid, a white waistcoat, black silk breeches, white gloves and buckled shoes, arranged the dishes. On the left and right of the Emperor's seat stood Saint-Denis and Noverraz—in the same attire except for gold braid on their collars, cuffs and gauntlets—who applied themselves only to His Majesty. The other guests were served by Gentilini and his sailor-footmen, in green livery with gold lace, red waistcoats and breeches, and by Bernard, Bertrand's servant. At dessert, the butler Pierron put on the table the eight dishes of stewed fruit from the magnificent Sèvres china service "representing the various battlefields of Egypt and Europe." The plates belonging to this precious service, made at Sèvres and called the "Headquarters Service," were of a green and gold pattern ornamented with ancient swords surmounted by laurels, and, on the bottom, was painted a landscape executed from a sketch drawn most

often from nature and enlivened by soldiers. It is difficult to describe these paintings in any other way. If the Emperor had not disposed of several of these plates as presents, if, on January 1, 1817, he had not given Mme. Bertrand the picture *Crossing the Danube* in which the Grand Marshal was immortalised, and to Mme. de Montholon a scene from the Egyptian campaign, some idea of them might be conceived. Of the five dozen plates brought to St. Helena, there remained 54 at the inventory in 1821; four, apart from these two, having been given away or broken. It is not known what the trustee has done with these 54 plates.

With the Sèvres was used also the silverware which was a wonderful piece of work. There were only 28 pieces, but all the accessories.

The party passed into the drawing-room for coffee. Coffee was brought in a silver coffee-pot and sugar basin and served in the Sèvres china cups. "The coffee service," wrote Sir George Bingham to his wife after dining at Longwood, "was the most beautiful I have ever seen: on each cup was an Egyptian scene and on the saucer the portrait of a bey or other distinguished person. In France they cost, one cup and saucer, twenty-five guineas." The Emperor made a present to some English ladies of two or three of these cups—one among others bearing a representation of Cleopatra's Needle—the saucers being broken. The Emperor then desired that "his Sèvres" should be no longer used. If the 21 cups and 20 saucers had disappeared like the dessert plates and all the silverware, one could at least picture what they were like for the Emperor offered the Duchess of Bassano a coffee set as a Christmas present in 1814 the cups and saucers of which were identical with those brought to St. Helena, the scenes, like the portraits, being executed from sketches made in Egypt by Vivant Denon. The bottom of some was a lovely blue decorated by golden hieroglyphics, on the saucers were portraits in black and white set in an edging of gold.

Sir George Bingham exaggerated when he said they cost twenty-five guineas a cup and saucer. The breakfast set of ten pieces offered to Mme. de Bassano was a product of Sèvres for 1,355 francs, including the tray, but it is probable that Napoleon had mentioned this figure for his Sèvres was priceless to him. It was the relic of his greatness which seemed the most characteristic of him, and by showing it to the English it seemed to him that it would teach them his history and at the same time demonstrate the progress of the arts during his reign.

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It cannot be pretended that the English officers who were guests were entertained by these meals, at which the French out of respect did not speak unless addressed by the Emperor, at which the food was consumed with great haste, at which no one remained at table "to drink wine" and, finally, at which the customs were wholly continental, but they were flattered and a little dazzled which was without doubt just what the Emperor wanted. At the same time, in his horseriding he would enter all the gardens which he found on his way, dismount, chat with the inhabitants, distribute some *napoléons*, and make himself very popular: that went a long way. In these early days he could always have easily found agents to get letters or parcels to Europe.

For the time being, however, his thoughts did not point in that direction, they were occupied with his work which, according to his custom, he carried on by repeated dictations until he found that precise shape, regular and clear, which alone seemed to him befitting history. He had almost finished the first period, but he attached more importance to some parts than to others. Egypt in particular carried him away. Just as he always returned to his disaster, which remained incomprehensible to him, and skipped the Consulate, so did he from the early days, to 1815, to the return of the Bourbons, to the Belgian campaigns: he divided the work among several, and at this moment Las Cases seemed involved in the least pleasant episodes. For that reason perhaps his companions, despite continued sulkiness, lived among themselves on terms of apparent amity.

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An unexpected personage, whose arrival was a mystery and remains a riddle, aroused a certain element of surprise in an existence whose very evenness of tenor was becoming a punishment. He was a Pole, calling himself Charles Frédéric Jules Piontkowski and claiming rank in the Saxon army. He had gone to the Isle of Elba, enlisted as an ordinary soldier in the Napoleon battalion whence he became a lighthorseman in the Polish squadron. Having accompanied the Emperor to France, he had been appointed lieutenant on April 12, in the 7th regiment, later to be transferred to the

2nd Lancers, with whom he had possibly seen the Belgian campaigns. Then, without anyone knowing quite how, he managed to find his way into Malmaison and succeeded in being included in the list of those to accompany the Emperor. He had travelled with Mme. Bertrand and her children from Malmaison to Rochefort, embarked on the *Méduse* at the same time the Emperor went on board the *Saale*, and was on the *Myrmidon* when the Emperor was on the *Bellerophon*. At Plymouth he was allowed to take farewell of the Emperor together with the officers of his rank who were not allowed to accompany him. With them he returned to the *Eurotas* upon which they were detained, but while they had been deported to Malta, he alone, this unknown Pole, had been taken aboard the *St. George* on which he had awaited the departure of a merchant vessel for St. Helena. On board the *St. George* he married a girl, Mélanie Despont, a former pupil of the Consérvatoire at Paris who had come to rejoin him in England where she had many friends. He left soon after and arrived at Jamestown on December 29, 1815, and the Admiral, thinking he was doing the Emperor a service, conducted him to Longwood. For this occasion, Piontkowski wore the blue, silver-braided uniform of orderly officers, and since orderlies bore the rank of captain, so he too was promoted to that rank. At first the Emperor did not want to receive him. He neither knew who he was nor whence he came, and he was indignant at this assumption of uniform, but it was observed to the Emperor that perhaps this Piontkowski brought some news, that he came from friends. Without officially vouching for him, Bertrand swore that he had seen him on Elba. He was accordingly introduced and became tolerated if not actually welcome. He was put in charge of the stables under Gourgaud, and he hunted and sometimes killed partridges. He went in search of news at Jamestown, and when he could not learn any, he invented some, for this man was not *a* liar, he was The Liar. His whole existence was based on a foundation of colossal falsehoods. Of these some could be explained by the fact that they were profitable to him, some were so futile that they betrayed a certain madness, but none of them were dangerous, he knew therefore how to look after himself. He was made to take his meals alone, but afterwards upon his request was allowed to eat with the doctor and orderly officer, and he was satisfied for he spoke English fluently. No one knew why he came: no one knew afterwards why he left. The English...

on the part of the Emperor, had allowed him to go to St. Helena and reside there, nevertheless they withdrew this permission and drove him out. Moreover, the nine months he had spent about Napoleon proved particularly profitable to him for he lived on them for the rest of his life, he was respected and allotted a pension for his courageous devotion, flattering biographies immortalised him, and then there were funeral panegyrics in which all his virtues, even his sincerity, were extolled, and with wonderful dexterity, he thus insinuated himself into the margin of history.

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That concludes the mysterious interlude[1] in which it appears the Emperor and his companions did not take the interest it deserved, but as events were to become serious it is not to be wondered that it was neglected. Hudson Lowe appears upon the scene. What had taken place up to that moment was only the prologue, now the drama really begins.

By some strange illusion, based upon an article which had appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* disapproving of the severity of his captivity, the Emperor had flattered himself that the new Governor would arrive with more open-hearted instructions, so he awaited his arrival with impatience and, at the approach of every vessel, inquired if he had come at last. On April 14, Easter Sunday, he was just going out in his carriage "with the ladies" when news was brought him that the frigate *Phaeton*, with the new Governor and his suite on board, was in view. He so took his walk that he might see the frigate anchor in the Jamestown roads.

From the next day onwards it was evident what might be expected from Hudson Lowe's attitude. Through an orderly officer he announced that at nine o'clock on the 16th he would present himself to see General Buonaparte. The Emperor did not receive him at that hour; further, Sir George Cockburn had to admit that anyone desiring to be received by him, and this applied to the Admiral also, should arrange with the Grand Marshal. It was not an audience which the Governor craved, he forced upon them his visit, his regulation inspection. Punctually at nine o'clock, accompanied by

[1] Piontkowski's arrival, his stay at St. Helena, his departure, and his later career, are to be found in *Un aventurier à Sainte-Hélène. Le colonel Comte Piontkowski.* Ap. *Autour de Sainte-Hélène.* 2e série.

his staff, he arrived at Longwood at a gallop and dismounted in front of the house Montholon showed him into the parlour where Gourgaud joined him Saint-Denis, who was on duty, replied to his request to see the *general* that "the Emperor was unwell and had not yet risen" Lowe went around the residence, saw the orderly officer and instructed him to go and request that he might be received; the answer came "the Emperor is asleep and no one can see him" He then made up his mind to find Bertrand "to beg him to announce his arrival to General Buonaparte and to request him to receive him"

Then on the following day at 2 o'clock Sir Hudson Lowe, at the head of his staff, arrived punctually with Admiral Cockburn who intended to present his successor to the Emperor They were shown into the parlour by "these gentlemen" as they called Las Cases, Gourgaud and Montholon Bertrand had to conduct visitors to the Emperor and was with him in the drawing-room, he gave instructions that the Governor should enter Noverraz was on the door. His orders were that no one should enter except the person or persons specifically named, so that after Lowe had gone in and the Admiral tried to follow him, Noverraz barred the way with his arm and shut the door in his face The Admiral, taken aback and humiliated, did not further insist upon admission

However, Lowe approached the Emperor talking to him in French: "I come, Monsieur, to pay my respects" The Emperor immediately continued in Italian upon the Corsicans and the Abercromby expedition to Egypt, in a not very serious strain Then they came to business Before taking leave, Lowe introduced his staff The Admiral never entered and left extremely exasperated The Emperor for the moment was delighted and said he would not have missed that day for a million francs, but upon reflection he decided to express his regret to the Admiral through O'Meara, and sent Montholon to the latter to convey his apologies But the blow had fallen: Hudson Lowe knew what to expect

But he arrived with instructions which, if they were substantially like those given to Sir George Cockburn and "which he had to regard as the general principles regulating his conduct," aggravated them upon certain points, above all by giving him discretionary powers. "You will observe," they said, "that it is the desire of His Majesty's Government to grant General Buonaparte all the indulgence compatible with the security of his person. That he

shall by no means escape nor hold communication with anyone, except through you, must be your continual care, and with assured satisfaction upon these two points, all means, and all recreations which tend to reconcile Buonaparte to his captivity must be allowed." Was that not sufficient to arouse all kind of anxiety in a man easily alarmed and over conscientious, and induce him to enforce all possible restrictions?

Lord Bathurst then informed him that commissioners appointed by Russia, Austria and France were coming to reside on St. Helena, "but these commissioners will have no power to interfere in the measures which the Government considers expedient, they will simply be correspondents to their respective courts."

These provisional instructions would be completed as soon as an Act of Parliament could cloth this injustice in a lavishly legal form. Nevertheless, even before this Act had been proposed, Lord Bathurst, in a dispatch dated January 10, informed Sir Hudson that by order of the Prince Regent he should, immediately upon his arrival, inform all the persons comprising the suite of Napoleon Buonaparte, including also his servants, that they were free to leave the island immediately and to return to Europe or to cross to the United States of America, but any of them wishing to remain on St. Helena were to declare in writing that they stayed of their own free will and that they were prepared to submit to any restriction it might be considered necessary to impose upon Napoleon Buonaparte.

This fact had been communicated verbally to the Emperor's companions aboard the *Northumberland*, when it appeared "just convention," but now no one could mistake its reality. In obliging them to agree to this undertaking, it was the intention that they should contract a personal engagement, and just as in this formula the Emperor was stripped of all his titles and position, so in the same way his companions would recognise the legality, even the justifiableness of the captivity. Certainly they were free not to sign, but they would in that case more than likely be deported to the Cape.

Hudson Lowe communicated the exact formula in English on April 18. The Emperor had it translated and refused to approve it, dictating one himself which the servants were to sign. Las Cases, Gourgaud, Montholon, and Bertrand faced with what was demanded of them, hesitated and experienced a perplexity which the Emperor was anxious not to create. He intended to leave to each the initiative

and the responsibility for his acquiescence, but if his companions would not sign this undertaking and were therefore expelled from St Helena, was he going to be left alone? From April 18 to 20, from Longwood to Plantation House there were comings and goings of the Governor, of aides-de-camp, and of the Grand Marshal Finally on the 20th, Las Cases, Montholon and Gourgaud brought an undertaking, not like the product of the English ministry and proposed by the Governor, but one inspired by their own bombast and personal pride. *The Grand Marshal under the necessity of* signing or embarking within a week with his family on board the *Phaeton* bound for the Cape, drew up a compilation which answered all purposes "The Emperor's health does not permit my leaving him at the moment, and no other means being open to me for fulfilling the undertaking I have made, I declare that it is my desire to remain on St Helena and to be liable to the same regulations as the Emperor"

Lowe could have turned down these declarations, none of which conformed to *the copy presented, and could have deported all the* Emperor's companions to the Cape, but he did not for at that moment he did not believe himself authorised to do so That is why he made the proposition in the first place he knew that he would be respecting the wishes of his Government by reducing expenditure and by cutting down Napoleon's servants to a minimum, but he was obliged to declare that no one would desert him which was just what the ministry had supposed would be the case He then formally proposed from this moment onwards "to put them all at a distance, with the possible exception of Las Cases" "The attitude," he wrote, "which they adopt, upon every occasion, either verbally or in writing, their opinion upon the measures which the Government has thought fit to impose regarding Napoleon himself, should furnish sufficient reason for their removal to distant residences"

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All this was to be found in the spirit of his written instructions, but he had, before his departure, received verbal instructions regarding the economies to be effected in the Longwood establishment for immediately after landing he had examined the fortnightly accounts kept by the purveyor, Balcombe, from which, after two of these accounts, he estimated the annual expense at between 325

instead of the anticipated treasure, several thousands of francs only were found they should not be taken but, instead, should be set apart in such a manner that they could be used for Napoleon's needs until his death. In this manner he had already been relieved of 4,000 napoleons (80,000 francs) during the change over from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*.

At this time the Emperor had succeeded in keeping 250,000 francs from the English by distributing them in eight belts among his companions and returning them to Marchand, who was appointed treasurer, immediately upon the arrival at St. Helena. This sum accrued for the most part from the allowance made to the Emperor on June 28 by his treasurer of the sum of 183,333 francs, the result of the sale of some 5 per cent. stock which Napoleon owned. He called this sum his "reserve," and was determined to touch it only in case of absolute necessity; as the result of several economies he added to it so much that in 1821 it totalled 300,000 francs.

These 300,000 francs did not exist so far as the English were concerned, and the Emperor could only use them by revealing the fact that he had hidden them. There remained, before having recourse to the money which the Emperor had in Europe, the funds which his companions had brought with them. Las Cases, before leaving Paris, had got possession of 4,000 louis which he put at the disposal of the Emperor. Bertrand, on July 19 had, through his lawyer M. Fourcault de Pavant and Messrs. Baring Brothers of London, invested a sum of about 300,000 francs in 5 per cent. Navy annuities, and supposed that the stock would, as soon as he wrote, be sold by Baring acting as his agent. Besides, he had with him a sum of £1,500 (37,500 francs) for immediate disposal. Gourgaud possessed nothing, Montholon less than nothing. What the little colony found in its possession was about 500,000 francs, and 500,000 francs would not go far, especially if the English Government reduced to £8,000 an allowance which normally, upon Cockburn's calculations, might reach £20,000 and could scarcely drop below £16,000 (400,000 francs). Besides the 200,000 to 300,000 francs which represented his expenses, had he not also to pay the salaries of the officers, the wages of his servants, and provide clothes and upkeep for all? The Household was not raised to imperial rank with impunity. It was not with impunity that it was administered by the most wasteful man even of his own resources, the most inventive regarding expenses, the least capable of keeping accounts, of stopping wastage,

and of preventing chaos: Montholon excelled in all, and to remedy it did not the Emperor himself feel obliged to examine the accounts of his *maître d'hôtel*? It was not therefore under Montholon's stewardship that living was economical. So when the 500,000 francs were exhausted what was the Emperor to do?

He had arranged three settlements: the first in 1814 by which he had entrusted 1,600,000 francs to Comte Lavallette. Of these 1,600,000 francs, Lavallette had sent 800,000 francs to Prince Eugène, and 400,000 to the Maison Perregaux and Laffitte. According to an account presented to the Emperor in 1815, he had paid out in various ways 120,000 francs. There therefore remained 280,000 francs "to the Emperor's knowledge." There existed, therefore, some 1,600,000 francs; 155,000 in the hands of Lavallette of which later he confessed he was the debtor, with Prince Eugène 800,000 francs at the Emperor's disposal, and 400,000 francs with Perregaux and Laffitte: at least a total of 1,355,000 francs.

The 400,000 francs with Perregaux and Laffitte (to which, upon the Emperor's command, had been added the 800,000 francs of Prince Eugène) were added to the three millions (and not six millions as he thought) which, on June 28, 1815, the Emperor, on the entreaties of Peyrusse, his treasurer, had ordered to be taken from the Tuileries and deposited in the Banque Laffitte. It was already very late and it was necessary, for the departure of the waggons, to obtain an authorisation given by Fouché. Fouché knew what was going on and the secret was well kept by him and the others involved.

If he had been betrayed there is no doubt that the Emperor's three millions would have been confiscated like all the personal and real property of the Bonapartes.

Finally, there was the third settlement, perhaps the most important. In 1815 the Emperor had sent to King Joseph considerable bills which were entrusted to Comte Clary or taken to the United States, upon which the Emperor drew scarcely 100,000 francs and which did not figure on any account. It is necessary to mention this fact considering the imputations which were made regarding it.

As for Napoleon, it was essential that the English should remain in ignorance of whether he had any resources and, in case he might be forced to draw some from Europe, who would supply it. As for Lowe, it was urgently necessary for him that he should carry

out his instructions and that he should reduce expenses to the sum named by the ministry so he went about his task with great zeal "hoping that, thanks to the victualling vessels sent from England, the price of provisions would drop a little, and that in this way a reduction in expenses would be effected without causing any very appreciable curtailment in the comfort or the needs which had up to then been granted to the prisoners," but he added, "in case I cannot reduce the expenses in such a manner that they will not exceed the appointed sum, they have been definitely warned that surplus expense will be their business, and that a reduction will be effected in the expenses." To prove that the Emperor was in a position to supply the funds necessary to meet his expenses, Lowe related that, according to Balcombe, Montholon had offered to give him in Bonaparte's name a bill for £30,000 (750,000 francs) on Hope of Amsterdam—with whom he had not a florin and on whom he had no letters from Laffitte. It was one of Montholon's usual boasts, made upon the Emperor's suggestion, that there had firstly to be spent 4,000 napoleons illegally set apart by the English.

On July 16, the Emperor broached the question point-blank with Hudson Lowe: he said he had enough money to provide everything... But he disliked sending unsealed letters and he would not tolerate it.

On the 19th, Montholon, in a conversation with Major Gorrequer, entered into detail. The Emperor requested nothing more than to discharge even the whole of his expenses "provided he be permitted to use his own resources through the medium of sealed letters," or to be allowed to draw upon some of his relatives, Princess Pauline, Prince Joseph, his own son or Prince Eugène, and that these requests for money be forwarded in sealed envelopes. "If the Government is prepared to make some proposal respecting this, the Emperor is ready to entertain it."

Struck by this list of relatives who were doubtless prepared to contribute towards the Emperor's maintenance, Lowe wrote to Bathurst: "Your Lordship has so many means of communicating with these people that the question of money for his support now seems to be one of the least troublesome respecting him, if his relatives and old friends are possessed of such sentiments as he attributes to them."

In the meantime the economies practised in the provisioning of the house were the more evident on account of the ill-will of the

purveyors, due no doubt to the cut in their profits They delivered goods of inferior quality, very often damaged and in such small quantities that there was real scarcity at Longwood Further, although the Governor had announced that poultry, fish and vegetables could be purchased and the accounts sent to Balcombe, Balcombe refused to pay for anything The butcher was no longer willing to provide meat because, he said, the French were so difficult to please The vegetables were uneatable, the bread horrid, made with bad flour, in short, the economy campaign of the Governor bordered upon the starvation of the prisoners it was the resurrection of *The* question

Believing himself sufficiently well informed of the prisoners' needs, the Governor went to Longwood on August 17 with the object of suggesting to the Emperor the necessity of his contributing a part of his expenses if he intended to have around him so large a household A first interview with Bertrand, to whom he was sent, was particularly stormy The Grand Marshal remarked that all correspondence having ceased because of the embargo on sealed letters, the Emperor could not discuss his personal affairs with those to whom he had entrusted them Lowe replied that he had not come to enter into these side issues, and that he had had a discussion with General Buonaparte himself and also with Count Montholon, and that neither had raised any difficulty respecting the method of procuring funds Bertrand terminated the conversation and sent the Governor to Montholon with a parting expression that he desired to have the minimum of conversation with him either by word of mouth or in writing The Governor replied, went to complain to Napoleon who refused to receive him, and the same day wrote to Montholon "that it was utterly impossible to discharge the expenses of the house out of the sum allotted by his Government unless economy was enforced regarding certain things, which would naturally reduce the comfort which up till then the members of the *entourage* had enjoyed Having been very frankly informed by General Buonaparte that he had at his disposal in various parts of Europe monetary resources by means of which the surplus, in fact the whole, of his expenses could be defrayed, he begged him to inquire of the General, before he himself attempted some considerable economies that might perhaps prove most unpleasant both to Buonaparte and to the members of his suite, whether he was prepared to take the consequences of such a step or whether he preferred to put at the

Governor's disposal sufficient money to cover the surplus expenses."

Lowe returned to Longwood the following day, August 18: it was the fifth interview he had had with the Emperor—it was the last. He was accompanied by Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm who had succeeded Cockburn, and he arrived with the determination to lay his complaints against Bertrand and to obtain a formal reply to the money question. Napoleon, weary of the methods which Lowe employed in his punctilious performance of duty and the increasing strictness of his orders, appeared to take advantage of the occasion to humiliate him in the presence of others, and give vent, with some considerable heat, to the feelings which aroused him. The Governor then expressed his sorrow. For a while the Emperor remained silent and, when he made up his mind to speak, he addressed the Admiral, pretending to ignore the Governor and speaking of him in the third person: "He did this, he did that," stinging him with succinct expressions and at each of his denials, replying with rebukes like the lashes of a whip. It was the question of letters, of communications, such as they were, which was under consideration, but the money matter was the basis. However, in the very detailed story of this last visit, Lowe only included this phrase which he imputed to the Emperor: "You want money; I have none if it is not in the possession of my friends, but I cannot send any letters." One would say that although in an official dispatch Lowe was ashamed to insist on the matter, he himself felt how low the ministry had stooped by insisting on the cuts. The Emperor and he certainly said other things before Lowe left him, with his hat on and with no other parting remark than "I wish you good day." Had not Napoleon told him, as Las Cases and O'Meara have related, that he was going to invite to his table the brave officers of the 53rd and that they would not refuse, he was sure, to take their dinner with an old soldier like himself? Such was very likely the case though Lowe said nothing about it. In a postscript to the protest (undated, but said to be August 23) which the Emperor got Montholon to endorse, the latter, after recalling that in a letter dated the 17th Lowe had added an estimate of the Longwood expenses showing the minimum to be £20,000 (500,000 francs), he said, "You require an amount of £12,000 from the Emperor, your Government allowing you only £8,000 for the whole expenses. I have had the honour of informing you that the Emperor possesses no money, and that, for a

whole year, he has neither received nor written a single letter and that he is in complete ignorance of what is taking place or may have taken place in Europe Forcibly transported to this rock two thousand leagues distant without being able to receive or write any letters, he is wholly at the disposal of English agents The Emperor has always desired and now desires to provide all his expenses himself, and he will do so as soon as you make it possible by raising the ban placed on the merchants of this country assisting regarding his correspondence which shall not be liable to any investigation on your part or that of your agents" Then, having alluded to Lord Bathurst's instructions communicated by Lowe, he continued, "Do not your ministers realise, then, Monsieur, that the spectacle of a great man grappling with adversity is a most noble one? Do they not see that Napoleon at St Helena, beset by persecution of every kind which he endures with resignation, is grander, more sacred, more revered than upon the proudest throne in the world where for so long he was the master of kings? Those who show disrespect to Napoleon in such circumstances only dishonour their own character and the country they represent"

This protest, going over the head of Lowe, rose like a complaint of supreme eloquence, and in so far as it appeared declamatory, it was destined for boundless publicity The question of money was not the least which aroused the compassion of the people The contrast between the opulence of yesterday and present misery could not fail to move them to sympathy, and if certain of the Emperor's companions feared that the prestige of Napoleon might be affected by these protests, they were wrong Popular feeling brooked none of this meanness and the Emperor judged it rightly

But the more vigorously Napoleon conducted his campaign of words and letters against Lowe and the English Government, the more strictly Lowe adhered to his instructions and endeavoured to harass his prisoner The question of expenses was for him an excellent pretext for isolating the Emperor, for removing his companions who never ceased to inflame him, for bringing him into subjection by solitude and weariness in a prison cell on the equator He was quick to avail himself of the expenses which the presence of fifty-five persons entailed to propose the return of a certain number of them "It is only," he wrote, "by a reduction in the number of people that any appreciable saving can be effected in the expenses" A start must be made with the "officers of his suite

who do not consider themselves subject to any disciplinary law nor to the respect due to the Island authorities," and he demanded severe measures against the Emperor himself on account of "his insolent and provocative behaviour." He boasted of the moderation he had observed and "the lenity" he had practised, but he appeared to believe that the Emperor had treated him as he had done in order to incite him to some act of violence which would render the continuance of his command impossible: so absorbed was he in holding on to his office that this prepossession overshadowed all other concern.

To what purpose did Lowe, who was so dutiful to the instructions of his Government, take upon himself to exceed by one-third, just at this moment (September 5), the sum allowed for the maintenance of the Emperor's house by increasing it of his own accord from £8,000 to £12,000? Is it likely that he was convinced of the impossibility of running the Longwood household with so small a sum, considering the former was sufficient only by means of considerable reductions in the personnel of the English servants or by means of a contribution of £8,000 on the part of the Emperor, or did he rather expect that, upon the statement of such an amount, his Government would agree to what he had so many times suggested and expel these impudent Frenchmen from the island? Did he imagine that he would thus pacify the Emperor and get him to request money from Europe? As this could only be effected through him and by unsealed letters, he would thus hold the secret and would be doubtless very pleased to possess it.

He did not expect that Montholon would, on the 7th, reply to the orderly officer that it being wholly impossible to cut down the Longwood expenses any further, the Emperor had made up his mind to dispose of about £25,000 worth of his plate by selling it to some merchant on the island so that he could, for two years, supply the £12,000 requested of him—£12,000 or £8,000 it was all the same for the exact amount mattered little. Lowe, faced with the scandal this would produce, was at his wits end. In a letter to Montholon he asserted that he would no longer hesitate to guarantee General Buonaparte that all letters or written communications which he cared to send on the subject of money, through the medium of the Governor, would not be brought by him to the knowledge of any person on the island nor any one else, the Secretary of State for the Colonies excepted.

This proposal was not acceptable and the Emperor forthwith put in hand the sale of his plate. The chased eagles which surmounted the dish-covers were torn off, plates, dishes and ornaments were smashed up with hammers, and Cipriani took 942 ounces to Balcombe, sufficient to discharge their outstanding debts. At a second attempt 1,227 ounces of it were sold, and at a third 2,048. The price, fixed by the rate of exchange in England, was five shillings an ounce. In francs, the 4,227 ounces sold should have realised 26,418 francs 75c. Since the Emperor had to provide 100,000 francs a year for household necessities alone, including the salaries of his officers, the peoples' wages and current expenses, these 26,000 francs scarcely covered a quarter's expenses. Granted there was a fair amount of plate, but not, as Montholon said, to the value of £25,000 or 1,425,000 francs, which would mean 10,000 ounces, but possibly to the value of 100,000 francs. After this was exhausted there were the thirteen bills of exchange for £300 each which Las Cases had offered, and then Bertrand's money, but resort need only be had to these extremities when it was the general wish. The English Government capitulated. For the grandson of Alderman Bathurst, the idea of effecting an economy had overcome the hatred, the vexation, the unscrupulousness of the regulation. "You can consider yourself at liberty," he wrote Lowe on November 22, 1816, "to inform General Buonaparte that you will undertake to send here, without any examination, a sealed letter for transmission to the English firm to which it is addressed, provided that your complaisance on this occasion is not regarded as a precedent to continue such correspondence, that the sum indicated in this bill shall be made known to you, and that the manner of its disposal on the island be carried out with your approval."

So, in order that it might lighten the responsibilities it had assumed, the British ministry was the first to violate the restrictions it had imposed upon the prisoner, but it made him pay for it.

This measure, however, was not put into effect. Either Lowe, stricter in his discharge of orders than even his Minister, omitted to communicate Lord Bathurst's dispatch, or he thought fit to pass over this concession in silence. It was not through official channels that the Emperor got a request to Prince Eugene to send the necessary funds to a London banker, and if, during April 1818, the Grand Marshal was authorised to draw, once a month, on the bankers Andrews, Street and Parker of London, a bill for 10,000 francs, it

was above the signature of the Governor, and provided that he received a statement of its real or fictitious distribution as follows: to Marchand, for the Emperor's toilet, 1,000 francs; to Pierron, for household expenses, 2,000; to Count Montholon, 2,000; servants' wages, 1,525; hitherto Gourgaud received 500 francs monthly; Piontkowski, 300; the surgeon and the priests had equal stipend. But the salaries were not wholly spent and, for the most part, they were saved to increase the Emperor's reserve capital, at the same time preventing certain abuses and bestowing a small fortune on each servant. Too close inquiry was not made into the source of the money nor into its disposal, but suspicion was rife and there was a lot of talk about it. Officially it was no secret, but just as officially it was ignored. By feigned ignorance of this sort the Emperor could be permitted to receive this money, and the English Government could put their economies into effect. Lowe only intervened to sign the bills, but sign them he did, not even appearing surprised that General Bertrand was rich.

At the moment when the sale of the plate was, in the opinion of Europe, rightly or wrongly, providing Napoleon with a hollow victory, the Governor took the opportunity of pushing his case upon the points he considered the most important, and his conduct received the unqualified approval of the Prince Regent. Lord Bathurst advised him to increase his guard and to require the orderly officer to vouch for the continued presence of Buonaparte at least twice every day, to forbid all secret correspondence with the inhabitants, to keep at a distance from the General at least four of the individuals who had come with him, particularly Piontkowski; it was left to Lowe to nominate the rest, acting upon the unfavourable reports he would receive of their behaviour. So he was advised to show towards Napoleon all the severity these words contained and he was authorised to send from the island all the members of his suite "who did not pay him the respect due to his position or keep the rigid observance of regulations which was the indispensable condition of their residence on the island." In order to strengthen his hand, and if necessary, to give to those companions of the Emperor who were disposed, though not ouvertly, to leave him, the excuse for quitting the island, the ministry returned the declarations which earlier on had been signed by the officers and servants, declarations which did not conform to the official formula and were seething with provisoes, accompanied by protests and attributing to

Napoleon the title and dignities which England refused him The ministry required that the official declaration be signed within a week, the alternative being deportation to the Cape The Emperor appeared to prefer the departure of his companions to their signing an acknowledgement of his deposition Actually, he was not so devoid of humanity that he would resign himself to living alone, so free from pride that he would agree to the disbanding of his little court which still gave him a pretence of sovereignty He forbade them to sign it and he viewed with astonishment those who had signed

Life became more and more difficult The prohibition of all correspondence with the residents was going to bring with it the suppression of all relations with them, restrictions upon the miserable liberty the Emperor enjoyed, and tightening of the limits wherein he could exercise without his guard, so that he had no more than a wilderness for his walks Even day dreams could not conjure up the faintest hope One as it were sank in the quicksands of daily monotony If certain diversions were anticipated upon the arrival of the commissioners, the deception was soon dispelled Had not the Emperor imagined that the commissioners would be the bearers of letters from their sovereigns accrediting them to him in some way, and that once introduced—which seemed to him a simple matter for they had, in accordance with the rule laid down by Admiral Cockburn, only to request an audience of the Grand Marshal—they would constitute the accredited diplomatic corps at Longwood? He had made inquiries, knew who the Russian and Austrian were, and what he might expect from them The French commissioner was without doubt ridiculous and stern If he depicted the uncompromising emigrant to the life, had not the Emperor broken down and deluded people far more inimical?—at least so he believed He thought he remembered having seen him at Valence at the time he was lieutenant and again when he was colonel, which would be a connecting link Furthermore, if the Marquis de Montchenu did not wish to come to Longwood, he was free to chose as a substitute the company of the Russian and the Austrian The Emperor of Russia—hereupon the Emperor began to dream—evidently would not have sent one of his officers without entrusting him with a certain charge for him to whom, at Tilsit and at Erfurt, he had sworn eternal friendship Nothing would be easier than to begin a correspondence with the Czar and, thanks to him, obtain whatever he

wanted: who knows but that he would even offer him refuge in his states? About the Austrian he had no doubt whatever. He would bear to the exile news of his wife and his son, and here was a consideration on the part of the Emperor of Austria of which he must take full advantage. And the Emperor waited, dispatching Mme. Bertrand as a scout, then sending Las Cases, and then everybody. What they brought him was the text of the treaty signed on August 2, 1815 which made him Europe's prisoner and which constituted as the sole function of these commissioners that of dispatching a monthly confirmation of his life. If he was happily ignorant of the demands Montchenu had made of installing several soldiers with fixed bayonets in Longwood to verify if the Usurper was alive, he did learn that, in order to cut short any attempt to "get at" the commissioners, Lowe had deprived the Grand Marshal of the right to issue passes, and had assumed it himself. Lowe seized the occasion of an impudent letter which the Emperor had written to him to forbid visits and thus put an end to any amelioration these meetings might bring to the exiles' lot, as well as wrecked any means Napoleon might have had of communicating with Europe, of making known there his complaints and his misery, for the Emperor was such that he would make the gaoler responsible for the treatment he underwent, not admitting that a great Power should, before posterity, assume the disgrace for the treatment meted out to him.

By the Emperor's own action Hudson Lowe thus effected one of the proposals considered essential to the guard of the prisoner: isolation. Not only had he cut off all communication the Emperor might have had with people abroad and even with residents on the island, but he had succeeded, thanks to his persistency, in keeping visitors away and giving the Emperor the reputation for a misanthropist as contrary to his character as prejudicial to his interests. Certain people who, following the precedent set by Sir George Cockburn, had continued to visit Longwood in an intimate sort of way, soon left for Europe either because their period of service had expired or their affairs demanded their presence there, and Lowe then felt safe that no word of his prisoner would be retailed outside Longwood.

If he could not shut the doors of the prison to important people travelling to or from China and the Indies, if he was obliged to allow their application for an audience to be made to the Grand Marshal, he was at least sure that these visitors, relations or friends of ministers, officials, adherents and supporters of the ministry would bear the

truth away with them. Their accounts would corroborate his own, and when the Emperor deluded himself that the ministry upon better information would do justice to his requests, it was an increase in the severity prepared for him with the compliments of the Governor.

The Emperor must send neither verbal nor written messages, still less must he receive them except through official channels. His letters, unsealed, were delayed in the offices where copies could be taken of them, their contents made the public property of those hostile and railing and, upon their arrival at St. Helena, provided the Governor's adjutants with something to talk about, so that when the Emperor received these violated letters, impersonal and empty, he would with a gesture of hopelessness let them flutter to the floor often unread . . . What was the good?

The books he requested and which the ministry undertook to buy —doubtless on a commission basis, for how many printed books could be bought for the £1,396, nearly 25,000 francs, which was demanded of him !—were much more precious to him. Just as he had formerly taken possession of kingdoms so did he now of these pamphlets which became as precious as conquests to him. Was there not, on every page, evidence of what he had done ? What writer or printer was there in Europe who did not give prominence to his name ? What did it matter that some Englishmen had attempted to erase him from Humanity's vocabulary ? Lowe could not tear out all the pages on which appeared the name of Napoleon since these books were sent by the ministry ! But he took his revenge when a volume arrived from some particular individual : from whom ?—a member of the Liberal opposition, Mr. Hobhouse. He had sent to Lowe, to be passed on to the Emperor, a copy of his work : *The Last Reign of the Emperor Napoleon.* This beautifully bound copy bore a fairly long dedication beginning : *To Napoleon the Great,* and on the first page Mr. Hobhouse had copied an extract from Tacitus. On the pretext that Mr. Hobhouse had sent it to him for his attention, Sir Hudson Lowe, who was a collector, kept it, put it among his own books and later brought it back to England, but when he sold his library he kept it back from the sale lest his theft should be discovered, and it was under romantic circumstances that a well-known collector got possession of it.

Obviously if Hobhouse had then been what he later became, a peer of the United Kingdom—Lord Broughton—the embarrassment

would have been far greater, for Lowe neither sent back nor kept what Lady Holland sent.

This was surely one of the most moving scenes of his captivity. This woman was unprejudiced and had proved it. Elizabeth Vassall, only daughter of Richard Vassall of Jamaica and of Mary Clark of New York, at the age of fifteen in 1766, married Sir Godfrey Webster of Battle Abbey, her senior by twenty-three years. He had been a member of parliament but not having been re-elected was travelling on the continent with his wife. Since Elizabeth had had five children between 1789 and 1795, the whole household could scarcely go with them. Lady Webster was on bad terms with her mother-in-law against whom she perpetrated all sorts of huge jokes which her friends could not fail to find amusing because she was pretty and had an income of £7,000. Her family declared that though she might have had very intimate friends she had no lover until 1794 when, in February at Florence, she met Henry Richard, third Lord Holland, the nephew of Fox, of Lord Ossory and of Lady Warwick, who was two years younger than she. This meeting left its mark for in April 1796, Lady Webster, having left Florence and returned to her husband, found herself obliged to leave him in November to give birth to a son of which Sir Godfrey was not the father and which was christened Charles Richard Fox.

Lady Webster then thought about a divorce and Sir Godfrey did not at first appear to put any obstacle in its way, but he later changed his mind and the proceedings he began cost Lord Holland £6,000 and Lady Webster all her income except £800. Deprived of the care of her children, she had the company of a daughter only, whose death she announced, pretended she was buried and wore mourning. Three years later Sir Godfrey was pleased to die and she married her lover who loved her enough to change his name from Fox to Vassall and to become entirely hers. She occupied a high position in English society and courted male company, not because she did not enjoy feminine society nor because her husband might leave Holland House to invade some other *salon*. But such was the society of the most notorious women, the most influential and those who had lost a little of their former social standing, but who nevertheless ruled. They even had their male court, gave the word of command to their friends, and as they experienced no difficulty in dabbling in politics in which their nature urged them to play a part, they vigorously engaged in the movement and hazarded steps which might have compromised

other women but which seemed natural coming from them Lady Holland appointed herself, therefore, Napoleon's benevolent commissioner With extremely ingenius discretion, a disinterested attentiveness which came from the heart, she strove to find out the dainties which might please the exile, the books which would keep his mind occupied, the toys which, making the children's eyes sparkle, would gladden the eyes of those who saw their joy It seems she had never spoken to the Emperor She had only seen him on parade in the Consulate days, but it was not for the General, the Consul or the Emperor that she exerted herself, great as was her admiration, it was for the captive whose imprisonment seemed to her a blot upon her country What she could do to make up for it, she certainly did, acting as go-between for the Family with the ministers She requested authorisations in case of need from the Marquis of Douglas, at that time bestowing his attentions on Princess Pauline, who sent or brought letters from Rome, for Lord Bathurst was hardly wise to repudiate the influence of Lady Holland, strengthened as it was from another quarter by the Marquis of Douglas who, in 1819, on the death of his father, became Duke of Hamilton in Scotland, Duke of Brandon in England, and Duc de Châtelherault in France The audacity of a Blacas was necessary to exhort upon the opinions of so great a lord The arrival of Lady Holland's cases was always an event at St Helena and created a kind of genuine happiness for some hours, even days Hudson Lowe though he disapproved was obliged, by the order of the minister, to shut his eyes

It aroused in him considerable anxiety and all his respect for discipline was necessary to induce him to tolerate it No doubt the minister was within his rights in authorising these consignments, but if among the confectionery and the toys in the boxes suspicious correspondence had been introduced, and if an escape had been effected by means of this correspondence, who would have been held responsible? For it was irregular, and orders with their strict observance was a kind of religion to Lowe He might have fallen ill at the thought that the restriction might have been violated by his superior, that it might have been so without his being able to prevent it, and by people with whom he had no association

When he learned that a lock of fair hair, presumably that of the King of Rome, had been sent to the Emperor, he had never been so maddened What would it have mattered to a well-educated man and one who had a little tact and good manners? He should have

shut his eyes, made it known that he was not being deceived, perhaps given a warning, but he made such a disturbance about it that, so far as he was concerned, he was considered as ridiculous as he was loathsome. But Lowe did not know what it was to be ridiculous, and where should we be if we admitted that out instructions were loathsome and prompted despicable acts?

Baron Stürmer, the Austrian commissioner, had received from his court a request to conduct to St. Helena and to look after a gardener from Schoenbrunn, named Philipp Welle, who was instructed by the Emperor of Austria himself to collect all the island could offer in the way of natural history, particularly botany. This man made arrangements to meet Marchand, the Emperor's first valet and son of the nurse who had tended the King of Rome in Vienna, at Jamestown. At the behest of Mme. Marchand, he brought her son a piece of folded paper on which was written: "I send you some of my hair. If you get the opportunity of having yourself painted, send me your portrait. *Your mother*: MARCHAND." In the paper he found a lock of hair "somewhat white and fair." Marchand was not deceived: it belonged to the King of Rome. The Emperor of Austria had forbidden any news to be given Napoleon of his son, and had not even instructed his commissioner to St. Helena to testify that the child was still living; Marie Louise had not admitted that Napoleon was more concerned with him than herself, and had not even thought that she might be able to give news of him. The grandfather and mother did not care; their allies would have rebuked them for it. What they did not do, an old French woman, a domestic servant, a nurse, wanted to do and did it. She "got round" Boos, the inspector of gardens at Schoenbrunn and persuaded him to send this envelope containing the hair to Welle, his under-gardener, and so by means of this compassionate conspiracy of simple folk, the banished Emperor knew at least that his son was alive.

Lowe learned that Napoleon had received some hair "said to be that of the King of Rome." Who had committed this crime? Doubtless a servant, but who? Probably the French commissioner. Inquiries were begun, and cunning questions were put to Montchenu, who was furious. No clue here. Next came the Austrian whose wife was French, a Parisienne, but it was not the baroness nor her people. Finally came Welle. The Governor had already quarrelled with Stürmer over this Welle. He was suspected, he stayed too long and he was in communication with a man named Prince, an

Englishman, against whom there was nothing definite, but who had none the less been turned out Lowe questioned Welle who told him simply what he had done He could not believe there was anything criminal in having passed on to Marchand a paper containing hair Sturmer defended him in vain All that he succeeded in doing was to save Welle from the gallows which would have been his fate if he had undergone trial according to the laws of Great Britain, but he was expelled, and Sturmer after being recalled with particular severity by Prince Metternich who, however, shielded him, was cashiered and, for some time at least, disgraced

Who was right in law? Lowe, without doubt He carried out his orders, but in such a manner that, had this story been known, he would have turned an indignant mankind against himself There is no doubt that this was one of the chief grievances which, upon the word of Napoleon, posterity had against him It is true that Napoleon has not confined himself to the facts as he received them from Marchand He took it for granted that Welle himself had seen the King of Rome at Schoenbrunn and that Lowe knew it, that Welle had requested to come to Longwood and that Lowe had forbidden him to do so Nothing is less certain, but he departed from it in a letter which he sent to Las Cases on December 11, 1816, and which was ultimately published, he wrote " If you see my wife and my son, kiss them for me For two years I have had no news of them, either directly or indirectly For six months there has been a German botanist in this country who saw them in the garden at Schoenbrunn some months before his departure, but the savages have prevented his coming to bring me news of them" Five months later in a document for which he predicted an enormous sensation, he wrote " In the same inquisitional spirit, a botanist from Schoenbrunn, who spent several months on the island, and who could have given a *father* news of his *son*, was with the greatest care removed from Longwood"

The Emperor groundlessly presumed that Welle had seen the Empress and the King of Rome, with less grounds still that he had asked to come to Longwood But the facts must be faced, and Lowe, however anxious he may have been and however incensed his correspondence with Sturmer, gradually calmed down, asserting that it was only the clandestine manner in which the lock of hair had been sent he was concerned about.

In the case of Welle, Lowe had definitely given way, and he

had not received any thanks for his condescension—quite the reverse. It was worse still on the second occasion. On May 28, 1817, a storeship, the *Baring*, under Captain Lamb, arrived at St. Helena. On board was a master gunner Philip Radovitch, who was entrusted by the firm of Beagini, of London, to present Napoleon with a marble bust of his son. It was a "commercial bust" the value of which was enhanced by the number of legends attached to it: that it was sculptured from a portrait painted at the baths at Leghorn where the Prince was with his mother, that there had been only two models of it, the one which "the Prince's illustrious mother" had kept, and this one, and that no expense had been spared in obtaining a true likeness, all of which was untrue. On the bust the child was wearing the insignia of the Legion of Honour whereas it had been taken away from him as soon as he arrived in Vienna, on the pedestal was inscribed: *Napoléon-François-Charles-Joseph* as if the name of Napoleon had not been abolished in heaven and on earth, but these mistakes were unintentional as was that about Leghorn where the child never went, still less his mother . . .

Radovitch fell sick as soon as the *Baring* entered the roads. Lowe took possession of the bust and deliberated, even asking advice. Should he await Lord Bathurst's instructions? Was not this bust a sign of acknowledgement? Did it not contain correspondence? It might have done so had it been plaster, but it was of marble! This argument seemed so strong that on June 10, after a fortnight's rumination, he made up his mind to talk to the Grand Marshal about the bust. But the day following the arrival of the *Baring* the Emperor had known that the bust was on board and he had woven quite a legend around its dispatch. The deliberations of Lowe and his adjutant had been reported to him: to keep the bust, to break it up and throw it into the sea. He lay in wait for the Governor and from this moment made the affair one of his grievances in his dictations to Montholon. Lowe declared to the Grand Marshal "that a sculptor of Leghorn had made a bad bust of the son of Empress Marie Louise and had sent it to St. Helena aboard the *Baring*: he had not stipulated its price, but he anticipated a hundred louis from the generosity of General Buonaparte. That assumption was so inordinate as to prohibit the acceptance of the bust since it was obviously a cunning attempt of some bad Tuscan sculptor." To support his statement, Lowe showed Bertrand Beagini's letter and the shippers' memorandum. Those were his doubts, and how could

he in a worse manner have got out of the affair than by setting the generosity of the Emperor at defiance?

The Grand Marshal " did not allow himself to be imposed upon." He replied that the Emperor had a burning desire to see the features of his son again, and he strongly besought the Governor to send the bust along the same evening. It is quite true that the Emperor considered it priceless. Besides, the delivery would constitute " one up " on the Governor and he had no doubt that " this bust had been made in accordance with instructions from Empress Marie Louise to be offered to the father and the husband as a token of her loving regards."

The bust arrived on the 11th: the Emperor immediately sent Gourgaud to the Grand Marshal's house to open the crate and bring him an account of it. Upon his return, his first words were: " What decoration?"—" The eagle."—"Not that of St.-Étienne?"—"Ah! No! the eagle which your majesty yourself wears." He was satisfied, and sent Gourgaud to fetch the bust whereupon he immediately examined the decoration: " Did the Empress or the sculptor desire the eagle?" He found the child pretty, although it had a thickish neck; he resembled his mother. He had the Montholons summoned, he showed the bust to O'Meara and the little Balcombe girls. Empress Marie Louise had sent it.

Did he think that? Did he really imagine that was so? It was said of him: " His face shone, it expressed in a striking fashion the paternal love and pride which he felt at being the father of such a lovely child." He was obviously delighted with the enthusiastic praise which the Balcombes gave it, but he was almost as satisfied at the thought of the advantage he had gained over the Governor. Had not Lowe seriously considered smashing the bust and throwing it into the sea? Had he not retained possession of it for several days? " If he had not sent it to me," the Emperor said, " I had decided to lodge a complaint which would have made the hair of every Englishman stand on end. I would have told things which would have made every English mother curse him as a monster in human guise." But he had sent it so the remonstrance did not materialise. That was so, but nevertheless he had wanted to destroy it: " Look at it," said the Emperor, " Look at that face. He must have been well-nigh a barbarian, an atrocious scoundrel to have wanted to smash it. I should regard a man capable of doing that or ordering it to be done, more wicked than he who poisons another, for the latter has some

to Longwood five cases containing a chess board, a box of chessmen, and two ivory work boxes which had been sent from Canton by Mr. Elphinstone, Lady Malcolm's brother, and an officer whose wounds the Emperor had dressed at Waterloo. Lowe observed that if he had acted "in full conformity with established rules," he ought to have delayed delivery because on the chessmen was the imperial crown, and he immediately received a letter dictated by the Emperor and couched in terms he could not possibly fail to understand. He was told "that to the knowledge of the prisoners there was nothing prohibiting their possessing any object on which there was a crown," and with what contempt he was told: "The Emperor desires favour from no one and relies for nothing upon any man's whim."

If he had intercepted these pieces it might have been approved just as if he had intercepted the bust. The ministry never rebuked him for obeying orders, but always for slackness regarding their observance. So great was the fear that the Emperor might find means of corresponding with Europe that the English ministers, as well as the ambassadors of the Allied Powers, even placed some significance upon some coded notices inserted in the paper *The Anti-Gallican*, published in London by Lewis Goldsmith, an English Jew, who was formerly engaged by the French ministry in journalism, editing *The Argus* or the *Moniteur Anti-Britannique*, and at present making up for his insults to England by an abuse of France. It was asserted that Napoleon was corresponding with his supporters by means of these notices one of which follows laboriously deciphered:

> "*L'Anti-Gallican* has just arrived here. It is vexatious that the editor has sent a letter to you. That has aroused suspicion; it will be a nuisance if one cannot communicate with you by means of his paper, because I believe the others will not want to insert notices in code. So it is not necessary to reply to him. Harel has left for America. Funds have been sent to your brother Joseph. Lucien has become very shabby. Hortense is always in the best of humours. The army will be increased to 500,000 men. Russia is working up the army. Davoust has been sounded by Pozzo di Borgo. Carnot is altogether Russian. If the English Government makes any propositions to you, say nothing of it to Stürmer. Although Metternich has promised his help, it is not necessary for you to confide in him. In any case take the advice you have been given, do not sleep at night."

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Men who had maintained their composure would have discerned in this notice the scheme of a journalist at bay for arousing the interest of his readers by a scandal, and thereby obtaining monetary advantages. They had asked themselves how the Emperor could have written to Lewis Goldsmith, how he could have read *The Anti-Gallican* which in the ordinary way abounded in abuse of himself and insults to France, how he could have transmitted any notices, how a Frenchman could have contacted Goldsmith and declared such nonsense in a code quite simply solved. But far from accepting the thing for what it was worth, all the embassies were a little disturbed. There were notes sent by M. d'Osmond to M. de Lieven, and Lord Castlereagh informed Lord Bathurst of his anxieties, the latter holding the view that if the papers which transmitted the suggestions of the ministry could be sent to General Buonaparte, care must be taken not to permit the regular reception of, and above all the payment of subscriptions to, the papers of the opposition in which his partisans would never fail to insert news in language calculated to put the British Empire in danger.

From that can be deduced what was the opinion in the courts of Europe of the design which the Emperor could have in clandestine correspondence, and how disturbed Hudson Lowe must have been at the thought of what it might engender. And to what distraction he was driven when he learned that, after several endeavours by which he had begun to achieve his object, very likely communications had already been exchanged.

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Las Cases had a mulatto servant named James Scott whom he employed in errands which the Governor discovered were questionable. As there was no proof that Sir George Cockburn had sanctioned Las Cases' engagement of this servant, Lowe " dismissed him," sent for him and rigorously questioned him about any messages which he might have delivered and threatened him with severe punishment—even death—if he was apprehended repeating the offence. The father of this James, John Scott, a white man and free, went two days later to Lowe and informed him that Las Cases had met his old servant again at Longwood and that the latter was now engaged to serve a new master in England, that he had suggested

(unless it was James Scott who had offered) his carrying out certain instructions, that Las Cases had then handed him a document signed in his name and sealed with his crest, and a paper ostensibly addressed to Lady Clavering. Then he had given him a red waistcoat which Scott was to leave in London; in the lining of which were sewn two strips of white taffeta silk on which the young Las Cases had copied two long letters sent by his father, one to Lady Clavering and the other to Lucien Bonaparte, whose chamberlain Las Cases had been during the Hundred Days, when the Emperor, resuming friendly relations with his brother, made him a kind of servant.

Upon this information Hudson Lowe ordered the immediate arrest of James Scott, the seizure of the strips of taffeta, and the translation of the very tiny writing of Las Cases junior. Then he went to Longwood, had Las Cases arrested by Sir Thomas Reade and, in the presence of Emmanuel, had seals put on his papers. Las Cases was temporarily confined at Hutt's Gate.

He accepted his arrest with surprising resignation. "So I am arrested," he said, "because of Scott's information? I knew that the Governor would send for me." If he knew, why did he try it on? Had he not been warned,on the *Bellerophon*, to what he laid himself open by beginning a clandestine correspondence? Had he not, upon two occasions, yielded in writing to the restrictions which England imposed upon those who wished to live with the Emperor? By breaking that rule did he not know what he incurred? And it was through a mulatto slave—whose father was English and a loyalist—that he conceived the idea of sending documents signed in his name, copied by his son, the text of which could have been drawn up only by him, and was of such a nature that ultimate publicity was inevitable?

The letter to Prince Lucien contained the story of events from the departure from Malmaison up to the month of August 1816. This story took the form of a pamphlet rather than a recital of events: it was stilted and contained very little truth. The letter to Lady Clavering compromised her and Lord Holland to whom Las Cases announced having previously sent a parcel for Prince Lucien. By it Las Cases justified the fears expressed by the ambassadors on the subject of the journals. "Have you some one," he asked Lady Clavering "to write to me at your dictation? . . . He could insert articles in the *Times* and the *Morning Chronicle*, the appearance of which would tell us that my letter had reached you." In con-

clusion he disclosed that notes, hidden in articles of clothing, had in this way reached the hands of the prisoners.

It might be said that on one strip of silk Las Cases had gathered together all the charges that could be made against him. Furthermore, everything in this story was very improbable: the proposal of James Scott, the confidence Las Cases had immediately placed in him, the utter impossibility of Scott's delivering the letter intended for Lucien Bonaparte in Rome, the little urgency and mediocre importance of these documents for which Las Cases was hazarding his own expulsion and the execution of his old servant.

Las Cases without a doubt made it known that on a piece of this same silk he had already got into Europe the Emperor's protest against the treaty of August 2, he even declared that he had sent it to Lord Holland, but it cannot be credited that this was how the latter first knew of it. Should that which might have succeeded under different circumstances, with the connivance of an Englishman and with the approval and by order of Napoleon, have been attempted as a supreme throw with no possible chance of success and with neither the authorisation nor the sanction of the Emperor? To send to Europe a document affecting neither the policy, the glory, nor the life of Napoleon, and the sole aim of which must have been to put the name of Las Cases before the public?

Which was the most likely conjecture, that the letters would reach Lady Clavering and Lucien Bonaparte, and that the latter would give the widest publicity to that sent to him . . . in the *Diario romano*, in the papers of the two Sicilies or in those of the Lombard-Venetian kingdom? Or the alternative supposition? A very likely one, that Scott, even if he was not the *agent provocateur*, would be apprehended with his taffeta messages, an assumption Las Cases had not entertained?

Since the general reunion at Longwood he had found life there intolerable. He had been the sole companion of the Emperor at the Briars, working and discoursing with him, spending the whole day and often the night in listening to the story of his amazing career. When Gourgaud had joined the Emperor at the Briars, the charm of that intimacy had been somewhat shattered, but it was not definitely destroyed until the beginning of the residence at Longwood.

Such a small part did the Las Cases play, so religiously did the father hold to the tenets of duty, rank and prerogative, so little seen was the son, almost ceaselessly engrossed in his writing to which

an older man might have succumbed and by which he had nearly ruined his own health, that there had been on the part of Gourgaud and the Montholons, once avowed associates, insults, at first implied but later open, perpetual opposition, and finally abuse which might have aroused a less stouthearted man to take up arms. The worst corners had been good enough at Longwood for father and son, and the latter had been requested to take his meals with Piontkowski, the suspected Pole. Each one wanted to conduct his period of history, whether or not he was capable of managing it. In place of repeated dictations, little by little building up the complete narrative, instead of a carefully prosecuted sequence in which memory was resorted to and elaborated upon, there was a division into periods so far separated that a great effort was necessary each time to recall them, to string them together and to effect any degree of accuracy. Instead of a narrative in which it was impossible not to recognise the touch of the master, and in which secretarial collaboration was only obvious in certain minor details, in the unanimity of opinion, and in its connecting links, there were four different means of absorbing thought and suggesting its expression. The dictation, so precise in itself, always gave the impression of revision, and in this work each one worked according to his own method, incorporating in it his own peculiar merits or shortcomings to the detriment of the embryo conception and to the smooth sequence of the work. The greatest mistake of this quadruple collaboration was that it wearied the Emperor by its continuous toil and, even before he had started his reign, he had to interrupt the narrative only to begin again the last turns of fortune, and explain that he was not responsible for the disaster of Waterloo. Las Cases, had, therefore, in this collective work only a quarter of the confidence and that was surely the most painful disillusionment he could have experienced. Not taking part in the plots of those who shared the Emperor's table, scorning the intrigues of Montholon as well as the passions of Gourgaud, and yet being unable, like the Grand Marshal, to find a little peace in his own residence. Having had no other motive than to win the Emperor's confidence, having made no other endeavour to employ his usefulness than in recording his dictations and collecting his utterances, he might consider that if he was successful in the first instance, he soon miscarried in the second in that he was prosecuting a work that concerned Napoleon and not himself. It was not, however, the same in the case of his own journal for in [illegible] he

so closely bound up with the Emperor that it was impossible to separate them. Napoleon did the talking but he had a conversationalist in the person of Las Cases. Las Cases replied, but did not refrain from introducing his own opinions, narrating the story of his life, of extolling his *Atlas*, of setting his devotion to advantage. He recorded these sayings and the manuscript attained enormous proportions. If during a little less than two years he had filled four thousand pages, how many would that reach in ten years, if the captivity and life of the Emperor lasted so long? He experienced weariness, languor and ennui. It was not supposed that Las Cases had gone so far as to hasten his own departure by being deliberately "caught in the act," but that he had wittingly risked deportation for very little possibility of advantage and success, otherwise it must be doubted whether this fifty years old man was quite in his right mind. But despite the temporary eclipse of his favour, he was the Emperor's most useful companion, the only one whose conversation was agreeable to him, the only one who could fill his idle moments and act as a balm to his troubled spirit. He alone with Bertrand—he himself from 1766, Bertrand from 1773—were old enough to recall the events which interested the Emperor, and since Bertrand, busy with his wife and children, only saw the Emperor at stated times and for particular purposes, Las Cases was always there, and his conversation was not bound up, like that of the Grand Marshal, with a discipline of twenty years' standing. Everyone experienced this attitude at Longwood and outside Longwood, and the kind of rage it aroused against Las Cases, the Montholons and Gourgaud, made it very evident. Las Cases was the only man indispensable to the Emperor because he was the only man who kept alive the exile's interest in life—both his past life and his present.

But Las Cases had conceived another mission which would not the less delight his self-esteem, his zeal and his devotion, nor dull the echo of his name. He dreamed of being the mediator of Napoleon in Europe. Arriving from the accursed island and enjoying a reputation which would prove his disinterestedness, the nobility of his conduct and the integrity of his character, he would bear the banished man's complaints to the thrones of kings, he would arouse the feeling of the people, he would obtain a mitigation of the captivity, he would prove that the health of the Emperor was being undermined by the stay on St. Helena and that at least a change in the place of exile was necessary.

So fixed was his determination that, on the first day of his arrest, he set himself in personal opposition to the Emperor in trying to have the manuscript of his journal sent to him while the Emperor for his part claimed it as belonging to him Without inquiring whether his retention of the manuscript was agreeable to the Emperor or not, he took upon himself to send Hudson Lowe a request in which he created himself advocate and arbitrator for Napoleon, but actually all he did was to dig a trench and raise a barrier In the face of such documents, so closely resembling literature, in which he gave so little thought to consequences, one can only ask oneself whether Las Cases, having constantly another public in view if posterity was his aim, did not, as the English agents said, arouse the Emperor to written protests, to manifestations of every kind which would add something to the story and something spicy to the book he was preparing

Nothing could effect his continued stay on St Helena seeing that, as he said, " he had been disgraced by arrest " In vain did the Grand Marshal write to him and tell him that the Emperor desired him to stay, in vain did Hudson Lowe suggest his return to Longwood provided he acquiesced in the orders in writing Lowe out of regard for the Emperor's convenience thus agreed to shut his eyes to the most serious possible infraction of rules He sent an account of it to the minister who, by return of messenger, approved this indulgence, but Las Cases had no intention of returning to the Emperor and, with most flowery oratory he published his decision—an irrevocable one

The Emperor palliated his departure by sending him a letter containing a decided approval " Your conduct at St Helena," he wrote, " has, like your life, been honourable and irreproachable Your company has been indispensable to me You alone can read, speak and understand English Nevertheless, I advise you, and at a pinch I order you, to request the commander of this island to send you to the continent he cannot refuse since he has no authority over you, you having voluntarily decided upon this step " And he finished thus this letter in which he had amassed all the most violent curses against the Governor " Be comforted and console my friends It is true that my body is a prey to the hatred of my enemies, they omit nothing that may gratify their desire for revenge, they are killing me inch by inch, but Providence is too just to allow this to go on for long The unhealthiness of this pestilential climate,

the lack of all that makes life worth living will, I am sure, soon put an end to this existence the last moments of which will be an act of disgrace on the English character, and Europe will one day point with horror to this wicked and cunning man whom true Britons will disown as an Englishman."

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Las Cases, therefore, departed with the honours of war. The Emperor appeared to have forgotten having disapproved of his hastiness but seemed to admit what he had told Las Cases: "He will be more useful in Europe than at Longwood." If his departure aroused surprise especially after the declaration he had made on April 20, 1816, in which he asserted his devotion and his desire to "live with the Emperor Napoleon," he had to find an excuse to explain everything—the necessity of making public the state of the Emperor's health and the revulsion which such a disclosure would have on public opinion.

Since the Governor had, upon orders from his superior, restricted the boundaries of the enclosure mapped out by Admiral Cockburn for the Emperor's exercise, and since he had endeavoured to increase the sentries, even ruminating upon an unbroken iron fence up to the Longwood gardens, Napoleon had ceased to take the exercise which had up till then been indispensable to his health. He had, more and more frequently, taken his meals at odd hours, he had in prolonged baths sought relief from the pains which first made their appearance at the beginning of 1816 and the increase of which had been rapid.

The doctor who should have attended him, in the place of the French doctor who had refused to accompany him, received only summary instructions and was mean spirited. He had not offered his services during the régime of Admiral Cockburn, but upon the arrival of Hudson Lowe, he was introduced to him and sent him reports about the Emperor and his companions which were not those of a doctor nor even of a subordinate officer, but of a spy. He ridiculed those with whom the Emperor lived and did not even spare the ladies. Imagining that the more aggressive he was the more ingratiating he was, he spared no one either in his correspondence with the Governor or that which he had, with the ministry's knowledge, with a certain

Mr. Finlaison, clerk to the Admiralty, who never failed to show these letters to those in authority. And so O'Meara did more than anyone to create around the prisoners an atmosphere of mistrust which was particularly unfavourable to them.

Lowe, however, did not allow himself to be deceived by his cunning. He had brought from England, with the title of Inspector of Hospitals on St. Helena, a certain Doctor Baxter, his surgeon to the Corsican Rangers, who was entirely in his confidence. His intention was to allot him to the Emperor, if not as an ordinary doctor at least as a consultant, so as to prevent Napoleon's health from becoming an excuse for ameliorations prejudicial to his safe custody. As soon as he mentioned Baxter to the Emperor the latter flew into a rage, but Lowe bided his time and was only waiting an opportunity of showing O'Meara that he thought little of him and had no confidence in him. That opportunity presented itself all the more timely since O'Meara was thoughtless and indiscreet, was easily offended and foolishly vain, and intended his mission to the Emperor to be a means of effecting a promotion and an increase in his salary. Sharply taken to task by Lowe, he turned towards the Emperor from whom he had great hopes, either monetary, for Napoleon had the reputation for possessing inexhaustible wealth, or professionally, since he would be master of him. He foresaw, for he was no fool, what was to be got out of him and he forthwith offered him his services.

O'Meara played his cards so well that, during the time he was acting as the self-appointed spy of the Governor, the latter had not the least inkling that, on account of the doctor's little services for the Emperor's companions, O'Meara was favourably regarded by Napoleon. He was the provider of news, and occasionally he brought the Emperor papers and pamphlets. He knew his place, showed agreeable tact, and, professionally suggested, but never insisted upon, the treatment he considered beneficial. As for Napoleon, whose health had only in very rare and quite casual instances, required attention and who, on that account, had an overt disbelief in and a certain contempt for medicine, he made himself intolerable, which was not altogether surprising. No one at Longwood knew that O'Meara's diligence was such that he carefully recorded all that the Emperor said in his presence, firstly in making his report and later in order to compile a journal from which he would reap the advantage, and Napoleon asserted that the surgeon

was always there only to look after him and endeavour to comfort him. The sufferings he underwent most likely emanated from the development of a liver disease, possibly hereditary, because his mother had left Corsica to take the waters at Bourbonne and, at irregular intervals, had spent periods at Vichy. The climate had conduced to make it worse as any tropical climate would have done. The Emperor was wholly unable to receive the only treatment which might have checked it, namely that of mineral waters. All the material conditions of his existence only caused its aggravation and in the face of an utter ignorance of the laws of hygiene, those most rigidly in force to-day, it is amazing how any one of the inhabitants of Longwood endured captivity.

In the absence of another doctor who might have been called in for an examination, the diagnosis of the Emperor's disease rested with O'Meara, its treatment was his business, and there was no one else to certify its nature or its gravity. This illness was irksome to Lowe and obstructed his regulations. O'Meara consequently became more and more repugnant to him, the strife increased, and the doctor seemed to take a delight in keeping the news from him. Besides, that suited the Emperor who, whether he was ill or not—and he was—had everything to gain by being afflicted with an illness caused by the climate and which, if it was not cured, would indicate a change of prison. Sooner or later public opinion would be aroused, the bulletins of O'Meara would be given credence and sympathy would inevitably go out to Napoleon.

Even if such had been his plan, Las Cases had not the distinction of being the first to broadcast these sensational complaints to Europe. They broke out before he left the Cape of Good Hope and immediately received all possible publicity, having had time to cover a lot of ground and to bring together those who were to judge them. We have seen that to reduce the costs of the Longwood household, Lord Bathurst requested the dismissal of four members: Captain Piontkowski whose departure no one regretted, Santini whose exact duties were very vague, Rousseau who had charge of the silver but who was of little use since the sale of part of the plate, and young Archambault, undergroom. They left on October 28, 1816, but did not arrive at Portsmouth until February 25, 1817. Rousseau and Archambault left immediately for the United States where they were to carry verbal messages to King Joseph, Piontkowski rejoined his wife in London and with her devoted himself to lucrative swindling,

Santini who before leaving St. Helena had learned by heart the text of the Emperor's protest against the treaty of August 2, decided with his Corsican tenacity to give it all the publicity possible. He was on his own, he was poor, he spoke no English, but he struck lucky, for one of his compatriots whom he met in a London street took him, so he said, to Colonel Wilson or, as Maceroni asserted, he confided in this Colonel to whom he had been sent by the prisoners, and although it is not known for certain, it is very probable that Wilson played the chief part. He devoted himself to the publication of this pamphlet in English and French from Santini's dictation: *Appeal to the English Nation upon the Treatment meted out to Napoleon Buonaparte on the Island of St. Helena*, which ran into seven editions in less than a fortnight. Finally he introduced Santini to Lord Holland, who has denied having received his information about the prisoner from a servant and asserted that he obtained it in another way, but he did not deny having seen Santini and certain facts that he produced could have been disclosed only by him. When on March 18, 1817, he announced in the House of Lords that "with a view to maintaining the good name of Parliament and the country from the disgrace which it would incur if Napoleon Buonaparte were treated in a severe and mean fashion," he proposed, in conclusion, to present an address to the Prince Regent to beg him to acquaint them with a copy of the instructions given to the Governor respecting the personal treatment of Napoleon, extracts from the Governor's correspondence on the same matter, and his dispatches relating to Buonaparte's request to send a letter to the Prince Regent to obtain the means of having religious instruction given to the children of the people who had accompanied him.

These were surely reasonable requests, and Lord Holland, in opening his speech, had deliberately stated that he did not intend to broach the question of the lawfulness of the detention, he had not entered into details which might have moved a body of well educated men, and yet, on almost every point, he drove Lord Bathurst back and forced from him a string of audacious falsehoods. Lord Bathurst began by saying: "The paper signed by one Santini, in which no credence can be placed." In thus treating a faithful servant he completely forgot who had been his ancestors, but then he recovered his gravity. He disclosed to the noble Lords the instructions Lowe had received, assumed complete responsibility for them, and declared, which was quite true, that the Governor [illegible] assiduc

observed them, and that there was nothing wherewith to censure him regarding them. In the dispatches which Lowe had sent him he found all the evidence he need call regarding secret correspondence, the restriction of the limits within which Napoleon was permitted to walk unaccompanied, a restriction which Lowe had considered unavoidable since he had "found that the General had abused the confidence reposed in him *by conversing with the inhabitants.*" He cleverly imagined the eventuality of an escape in order to justify the precautions he had taken, he asserted that Longwood was the most pleasant and healthy spot on the whole island and that there had never been any question at the Congress of Vienna regarding Napoleon's deportation to St. Helena. He then entered into details of expense, boasted of his generosity because the council of ministers had, upon Lowe's request, raised from £8,000 to £12,000 his contribution to an expense which could not have been less than £17,000 to £18,000. He did not say a word about the money demanded of the Emperor, but he inspired fear when he spoke of the huge resources which Napoleon had at his disposal in Europe, and concluded by a reference to the claims of the Frenchmen, the effect of which was irresistible immediately it was shown that the nine members of Buonaparte's suite consumed 266 bottles of various wines, plus 42 bottles of porter, each fortnight.

In spite of the fact that Lord Holland did not reply and that after a short debate in which the Marquis of Buckingham and Lord Darnley supported the ministry the motion was rejected without a division. Lord Bathurst, triumphant before the Lords, was not so in public opinion. This pamphlet of Santini, despite its having been turned into ridicule, sold by the thousands and its natural realism put it on a plane—and a very high one it was—with Warden's *Letters* or the mysterious *Manuscrit venu de Sainte-Hélène* which attracted universal attention and aroused wonderful enthusiasm. One had to wait for the Emperor to reply to Lord Bathurst. He had no knowledge of his speech for three months (May 1817), and then he spent until July on his reply, did not send it to Lowe and the commissioners until October and consequently it did not reach Europe until the end of the year.

The *Observations sur le discours de Lord Bathurst* were printed only in English and seemed to have remained unknown in France until 1821; in it was read: "Everything is lacking at St. Helena, Lord Bathurst's statements upon these matters are, more than half

of them, untrue. The speaker takes a delight in publicly discussing matters which, by their very nature, are despicable and lend themselves to ridicule. And what contempt there is in the tone and the style of the honourable minister! It is the same in that part of his correspondence which has been made public. In fifteen or twenty generations, reading the speeches and instructions of Lord Bathurst, his decendants will excuse themselves from being of the same blood as he who, by a mixture of savage hatred and ridiculous cowardice, has tarnished the moral character of the English people at a time when her victorious flags cover the world."

There was no need for these harsh statements because public opinion had avenged itself of the embarrassing lies of the English minister, of his peremptory assertions, and of his compassion, which was the worst of his insults. "I think I ought to add," wrote this man to Hudson Lowe a month after delivering his speech, "that there is in this country no unwillingness to grant him decent meals or particular wine." That is sufficient. He offers wine to the Emperor. "The wine he prefers, so I have always heard say, is Burgundy," and he will give Napoleon as much Burgundy as he likes.

There is no doubt that in England as well as on the continent a great change came over public opinion regarding the Emperor. It was not that the oligarchs were divided in their hatred or that they were reluctant to impose new regulations upon him, but such was the sympathy which his predicament aroused—not only in France, but in Italy and a part of Germany—such was the tie which bound his old soldiers both to him and what he stood for, that the governments found themselves obliged, willingly or unwillingly, to grant concessions, to alleviate the misery of his captivity, especially if it was shown that the climate of St. Helena might prove fatal to him, and there might appear a man who would endeavour to stir up public opinion and who would have sufficient prestige and authority to establish himself as the prisoner's legal representative in Europe.

In reserving to himself this role, Las Cases had certainly not reasoned badly. That he might not be quite up to it is probable, but it was enough that he was willing to play the part to give some idea of his ambition and political judgment. But the English very well knew what was his intention and took good care that he did not return directly to Europe.

He left Longwood on November 25, 1816, embarked for the Cape

on December 31 and arrived there on January 17, 1817. For eight months of a political quarantine he had waited upon the good pleasure of those who called illegal detention or imprisonment an indictable offence. Finally on August 20 he was permitted to board the slowest sailing vessel in the British fleet with the result that it took three months, from August 20 until November 15, to reach England. He was forbidden to land there and he had to wander around a further month before finding a town which would tolerate his presence. But it was immediately necessary that his statements should be heard before he was imprisoned again.

What could not possibly fail to give his pleading a particularly moving interpretation was that for some time past anxiety had been obviously felt regarding the Emperor's health.

It had been well maintained during 1816, but from the beginning of 1817 certain symptoms appeared. Early in March the Emperor suffered a stomach disorder sufficiently serious to require treatment and towards the end of the month there began a swelling of the legs which obliged him to seek medical advice. The swelling became more serious towards the end of August, and on September 30 General Bertrand wrote to Hudson Lowe: "For the last six weeks the Emperor's existence has been most painful, the swelling of his legs daily becomes worse, and the symptoms of scurvy which were noticeable on the gums have already produced almost ceaseless pain." He added that the doctors attributed his condition to lack of exercise and proceeded to request the revocation of the restrictions placed by the Governor upon the Emperor's walks to the limits laid down by Admiral Cockburn. Lowe did not consider it incumbent upon himself, but he simultaneously received instructions allowing him: "in the event of General Buonaparte's health making this concession an absolute necessity" to extend from eight to twelve miles the radius within which he could take exercise without the accompaniment of an officer, and the reports submitted by O'Meara becoming more serious, he made up his mind on October 2, to make proposals which the Emperor insultingly rejected: "I am," he replied through Bertrand, "on a rock two thousand leagues from Europe, at the mercy of my most implacable enemy who, during the eighteen months spent in this country, has not allowed a single week to pass without inflicting on me some insult or injury." He refused to take advantage of any concession coming from the Governor. "The state of affairs sanctioned by the English Govern-

ment which was intolerable and constituted a violation of all right, nevertheless permitted me to go out, and my health suffers most especially from the insults the perverse creature who commands in this country finds it necessary to inflict upon me upon every conceivable opportunity"

Becoming anxious by the news brought to him by O'Meara, Lowe was disposed to enter into negotiations, but his advances met with no success Napoleon wanted all or nothing "The Emperor's health is very seriously impaired," wrote Bertrand on October 27, and added "If you adopt the principle that affairs shall be restored as they were upon our arrival it will be easy, in a quarter of an hour, to ascertain, through twenty written proofs and twenty eyewitnesses, what that state of affairs is" Lowe argued, inquired, wrangled Another month passed, and on November 13 Bertrand wrote "The Emperor's health continues very serious"

Lowe was disposed to give way, at least upon the more important points, so terrified was he by the thought that, through his fault, his prisoner might perish, but a new quarrel was born regarding the bulletins of the Emperor's health Napoleon agreed that O'Meara should communicate these bulletins to the Governor only on condition that they were first shown to him, and that in them he was referred to as "the Emperor Napoleon," failing which he asserted that he would absolutely refuse to see O'Meara or to take any notice of his prescriptions Lowe agreed to dispense with written reports and to accept the verbal reports O'Meara might make either to him or to Doctor Baxter O'Meara thereupon ceased putting them in writing

According to O'Meara the Emperor's condition daily became worse, nightly insomnia obliged him to go to bed during the day, he had no appetite, his legs continued to swell The doctor diagnosed chronic inflammation of the liver and spoke of the influence the climate of St Helena was having on his patient Lowe grew more and more restive, and he forthwith gave an account of a state of health concerning which the Russian and Austrian commissioners for their part informed their courts, firstly communicating to them O'Meara's bulletins and then, when the Emperor had forbidden them, the more reassuring bulletins issued by Baxter, following conversations which he possibly had with O'Meara

Between Lowe and the latter, relations came to such a pass that the Governor seriously considered the doctor's expulsion from the

island. Accustomed as he was to finding him obliging and to receiving circumstantial details from him, Lowe was amazed that O'Meara should at that moment proclaim as ignominious a duty for which he had offered his services and which up till then he had fulfilled without any repugnance. If he did not precisely guess the reasons for it, at least he suspected new relations and suspicious intercourse, and he was unable to restrain himself when O'Meara told him that he had promised Napoleon not to disclose the conversation he had with him unless he should make plans for escape or rebellion against the King of England. This assertion was without doubt "stale news," but O'Meara need not have made it and could have rendered himself less hateful to the Governor by keeping it to himself. But the Governor had to face the fact that matters could only be straightened out by O'Meara's departure. He actually believed the Emperor was not ill, at least not so ill as O'Meara said he was, but he eagerly sought information and closely questioned the servants and members of the household. He either learned nothing at all or so little that he could form no definite opinion. He was obliged to rely on O'Meara since he alone had access to the Emperor to administer to him, though he derived from him no guarantee of fidelity and no sincerity, and he became terribly concerned with this enigma the solution to which would only be found upon O'Meara's departure. If Napoleon was really ill, he would certainly have to be treated by a doctor resident on the island, by Baxter for instance or one of his understudies. Then he would know for certain what to think about this illness. If it was shown that the Emperor was not ill, he would no longer have to worry about those restrictions which could have thus had no ill-effect upon his health, and in the event of Baxter reporting some illness, Napoleon would have attention and would in all probability be cured. If the illness killed him, Europe could be presented with a certified proof that the General had succumbed not to the rigours of the climate nor to the persecution of his gaolers, but to a marked disease the beginnings, development and result of which could be minutely related.

This anticipation was foolproof, but the Emperor did not play into the Governor's hands. According to O'Meara he continued to be ill and to grow worse, refusing to admit any doctor who was in the confidence of the Governor, never leaving his room and taking no exercise, until Lowe, not daring to take upon himself the responsibility of removing the only doctor in whom the sick man had any

confidence, requested directions from London and was, until the receipt of fresh orders, forbidden to dismiss the doctor.

This was the situation in Europe and at St. Helena, when a calamitous incident in favour of the English took place, and brought to nothing all the hopes the friends of the Emperor had entertained upon the convocation of a European Congress before which they counted upon laying the question of the Captivity, the meaningless severity imposed upon the Emperor, and the prejudicial effect it was having on his health. One of Napoleon's companions went poste haste from Longwood to give the lie to O'Meara's bulletins and to make Hudson Lowe's persecution justifiable on all counts.

Gourgaud had leagued himself with Montholon against Las Cases. Both of them hated "the Jesuit", endeavoured to annoy him, to keep him away from the Emperor, and to make life so intolerable that he would go. Las Cases went, and Gourgaud and Montholon became attached to the Emperor, but the comrades of yesterday became irreconcilably antagonistic. Gourgaud who had had "fraternal feelings" for Montholon now desired nothing better than to kill him. Everything associated with him became an object of envy and covetousness, the place which Montholon occupied at table, the consideration he received and the money Gourgaud suspected him of possessing in Europe, and above all, the preference the Emperor showed to Mme. de Montholon for a game of chess and the dishes served to the Montholons when they did not dine with the Emperor. Montholon was an officer not to be compared with himself, his seniority of rank—actually of only a few days standing—did not count . . . and for all this he held the Emperor responsible. He showed his displeasure by his ill-humour and sullenness which soon developed into violent tempers and lack of respect. The Emperor endeavoured to calm him with a patience as admirable as it was foreign to him. He flattered him, cajoled him, and tried to make him laugh, and as Gourgaud complained without ceasing that his mother had no means, the Emperor ordered an annual pension of twelve thousand francs to be paid to Mme. Gourgaud, revertible on her son. But on this same paper he made other recommendations and Gourgaud, fearing that it might be confiscated and the pension take no effect, became terribly angry. Far from showing the Emperor the least gratitude, he seemed from that moment deliberately to make his presence more intolerable to him. He laid to Napoleon's charge both his un-

fulfilled ambitions and the privation—certainly a little hard to bear —he endured and of which he could not stop complaining: "His poor mother! His poor sister! Poor Gourgaud!" He was not respected, he was badly treated, he was not served with all the dishes that were his by right, and above all he was not provided with women. This last complaint led Napoleon to discuss it with him in a way which would have appeared to Napoleon himself absolutely ridiculous did not the violent style of Gourgaud prove quite conclusively that he was a slave to his temperament. His disposition consequently became intolerable and his reason clouded. Bertrand, Montholon and Lowe had their wives, the servants found mistresses and, if necessary, married them. Gourgaud hunted desperately: all game looked good to him, but he never caught any.

Another subject of controversy with the Emperor was his relations with the Governor. Gourgaud had taken care always to remain on terms of courteous regard with him. While Lowe considered Bertrand the man who aroused the Emperor and urged him on no account to give way or permit a compromise, he hated him to such an extent that he constantly requested the authority to expel him from St. Helena; with Montholon, who at the moment was signing the letters the Emperor sent, he was daggers drawn; with Gourgaud everything was elegant politeness and gentility. Lowe had not insisted very strongly upon finding out if the Austrian botanist had brought Gourgaud anything besides a silk handkerchief from his people. He took pains to obtain the transit of Gourgaud's correspondence with his mother, and Gourgaud acknowledged these acts of kindness with a courteousness which could not fail to displease the Emperor. He refused to modify his conduct and regarded Lowe as a superior and a man who ought to be served.

The incident which induced Gourgaud to send a challenge to Montholon is not very satisfactorily explained. Mme. de Montholon certainly played the most prominent part in it and, by provoking her husband, Gourgaud tried to avenge himself on the wife. The Emperor, who through the Grand Marshal had already pacified likely looking quarrels, could not observe the same impartiality upon this occasion. Montholon, who profited by all his opponent's mistakes, brought the challenge to Napoleon who forbade him to accept it. What a spectacle for the English! Fancy! Two Frenchmen cannot live in harmony, and their devotion to a common master is not sincere enough to induce them to sink their enmity, they must

provoke each other and kill each other and, as the Emperor put the blame upon Gourgaud, the latter announced to the Governor through O'Meara that he intended leaving Longwood and St Helena As soon as he received his leave to go, he was accommodated by Lowe in a pleasant house accompanied by an officer in whom he confided At the same time he went among the foreign commissioners, and received their hospitality, and finally became the Governor's habitual *guest* And to one and the other, to whomsoever cared to listen, he said the Emperor was not ill, that he never had been, that his legs were no more swollen than usual, that he was perfectly lively, that he could escape if he liked and nothing would be more simple He spoke in a sort of delirium—a persistent delirium nevertheless, for he was to be just the same on board the boat which was soon to take him to England, without calling at the Cape, the same before the Under Secretary of State, Mr Goulburn, and the French ambassador, the Marquis d'Osmond, so much so that Gourgaud entertained the hope of reinstatement in the royal army with his post-Waterloo rank When he realized his mistake—and his old comrades did not let him forget it—he issued a manuscript on the campaign of 1815 which he had brought from St Helena despite the Emperor's demand for its return, and inserted in the papers a letter which he was supposed to send to the Empress Marie Louise Whereupon, by the enforcement of the Aliens Bill, he was transported to Hamburg where he demanded of Prince Eugene the pension of 12,000 francs granted to Mme Gourgaud by the Emperor He lived here until March 20, 1821, forty-five days before Napoleon died and four months before the news of it reached Europe where the royal government magnanimously opened the frontiers of the old country to him

His disclosures, however, remained a mystery to his old companions as well as to the members of the Imperial Family and the Liberals of the whole world, confidences which he had great pleasure in denying later, asserting that it was *writing* that counted and that the *verbal* communication was worthless Disclosures which one would like to think were disinterested and impartial produced effects of incalculable importance upon the prisoner Thanks to them the bonds of his captivity were tightened and all hope was eliminated of any possible amelioration of his lot [1]

[1] I beg the reader to refer for details relating to the case of General Gourgaud to my book *Autour de Sainte-Hélène*, tom 1, p 1-126 and 165 292 He will there find all the aspects of this affair, the most serious which occured at St. Helena

Since his arrival at Frankfurt on December 11, 1817, Las Cases had busied himself with incredible activity " with the chief reason for his leaving St. Helena ". He had sent letters, which were in essence oratorical compositions, to all the people whom he thought could be stirred by the existence of Napoleon. There were communications, the usefulness of which it is difficult to conceive, for Marie Louise, Metternich and the Emperor of Russia, for Lord Bathurst and other English ministers, there were petitions to the English parliament, then an interminable correspondence with the Emperor's relatives and with multitudes of people who might be presumed willing to further his cause. There was no mention of the letters by means of which he gave the Grand Marshal news of the Family, utilising official channels with the necessary precautions. Although rendered in a rather unpleasant style due to a pretention to eloquence and an endeavour to be awe inspiring, Las Cases' effort was none the less meritorious, and if it did not produce all the results its author had hoped, he could at least delude himself that he instilled into public opinion an animation of which other indications than those related by him gave evidence. And so the middle of 1818 was reached and the Congress was to be held in the Autumn.

But General Gourgaud had lost no time. Having left Longwood with special permission on February 13, 1818, he had sailed straight for England on March 14, on May 1 Plymouth was sighted and on the 8th he was allowed to land. The following day saw him in London where he interviewed the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies and then the French and Russian ambassadors. By the end of May or the beginning of June all the Cabinet had been notified that the Emperor's illness was " a farce ", and that the measures taken to prevent his escape were not strict enough as he could leave as he liked. At the same time, by means of an intercepted letter, Lord Bathurst learned " that it was the intention of Las Cases and certain friends of General Buonaparte to call the attention of the sovereigns assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle to the treatment to which he was subjected at St. Helena ", and he hastened to provide Lord Castlereagh, who was to represent England, with the necessary weapons which were first and foremost " the communications made by General Gourgaud upon his arrival from St. Helena."

And these disclosures would be all the more pertinent and received with greater favour since the sovereigns were already inclined to establish a connection between the attempted efforts to ameliorate

the lot of the Captive and to obtain another residence for him, and the state of Europe in which above all else they perceived the symptoms of a dissatisfaction which they could not attribute to their administration and for the responsibility of which they found it easier to hold the Man of the Revolution, the permanent leader of the huge conspiracy of peoples against their lawful sovereigns. Las Cases wrote: "I have devoted myself wholeheartedly to flooding and assaulting them with entreaties and information. I have written to Marie Louise, I was charged with laying before the sovereigns a letter from Madame Mère, all the other relatives must act on their own, and I myself have most carefully assembled, for each of the sovereigns, all the authentic extant documents and have drawn up a relevant note sent *to themselves*. It was not sent to Lord Castlereagh to whom I did not deem it necessary because he only represented the King of England". And "the Count de Las Cases" pompously made known these letters, sent to move those by whom they were received. In that which he had written under the name of Madame Mère, he had not even known how to observe the simple and dignified style the situation demanded, and as for the note and the letters he wrote under his own name, the extravagance with which they were expressed almost reached the heights of delirium. What did it matter! Had they been the most touching, the most eloquent, the most perfect man could have written, the result would have been the same. On November 13, the Russian plenipotentiaries laid before the Congress a memorandum which was appended to protocol 31, in which they appealed in no uncertain manner to the evidence of General Gourgaud. "Napoleon, according to him (Gourgaud), harassed the Governor of St. Helena only that he might the *better conceal his real intentions.*

"Secret correspondence with Europe and the transit of money took place on all possible occasions.

"The plan to escape has been discussed by the members of his suite and it would have been put into execution had their master not preferred to postpone it."

As to his health: "He says he is ill and refuses to see any other doctor than him who has become his accomplice and who has never even been able to certify that General Buonaparte is not suffering from a serious or feigned indisposition from which a few days exercise would not cure him."

The verdict was complete approval by Europe · steps

ordered by the British Government and carried out by the Governor, Hudson Lowe—with this exception, that the restrictions should be more strictly enforced, that further precautions should be taken to prevent the clandestine correspondence disclosed by Gourgaud and to forestall the escape which Gourgaud considered so easy. The European representatives—those of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia, with the Duc de Richelieu representing France—unanimously adopted the resolutions in the six articles intended to legalise, ratify and tighten up the captivity. They first of all unanimously approved the "ideas presented with as much truth as necessity in the memorandum" of the Russian plenipotentiaries, and since it suited their purpose they discredited "the lying reports broadcast on this prisoner's behalf by active malevolence, and compiled by party spirit or credulity." Then they made their solemn decisions—and this was the result in Europe of the prattling of Gourgaud for whom in extenuation it could only be said that he was perhaps under the spell of certain temporary delirious ravings and that he gave voice to statements which were beyond mental conception.

At Aix-la-Chapelle Gourgaud's denunciations effected a stricter confinement of the prisoner and a captivity thereafter without hope; at Longwood it was the Emperor's very existence which they put on trial. Upon the return of the courier with Lowe's dispatches announcing what Lord Bathurst called "General Gourgaud's confession," the Governor received instructions to enforce, between the members of General Buonaparte's suite and the residents on St. Helena, all *restrictions* which appeared to him necessary to prevent the continuance of secret correspondence. "If the members of his retinue do not comply with the new regulations," wrote Bathurst, "you are to forbid their associating with General Buonaparte."

On May 9, Goulburn received Gourgaud. On the 16th, Lord Bathurst, of opinion "that the reports made by Mr. O'Meara are very untrustworthy," and that "in view of the information given to Mr. Goulburn by General Gourgaud "to the effect that the health of General Buonaparte has in no way suffered by his residence on St. Helena," instructed Hudson Lowe to terminate O'Meara's ministrations and to forbid him all further relations with the residents at Longwood. Admiral Plampin received the necessary instructions for his future destination. And as "the removal of O'Meara will produce a great sensation, and as an evil construction will be put on

the affair," Lowe was permitted to make known his orders in general terms, so that if he was sent away it was "because of information given by General Gourgaud in England concerning his conduct" That was not all Longwood was distasteful to the Emperor, he ardently desired a house where there was water, trees, shade and flowers There was such a one on St Helena, Rosemary Hall He had not formally acquainted the Governor of his wish, but he had many times let fall the hint to others that Lowe, on his behalf, was in negotiation for the purchase or tenancy of Rosemary Hall Lowe had gone so far in the matter, moreover, that he was only awaiting the formal approval of Lord Bathurst when the latter wrote "I hope my dispatch concerning Rosemary Hall will reach you before you have completed the purchase of it General Gourgaud considers Longwood as the place best suited to strict supervision "

Lord Bathurst's orders were carried out on July 25 O'Meara received instructions to leave Longwood immediately The Emperor had been paying his entire salary, but that made no difference The Governor sent a man to Napoleon, Doctor Verling, to take the place of O'Meara The latter, violating orders, got into Napoleon's room, gave him certain vague statements upon his health, received his instructions, a message for Empress Marie Louise, and precise directions regarding the publication to be made of the letters which the sovereigns had formerly sent him and which he had kept as a last weapon [1]

Lowe had been wanting to deport O'Meara ever since January 5, holding his hand only in face of a crisis created by the Emperor, the doctor being possessed of a gift of 100,000 francs payable by Prince Eugene or King Joseph His future was more than amply assured by the Bonapartes, but he had certainly to exert himself to get his money Having arrived in London about mid-September, he hastened to impart the facts he had witnessed "I believe," he wrote on October 28 to the Secretary of the Admiralty, "that the life of Napoleon is in danger if he lives much longer in a climate like that of St Helena, the more so if the dangers of this residence are increased by the persistence in those vexations and outrages to which he has up till now been subjected and to which the nature of his disease renders him particularly susceptible" By way of reply,

[1] May I refer the reader, for the *Lettres des Souverains à Napoléon*, to my book *Autour de Sainte-Hélène*, vol. 2, p 177-215 There he will find all that I have *up till now* ascertained on this matter

the Admiralty informed him on November 2 that his name had been erased from the list of Naval surgeons. He had unreasonably attributed his fall from favour to Lowe, and provoked in some measure by an officious pamphlet which certainly emanated from the Colonial Office entitled *Facts illustrative of the treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte at St. Helena*, early in 1819 he issued a volume published by Ridgway and entitled: *Exposition of some of the transactions that have taken place at St. Helena since the appointment of Sir Hudson Lowe as Governor of that Island*, wherein well selected documents accused the Governor in a particularly compromising manner. Immediately translated into French and published in Paris in July, this book enjoyed enormous success and the Ministry could neither contradict him nor dare to prosecute him. "The London conclusions are very unsteady," Lord Bathurst wrote to Lowe, adding that "You will with satisfaction have perceived that despite all their publications and their threats, no one has dared to open his mouth in Parliament in Buonaparte's favour."

O'Meara's efforts seemed to have stopped there. In February 1820, this time under his own name, he issued volume 9 of the *Historical Memoirs of Napoleon* which had been brought to him in the previous October from St. Helena by an Englishman who received 10,000 francs for his trouble and which was nothing more than a different version of that *Campagne de* 1815 of which Gourgaud had, despite the Emperor's opposition, brought away a rough draft and published it in 1818. What made O'Meara's publication interesting was that the Emperor, though he did not know he had to thank Gourgaud for all the persecutions he suffered, had definitely considered spiting him by the dispatch and publication of an authentic text of the *Campagne de* 1815. The form adopted for publication, the insertion of the imperial arms on the title page, the announcement that the eight first volumes of these *Mémoires historiques* would appear within a few weeks, all proclaimed the authenticity of this edition and nullified that of Gourgaud, and it has remained the best, and the only, recognised issue.

It met with a poor reception, however. What the public expected from the Emperor was not an historical narrative, dry and strategically barren, lacking all anecdote and all decisiveness, with no disputes about supplies of provisions at St. Helena nor about such and such restriction upon walking on forbidden ground. It was but a general survey, a kind of confession, lacking explanation and

sensational disclosures. A destiny such as his assumed an enigmatical shape the secret of which everyone wanted, and that was why, at the same time as the public was showing but little eagerness for the publications which really emanated from St. Helena, it had literally fallen for that *Manuscrit venu de Sainte-Hélène d'une manière inconnue.* Why its curiosity had not been satisfied by the issues which appeared one after the other in England, Belgium and even France, why thousands and thousands of faithful adherents struggled to copy this poor pamphlet, which boasted neither attractiveness, style nor ideas, was because in a few handy pages of a lively and precise nature, the long anticipated disclosures were found and these gave considerable satisfaction since they corroborated previously acquired opinions. The Emperor had understood so fully that the *Manuscrit venu de Sainte-Hélène* contained everything and that it gave birth to a particularly deep-rooted legend, that he had specially commissioned O'Meara to issue *Reasons given in reply to the question : is the " Manuscrit de Sainte-Hélène, printed in London in* 1817, *the work of Napoleon or not ?* This reply saw the light of day following the *Historical Memoirs*, Book 9, in 1820. The French edition was entitled : *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France en* 1815, but did not live up to its title. General Gourgaud doubtless gained the credit for their appearance since they followed a work very similar to that which he had brought from St. Helena, so much so that he took it upon himself to publish them in 1821 under the title : *The Manuscript from St. Helena, published for the first time with notes by Napoleon.*

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O'Meara failed lamentably in his endeavours to obtain some alleviation of the Emperor's captivity, especially in that which Napoleon most desired—a change of Governor and the dismissal of Hudson Lowe. How did he fail ? The only cards he could play were the Emperor's health and the absolute impossibility of his escape. General Gourgaud had just asserted that the Emperor had never been better and that he could leave St. Helena whenever he liked. Moreover, to every request, to every complaint there was a ready reply. The Emperor was not ill. That is why Lowe considered it unnecessary that he should have a doctor. He sent to O'Meara's old residence at Longwood, his man Verling, who was a

doctor whom "General Buonaparte knew since he travelled with him on the *Northumberland*." If the General was ill, he need only consult Verling: if he did not consult him, then he was not ill.

Napoleon, however, refused all association with Verling, and thereby remained without relief during the time when the symptoms he had shown began to develop and ought to have had the closest supervision and attention. During the night of January 16, 1819, after being without medical care for six months, an accident happened. Overcome with giddiness, Napoleon fainted. In accordance with the orders he had received Montholon did not summon Verling, but requested the services of the doctor of the flagship *Conqueror*, a certain Doctor Stokoe, a friend of O'Meara, who had introduced him to the Emperor when there had been a question of consulting him in the preceding June. Stokoe arrived at Longwood on the morning of the 17th, but did not see the Emperor who was seeking relief in a hot bath. The possibility of his staying at Longwood was discussed by Montholon, Bertrand and himself, but such an arrangement had to be submitted to the Governor and the Admiral for their approval, since they could find no urgency nor immediate necessity for his presence there. Stokoe returned on board, but was summoned again in the night. He issued a bulletin: "The most alarming symptoms were those which were in evidence the night before last. Their return could easily prove fatal were help not at hand." Summoned again on the 19th, he broke the rules which Lowe had just laid upon him and which could not actually be carried out. He saw the Emperor without Verling being present, bled him, and stayed the night. On the 21st, despite the fact that he realised that his post was at stake, he obeyed the Admiral, who ordered him to return to Longwood. He was kept by the Emperor for an hour and a half beyond the time allowed him by the Admiral and rather than face the results, he decided to request his return to England for health reasons. He succeeded, arrived in London, and was immediately sent back to St. Helena where he was summoned before a court martial on board the *Conqueror*, and found guilty of having said and written that the Emperor was ill, and ill with liver disease "in order to show that he was disposed to thwart the intentions and restrictions of the Governor of the island, and to favour the views of the French prisoners in supplying them with excuses for well-founded complaints." He was struck off the Navy List.

So that, as General Gourgaud had preordained, no doctor, under penalty of dismissal, had the right to say the Emperor was ill. At this date, January 1819, something might yet have been done to relieve him, but from January 21 until September 21, eight months, the Emperor did not see a doctor. In order to obtain some sort of relief from his sufferings, which had become unbearable, and which he continued to attribute only to the liver disease, he spent part of the day and night in hot baths, which he took in the miserable little hovel behind his bedroom.

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He no longer worked: with whom could he work? Las Cases had been the great stimulator, and if he had stayed on St. Helena, instead of the *Memorial* which his overt egotism rendered suspicious everywhere and wherein the insertion of statements as doubtful as they were apocryphal threw a certain discredit upon the whole thing, he could, by means of the Emperor's dictations, no doubt have raised to his glory an unquestionable and worthy monument: but it would, it is true, have been to Napoleon and not to Las Cases. Nevertheless, a part of the manuscript published as memoirs of the Emperor had been taken down by Las Cases from his dictation, and he had left the manuscripts at Longwood. Another part, just as important, had been dictated to General Gourgaud who was " the labourer " of the colony. To occupy his day he only had the Emperor's dictations, the work which the latter requested of him—historical research, mathematical problems, studies of technical military questions—and his own journal wherein each evening he recorded, with astonishing verbosity, his actions, those of others, his sorrows, his devotion and the happenings of the entire community. The Emperor had not derived all the benefit possible from Gourgaud because of his disposition. Having been present at all the campaigns since 1805, Gourgaud might have been of inestimable value in recording their story and in giving to posterity the movements of gigantic military operations.

The departure of Las Cases and Gourgaud left Montholon—with whom he certainly worked, but only by fits and starts, throwing together certain phrases of refutation or justification concerning a book which had lately arrived from Europe, but without undertaking any long work—and Bertrand with whom he resumed the Egyptian

and Syrian campaigns overhauling from the beginning the work on them sketchily done with Gourgaud.

He employed Marchand on the battles of Julius Cæsar, Saint-Denis, most probably, on those of Turenne and Frederick, but when they were published they were only valuable for the comparison they bore to his own method of war and seemed, it must be admitted, rambling and of little interest.

The fact was the incentive was no longer there: he had lost all interest in his work which he had deemed useful only if it furnished an official record. That document would now be posthumous and he no longer cared about it. What good were the pamphlets he had been able to write, incensed with indignation, since he no longer had the means of sending them to Europe, and then the others, those he had published in the past—the *Letters du Cap*, the *Réponse à Lord Bathurst*, what had they produced?

There was his greatest grief, incapacity. To what purpose was good writing, good thinking, good living? Those who had made the captive's existence tolerable, those who had taken his mind off present misery, were gone. Cipriani was dead, the only one in whose information he placed any reliance, that clever observer who turned to good purpose all the rumours from Jamestown, who made himself acquainted with everything the storeships brought and who, with his skill of ingratiating himself, associated with the servants of the foreign commissioners and even with those of the English officers. No Catholic priest conducted Cipriani to his last resting-place, it was necessary for a Protestant clergyman to recite the funeral service, and it was this which prompted the Emperor to request that a priest be sent to St. Helena to minister to him at the hour of his death. Admiral and Lady Malcolm had gone, the latter full of enthusiasm, the former imbued with respect, both knowing in their attitude towards him how to show courtesy and compassion while at the same time preserving unswerving loyalty to their country. Malcolm had been consulted by the Emperor as the judge of his complaints against Lowe, what greater proof could he give of his confidence in him? Lady Malcolm, who was the eldest daughter of the Hon. William Fullerton Elphinstone, the third son of the 10th Lord Elphinstone who was the cousin of Admiral Keith, was, like all the Elphinstones, full of appreciation of him who had saved their brother, and was so charming towards the Emperor that upon her departure she received as a present one of his beautiful porcelain cups: what

greater token of his kindness could be conceived? As a Christmas present Madame Bertrand and Madame de Montholon each received a plate, though not every year.

Gone, too, were the little golden-haired Balcombe girls, whose childishness had amused the Emperor at the Briars and who, in their visits on their ponies, played havoc in the Longwood enclosure. Balcombe had not exactly been expelled from the island by Lowe, but he had been politely told to go. For the moment the Emperor had no complaint to make. Balcombe who, as purveyor, had had charge of the provisioning of Longwood, was under obligation, in consideration of a sum of £3,000, to take news to the Family, send papers and books to Longwood, and to discharge various errands. He himself did not go to the continent, but rested satisfied with dispatching Mr. Holmes, the friend of O'Meara, the doctor to receive the £3,000. So Balcombe, after previously deducting a little more than £1,000 for his share, referred to O'Meara regarding the destiny of the surplus, and the latter assumed the greater part of it as expenses which he asserted later he had incurred at St. Helena, on the continent, and in London, but for which he gave few proofs.

Upon his departure in March 1818, Balcombe promised he would return within six months, and it was with the firm intention of coming back after leave given by the Governor, that the family embarked on March 15, 1818, but letters intended for O'Meara which arrived after the latter's expulsion clearly showed that he was with the surgeon in getting manuscripts to London and in turning them to account. A post of Treasurer in New South Wales deprived him of all likelihood of returning to St. Helena.

The commissioners, too, were gone, at least those of them who might have been expected to prove tractable. Baron Stürmer, on July 11, 1818, and Count Balmain a little later, in May 1820, but the latter had had of late long absences, including a journey of nearly six months in Brazil. The Emperor had built up hopes on the commissioners, but from the very beginning he himself had precluded their visiting Longwood by requesting whether they brought letters from their sovereigns accrediting them to him. Later when he had adopted a less independent attitude, he still required that they should apply formally to the Grand Marshal if they wished to see him. Lowe had necessarily to oppose this step by every possible means in his power, and his instructions definitely obliged him to forbid the commissioners getting into communication with the Emperor. Look-

ing after them gave him as much trouble as supervising his prisoner, and for what he considered one of the most serious infringements no less a person than the Austrian commissioner was responsible. Lowe's complaints regarding Philipp Welle's conduct did not fail to alarm the Austrian Government who considered it intolerable that anyone in Europe should attribute to it some consideration for Napoleon. On March 26, 1817, Metternich wrote to Stürmer that "His Majesty energetically disapproves his conduct with Lowe, the tone of his correspondence with the Governor, and the statements he had made regarding the gardener, Philipp Welle." This same affair induced Metternich to propose to the Emperor of Austria, on October 13, that Stürmer be recalled. The dispatch, sent on November 29, did not reach its destination until June 8, 1818, and Stürmer left St. Helena on July 11. Actually there was little with which to reproach him since the only association he had had with the officers at Longwood was that demanded by courtesy, and if in the depth of her heart Baroness Stürmer regarded the Emperor with a certain veneration, as Betsy Balcombe said, she had kept it so well to herself that Las Cases had immortalised her ingratitude. But there was no doubt about it, for she herself confessed it some twenty years later to Montbel, who vouches for it. We must, however, remember that at the time she was a countess and the wife of an ambassador which separated her still more distantly from Las Cases.

Meetings on the roads and in public places, greetings and expressions of commonplace courtesy exchanged, the ceaseless anxiety he caused the Governor, that he would not take a hint and that he did not write to his Government, these were the charges against Baron Stürmer.

Count Balmain, rather than his Austrian colleague, might have taken the initiative: his instructions gave him the power and his temperament incited him to action. He might have desired to provide his Court with details interesting to the Russian Emperor and showing the advantage of his mission, especially anecdotes on the character of certain men, or on the conception of certain strategic operations. There is no doubt that he overrated Emperor Alexander's curiosity, for if in 1815 the latter had actually believed he would derive some diversion from the Emperor's captivity, he soon grew weary of it all and no longer cared about it, but if it is admitted that there were moments when he displayed some curiosity, he certainly never showed any compassion. At no time did Balmain

infringe his orders to the extent of giving the Captive hope of intervention by Emperor Alexander This intercourse, even with the Emperor's companions, never made such interesting reading as did that of Gourgaud at St Helena

The first serious steps were taken by Bertrand and Montholon early in April Gourgaud had embarked on March 14 and Balmain had recorded it in his dispatches dated April 10, July 11 and August 14 In order to escape the indiscreet actions of the Frenchmen who, urged on by the Emperor, literally hunted him when he was out walking, as well as to avoid the suspicious investigations of Lowe, Balmain fled to Brazil in the hope that all would be calm upon his return And it was lucky for him he had given such a proof of his integrity for on September 25, Lord Bathurst sent to Lord Castlereagh to be placed before the sovereigns and ministers assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle " the copy of a letter Sir Hudson Lowe considers desirable to be sent to Count Balmain taking exception to his conduct in that he had learned that frequent interviews between Count Balmain and the members of General Buonaparte's suite had adversely affected the Count's opinion " The denunciation, in this diplomatic form, was as precise as possible Upon his return from Brazil at the beginning of November 1818, Balmain was inclined to renew his conversations with the Frenchmen, but after a consultation with the Governor at the beginning of January 1819, he agreed to acquiesce in his wishes, and ceased association with them From that time he showed himself indifferent to certain attempts at revolt made on the prisoners' behalf against the restrictions of Hudson Lowe "I frequently go to Plantation House," he wrote on June 18, 1819, " where I am received with open arms , dinners, balls and parties one after another " The beautiful eyes of Charlotte Johnson had effected Balmain's conversion, at the same time as Count Lieven's dispatches put in him the fear of the Lord It all finished, as it does in the drama, by a wedding, and the step-father and the son-in-law agreed how much better it would be for the happy couple to leave for Russia early in May 1820 Appointed aide-de-camp to the Emperor in recognition of his services, Balmain enjoyed the favours of his sovereign until his retirement in 1837 He died in 1848

Sir George Bingham, too, left in May 1819 " despite the benefits and limelight of being adjutant-general on St Helena " Truth to tell, for fear of quarrelling with the Governor, he was scarcely ever

seen at Longwood, but he was always on the best of terms with the French, and Lady Bingham, who had rejoined him, was an invaluable help to poor Mme. Bertrand.

The latter scarcely left the little house where she was confined, and was seldom seen at the Emperor's residence where the Emperor spent almost all his time in his room, attired in a dressing-gown with his head covered with a handkerchief. And she no longer received any visits from the wives of officers of the camp at Longwood since the awful affair between Lieut.-Col. Lyster and the Grand Marshal.

This Lyster, whom Lowe brought with him and who probably had been a regimental companion, but who for a considerable time had not been identified with the regular army, had assumed the duties of Inspector of the Volunteers with the *local* rank of lieutenant-colonel. Lowe had conceived the idea of appointing him orderly-officer at Longwood, with a lieutenant under him. The Emperor, when he was informed that Lyster had seen service with a Corsican regiment at Ajaccio and that he was not reckoned as being in the army, was furious and got Bertrand to write a letter to the Governor couched in very strong terms. The Governor was foolish enough to show the letter to Lyster who had set out for Longwood looking in the most unmannerly fashion for a quarrel with O'Meara. When he was made cognizant of this complaint against his appointment, Lyster immediately sent Bertrand a challenge in which he insulted in terms of the lowest vulgarity not only the Grand Marshal but the Emperor himself. When Bertrand did not reply to this provocation, Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster followed it up the following day with a letter threatening to flog him if he did not apologise. Bertrand sent these communications to the Governor with a letter dictated by the Emperor. Lowe had to make excuses and withdraw Lyster from Longwood, but he did not proceed with the astonishing affair wherein an Inspector of Volunteers, while on duty, had had a difference with an imprisoned lieutenant-general and had endeavoured, by his insults, to force him to fight. It seems Lowe did not even send Lyster's letters to Lord Bathurst, nor that which he himself sent the Grand Marshal, and out of friendship for his old regimental comrade he failed, in a serious manner, to do his duty.

To all this he added meanness: he seized the opportunity of making the officers on the island to understand—officers of His Majesty's regular army—they were under command of Lieutenant-

Colonel Lyster—a *local* officer appointed by himself—and that they, and their wives, were to "send 'poor Mme. Bertrand' to Coventry."

Lowe had his reasons for these miserable annoyances. He devoted himself to the complete isolation of Mme. Bertrand, to making her existence on St. Helena so unbearable that she would persuade her husband to let her go, with the result that the Grand Marshal would certainly accompany her. With Bertrand out of the way, all would be well.

Mme. Bertrand was always of a sociable nature, she had always lived in society and society was indispensable to her. She could never quite bring herself to obeying where she had hitherto commanded, and was consequently not too well disposed towards the Emperor, whom she rarely saw, and never took any interest so to speak in the life at Longwood.

She had had the misfortune to lose her mother, who died in Paris on October 20, 1817, and as the news did not reach her until three months later, how she regretted not holding the Grand Marshal to the promise he had made of not staying at St. Helena longer than a year. She would at least have seen her mother again whom she had left at such a cost, and must she not have been deeply devoted to her English family since she gave the name of her father, Arthur Dillon, to that little boy born at St. Helena, under the Emperor's very eyes, "the first Frenchman," as she said, "to enter the island without permission from the English," and asked Lady Jerningham to be his godmother? She was very English, being, with the exception of Bouges, attended by English servants and speaking only English to the children. The departure of Lady Bingham followed by that of Lady Malcolm with whom she was so intimate that she entrusted very personal letters to her for her English relatives, afflicted her sorely. She was constantly ill and after two or three miscarriages she had given birth to little Arthur on January 9, 1817, but then, in less than nineteen months, she had three accidents each of which had nearly proved fatal. She remained weak to the end of her life. She could scarcely get up to dress herself and very rarely went out, staying nearly all day in bed, and that little miniature-like house resounded with the noise of her children to whom she was devotedly attached, but who grew up as they liked. They were at least natural, intelligent and animated. They feared nothing and went everywhere. At the moment there were four, all wild: Napoléon, [illegible]

and Arthur who, although he was the smallest and could only jabber English, was no less sturdy.

The Emperor had real affection for them and, if it can be so called, a reflective affection. His love was shown by the fondness for children always noticeable in him from the moment his character took a serious mien, a kind of rough, almost rude, affection, giving preference to stoical children who were self-denying, intelligent and vigorous, and a reflective love when he saw in them the representation of his own son. He was sort of ashamed to speak of his son. He spoke of his past—that is to say his birth; he spoke of his future—of the chances he had of reigning, but very rarely, hardly ever, of his present position. His mind turned aside from him as from some very painful experience. He never mentioned him in fun and avoided being moved to pity, but whenever he looked at one of Bertrand's children did he not conjure up visions of the little fair haired, blue-eyed boy, that fatherless child who was growing up in that Schoenbrunn where he was no longer permitted to mention the name of him who twice established his headquarters there? How he played with Bertrand's children, and spoiled them, and delighted in making them happy! So much so that he suggested to Pierron that he should resume his old employment of cook to make sweets to please the children and to put them according to their different kinds in pretty cardboard boxes, and further, he planned to pierce little Hortense's ears with a larding-pin to fit her with coral earrings, and so on, and so on. Learning how she envied her brother Napoléon who occasionally rode by her carriage, he had her measured for a riding habit by the wife of Noverraz and some days later he had her dressed up, seated her on *Fringant*, and Archambault led the horse along under Mme. Bertrand's windows. The latter was obliged to take it in good part, and from that time Hortense and her brother rode with His Majesty.

One morning when Hortense, dressed in a yellow dress, of a nasty shade and shabby material, went into the Emperor's room, he said to her: "You are badly dressed to-day." "Sire," replied the Grand Marshal, "the dress was bought in St. Helena, and there is but a poor choice." "Wait a moment, Hortense," said the Emperor, "I will give you something to make a pretty jacket with." And he sent Marchand to look for a coat of red velvet, with gold and silk trimming—one of the four which, in 1800, had been offered to the First Consul by the town of Lyon. Words cannot describe the

brilliance and the delicate colouring of the material and the exquisite gold embroidery and green and yellow silk. He had worn this jacket the day he had signed the Concordat and the day he visited the factory of the Sévenne brothers at Rouen; Gérard and Isabey had made it. He took this jacket, pregnant with glory, and put it on the little girl's shoulders saying: "You will be beautiful in that at least."

If he favoured Hortense it was not to the detriment of the others. One day the Emperor held an examination on the multiplication table and Napoléon Bertrand, who knew it best, received a gold watch as a prize. Nevertheless, little Arthur was probably the favourite. When his sister was having her ears pierced for the earrings, he had tried to protect her against the Emperor who was very much amused. One lovely afternoon, he went to see the Emperor and in his English gibberish asked him for a horse. He had during the day seen a little Java horse, very tiny and uncommon, which a resident from Jamestown had brought to Longwood, and he was dying to have it. The Emperor understood him enough to tell him that on the following day, at the midday cannon, his wish would be granted. At the signal, Arthur hurried off to the Emperor who was asleep. Marchand did not want to let the child in, but being afraid his crying would awaken the Emperor, he allowed him to sit down on a stool at the foot of his bed. The Emperor, when he opened his eyes, saw Arthur who, not in the least nervous, told him the cannon had been fired and that he was waiting for his horse. The Emperor called Marchand and told him to buy the little Java, whose owner was asking fifty napoleons. Arthur rode it every day and with the Chinaman who led him by the rein and his nurse Betsy who held him on the horse, he went to show himself to the Emperor in all his glory. To complete his outfit he wanted spurs, golden spurs, and since he was always full of self-confidence—this future lover of Déjazet and Rachel—he went to ask for them. "Ask me for them in French," said the Emperor, "and I will give you them." But the construction of such a phrase was beyond Arthur, and though he tried about ten times, it was all in vain.

These children accompained Bertrand everywhere, because the Countess, more often than not ill, hardly ever came to see the Emperor, and the Grand Marshal, as punctual in his duty as when he was on military service, knew the precise hour at which to present himself, made the same remarks, received the same replies, and

always at the same time, took his leave with the same obeisance. Lady Malcolm remarked to Lady Jerningham when the latter brought her news of Mme. Bertrand: "He is a most excellent man, but the most spiritless in existence. She is terrified of becoming like that and though he has great affection for her and her children, his heart is Buonaparte's." It was this depression, the immediate result of the climate, ill-health, weariness and perpetual bickering of his wife which made Bertrand so dull and unattractive.

Furthermore, he had undertaken a duty which could not but give him an appearance of severity and inflexibility. In the house, like Las Cases but from different motives, he was uncompromising as Hudson Lowe had rightly assumed: he was convinced that the Emperor could not, without debasing himself, give way upon any of the points regarding which his past required him to remain constant. He regarded himself as the saviour of etiquette, he took care that no letter left Longwood unless it conformed to the regulations, he permitted admission to no one without presentation of an authorisation and the visitor had to be introduced by him, he tolerated no privileges and showed no favour, he remained on terms of courtesy with the foreign commissioners, but he ignored the French commissioner and, unlike the Governor, he carried out the Emperor's orders to the letter without ever attempting to divorce the personalities of Grand Marshal and Count Bertrand by secret overtures. If he felt reluctant to broadcast recriminations, which were unworthy of his master, on their material life, he was no doubt cognizant of the protests when the Emperor's majesty was at stake, and had something to do with raising rather than lowering the standard of their dignity. Such an officer as he, who had played a glorious part in the French army's most wonderful victories, who had been governor-general of a huge province, who had commanded army corps, could not utterly disregard an officer like Lowe, but he never gave way to him. Bertrand was not a pleasant individual, he did not know how to act courteously, but he was loyal and straight, he alone served for duty's sake and not his own, he alone deemed honour preferable to the pleasures of life, the charms of society, and all the comforts obtainable by inducing the Emperor to grant concessions which would almost imperceptibly, have brought in its wake overwhelming and inevitable ruin.

But General Bertrand was in charge of souls. It was his duty to devote his life to the Emperor, but was he right in sacrificing

his wife and children to this end? These latter had no chance of education, no teachers, no books on St. Helena. In 1817, through ministerial channels, the Grand Marshal had asked his father, who was his agent and conducted his affairs, to be good enough to send him the necessary lesson books for his children. M. Bertrand had gone straight from Châteauroux to Paris to buy them and at the same time to restock the wardrobes of his daughter-in-law and grandchildren. When he had requested the necessary permission to dispatch these cases, which had to go through the English Colonial Office, the French Minister of Police had sent him to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Duc de Richelieu, who did not deign to reply.

In 1820, the eldest boy was nearly twelve years old and the girl was ten. "The Countess had not the necessary ability and patience to teach them herself, nor was the General any better endowed. The stay at Longwood was not without its disadvantages for a young girl." Arthur, three years old, among soldiers who played with him, took stock of all the oaths customary to common people, and the situation became a most trying one. However, before presuming to tell the Emperor of the necessity of "Countess Bertrand returning to France to obtain a decent education for their children," what a state of mind he got into! The Emperor knew of Mme. Bertrand's wishes, of the distasteful life upon St. Helena, and of the complaints by means of which she hoped to obtain leave to go, but although five years had passed despite the fact that she had promised to remain but one, he still had not lost hope of the Grand Marshal remaining. On July 7, Lowe forwarded a letter from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated March 16. Having been informed of the hope entertained by Count and Countess Bertrand of returning to Europe, Lord Bathurst thought that "the society around General Buonaparte at Longwood would thereby be necessarily reduced, and that he should avail himself of the first possible opportunity of informing the General of the readiness of His Majesty to grant all the wishes he cared to express in favour of anyone whose arrival at Longwood would be agreeable." He added: "If General Buonaparte prefers to leave the choice to Cardinal Fesch or Princess Pauline de Borghèse, I will immediately communicate with them to that effect."

Is it not likely that Bathurst took the initiative in this matter on account of complaints expressed in a private correspondence, of which by virtue of his position he had been privy, rather than from

a formal request from the Bertrands? It cannot be said that the Emperor was ignorant of Mme. Bertrand's plans, but he did not think she could, without instructions from him, have made them the subject of a communication to the Governor, and this was actually most unlikely. It was not long before connection was established between the announcement of an early departure and a serious turn in the Emperor's health. What can fairly be assumed is that the Emperor had not *realised* the departure, even if it be allowed that the Bertrands had, with his consent, applied formally for the necessary permission—which seems impossible—and the news surprised him and caused a relapse. He had a long discussion with Bertrand as the result of which it was almost arranged that someone should be sought out in Europe to come and deputise for the Grand Marshal. "I actually saw, on the desk in the bedroom," said Marchand, "written in pencil the following names in form of a list, the Ducs de Vicence, Rovigo, Ségur, Montesquiou, Daru, Drouot, Turenne, Arnault, Denon." Six months later these same names were mentioned, but it would have been years before any one of these gentlemen would have agreed to come to St. Helena.

Thereupon it was immediately suggested that the Countess should depart alone, but once again the Emperor would not permit her to do so. When the vessel upon which she was to have sailed was in port, the Emperor experienced great perplexity: "Countess Bertrand," he said, "would be very uncomfortable in France, she would find herself in a false position and antagonistic to the government, which would result in the most serious consequences. If the General definitely wants to send his wife and children to France he must take them himself and, in the meantime, give one of my old servants time to reach St. Helena to take his place during his absence." He thereby acquired a cheap credit for generosity. "It was I who ordered Bertrand to accompany his wife to Europe," he told Marchand, "to go and put his affairs in order so that they should not suffer by his continued absence."

Bertrand was no fool: he thought it natural that the Emperor should desire to keep him, and whatever the reproaches he might have to endure at home, he complied with his wish and induced his wife to remain, but requested—in which the Emperor acquiesced—that if there was no change in the position in a year's time, he should be granted leave for nine months, a period which seemed to him sufficient to go to England to provide for his children's education and

to return. The General begged His Majesty to remember that if he left St. Helena it was against his own will and upon the directions of the Emperor himself.

Nevertheless, no one could have been more justified in going. He had just heard of his father's death at Châteauroux during March 1820. He came into "a considerable territorial fortune" which, however, he had to share with his brother Bertrand-Boislarge and his nephew Duris-Dufresne. The latter was a minor, and the Grand Marshal, sentenced to death by default, was civilly dead. The Treasury could legally intervene, demand the sale of the property and ruin him and his children, but it did not matter, he stayed.

If the Emperor did not appear to him to have desired his wife's departure—and this was only a pretext—he left Mme. Bertrand entirely to herself, he no longer went, as had been his wont since he had given up his work, to sit for hours with her, chatting, and to see the children, he no longer asked to drive round the enclosure with her: the severance was complete. He agreed to see her again only a few days before he died.

He discussed the matter at intervals with Bertrand, but always with increasing irritation. "Bertrand does not realise," he told Marchand, "that if I allow him to take his wife back to Europe, he will not find me again on his return." And he then wondered if he ought not to do for Mme. Bertrand what he had done for Mme. de Montholon. Surely he ought, but while the latter was attending to her husband's affairs, the former "by her negligence and incompetence, would fritter away her children's fortune." Bertrand felt his master's affection growing less and less real, and though he felt it deeply, he always remained constant. Inwardly more and more fretful and nervous, outwardly more and more serene and unaffected, he hid beneath this resolution one of the noblest of souls, and how difficult it was for him not to utter "*poor* Mme. Bertrand," with Lady Jerningham.

Furthermore, he no longer lived comfortably. At the end of 1820, when Bertrand made this sort of arrangement with the Emperor, Mme. de Montholon had left St. Helena eighteen months previously. At the beginning of 1819 she declared she was suffering from a most severe liver disease and that it was essential she took the waters in Europe. It was, she said, a matter of life or death: she lived for thirty years more, so the doctors made a slight mistake in their diagnosis. Besides, she had a lot of matters to attend to in

France, the division of her mother's, Mme. Vassal's, estate, and above all the payment of her husband's debts. And, finally, she had left behind her two children, Édouard by her marriage with M. Roger, and Charles who was too young to be taken with her. She was going to rejoin them with the others, Tristan, born in 1812, Napoleone, born at St. Helena on June 18, 1816, and Josephine, born on January 26, 1818. All these reasons look plausible, but was Mme. de Montholon so motherly or so ill? What urgent reasons did Montholon give the Emperor for this departure? Was Montholon so anxious regarding his wife's health that he gave any appearance of worshipping her in his letters? Was he very concerned with the medical consultations she had or the diets she had to observe? Was he astonished when she informed him that after being refused debarkation in England, she had landed at Ostend in September, and had gone neither to Spa nor to Aix-la-Chapelle, nor indeed anywhere to take the waters she considered indispensable to her? Not at all, but in each of his letters—letters which he sent unsealed to Hudson Lowe, and which he probably let Napoleon see, so inquisitive was the Emperor of all that anyone wrote—he urged his wife to find him a substitute, he expressed no desire to return to St. Helena, it was definite departure he was meditating and with which he was threatening the Emperor. Was he really serious? Where is there any indication that Mme. de Montholon had appealed to anyone except—and then how tardily!—to Planat who for five years, since he left the Emperor on the *Bellerophon*, had showed a perseverance all the more creditable since he had often been discouraged, and perhaps to Casimir Bonjour. But Planat who was captain or, at the most and only latterly, a major and Bonjour who was no more than a ridiculed author, were these the people to take the places of the Marquis de Las Cases, Count of the Empire, chamberlain to His Majesty and a member of his Council of State, Baron Gourgaud, chief orderly-officer, General, Count and Marquis Montholon, senior chamberlain and minister-plenipotentiary? This unique arrangement was to prove that Montholon had scarcely any intention of leaving before he had reaped the benefits which the situation could offer.

The post was a good one: at St. Helena, there was ostensibly a salary of only 2,000 francs a month, which was poor, but it cannot be doubted that the Emperor had, previous to 1818, increased this amount considerably. Without placing complete reliance upon what

Gourgaud asserted, it must be taken into account, for envy must have wormed it out. At the end of 1818 were found a draft for £3,000 (75,000 francs) on King Joseph payable on account of Count Montholon to a M. Bertrand, a lawyer living in the rue Coquillière; on the departure of Mme. Montholon, a warrant, dated June 15, 1819, for a pension of 20,000 francs a year payable by Prince Eugène at the rate of 10,000 francs at the end of June and a similar sum at the end of the year; a bill, dated June 28, for a sum of £6,000 (150,000 francs) payable by King Joseph, and finally, upon a note of General Bertrand, a bill for an annual sum of 24,000 francs payable by Madame Mère. Montholon augmented these various allowances by the 24,000 francs he received annually from the Emperor, and the latter paid all his expenses on St. Helena, but Napoleon did not settle either Montholon or his wife's debts at Jamestown, which amounted to £900-£1000 (22,000-25,000 francs) and upon the Emperor's death their creditors were only persuaded with the greatest difficulty to allow their debtor to embark.

Is this a source of benefit one would willingly dry up, when in France one would have to make shift as best one could? Through Bouges, the servant who had come from France to attend General Bertrand, Marquis Semonville told his son-in-law "never leave the Emperor: by remaining all would be saved whereas if you left him all would be lost." At the end of 1820, Montholon frequently entertained the French commissioner, Marquis Montchenu, whom he had taken into his confidence and whom he used with cunning intent, telling him of the vast wealth which the Emperor possessed and would bequeath to him. He felt certain the Emperor would give at least two millions to Tristan and a like sum to Napoleone; it was the Emperor who had told him this and he hastened to write to Mme. Montholon. This is the fortune he would be sacrificing to a successor, for he was just as sure that once he had gone he would be deleted from the will or would at best be the recipient of a mere pittance.

Why had he come to St. Helena if he was leaving it emptyhanded? From the real nature of his character it would the more easily be found that he held over the Emperor the continual threat to leave and that thereby he succeeded in augmenting his share at the Bertrands' expense whose constancy was free from all intrigue. And it was he himself who gave proof of it. On April 7, 1821, according to Montholon, the Emperor asked for the return of a former will which

he had entrusted to the Grand Marshal, and had burned it, but a memorandum existed in which Napoleon had, of the six millions which he believed to be his, bequeathed 750,000 francs to the Bertrands, and 600,000 francs to the Montholons. By his official will he left Montholon two millions in addition to the money entrusted to Laffitte by the codicil of April 16, 50,000 francs over and above the ready money he possessed, by the codicil of April 24 (Italy) 100,000 francs, by another codicil of the same date (Marie Louise) 100,000 francs—a total of 2,250,000 francs. And Bertrand would have no more than 500,000 francs under the will, 50,000 francs ready cash in addition, 200,000 francs under the Italian codicil, and 200,000 under the Marie Louise codicil—a total of 950,000 francs. The two codicils of April 24 were exceedingly rash and the Emperor knew it well enough, but he was giving 2,050,000 francs as opposed to 550,000 francs. No proof could be more clear. Over and above the other benefits Montholon would have derived, there were 1,500,000 francs and a superiority over Bertrand—who, by virtue of his class, age, rank and titles should have been assured of the first place and of a seniority based upon the conditions of his service and by trusts needing implicit confidence—to such a degree that, although designated by the same title as Montholon for the fulfilment of the will, Bertrand like Marchand, believed they must have been omitted from it, a fact which led to deplorable consequences and enabled the Grand Marshal once more to evidence his disinterestedness and generosity.

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It can be said that the more ill the Emperor appeared, the more he clung to the hope that Montholon would not forsake him and that if Bertrand went someone at least other than a domestic servant would carry out his dying wishes. The landing of the surgeon and the priests of whom Cardinal Fesch had sent him, without any credentials or definite mission, deeply distressed him. He felt himself all the more deserted. There was no occasion for it. He might have enjoyed the companionship of a man of learning and a man of conscience, his body might have been relieved, his mind occupied, his fancy gratified, and the one consolation to assuage his miserable lot granted, yet these were the men sent to live with him, to amuse him, and to care for him physically and spiritually! Accustomed as

he was to the stupidity of Fesch, he could not understand him this time. No one could understand either the choice, or the delay of more than a year—the request for a priest made on March 22, 1818, permission for a priest and a doctor to be sent given on August 10, 1818, the departure of the " little expedition " at the end of February 1819, and its arrival at St. Helena on September 20, after thirteen months! It might have been said that he had purposely chosen these three Corsicans to typify, before *the* Corsican, Corsican silliness, intrigue and ignorance: an old man who, when apoplexy did not make him dumb, jabbered alternately in Spanish and Italian of his ecclesiastical missions in Mexico, and seemed totally ignorant of any other hemisphere, a young priest who, if what was said of him be true, had studied in the seminary of Saint Sulpice and in a Roman college, gave the most ridiculous indication of the instruction he had received there, but who at least was loyal and faithful, and thirdly, a frightful man, infatuated with pride, ambition and wealth, not badly brought up, but audacious, familiar and holding himself equal, if not superior, to everyone. Unruffled ignorance and imperturbable self-possession perfected the most delightful picture of an egotist.

Since his arrival at St. Helena, this man seemed to have been convinced by Lowe that the Emperor was not ill and that his illness was political. Then, each time the Emperor said he was in pain, he adopted a knowing attitude and smiled understandingly, but he took care not to contradict him and knew what manner of speaking to adopt. It was not he who was taken for a dupe. The attitude he adopted towards his patient, always indecorous and equally as obnoxious, could possibly be excused on the ground of his incapacity to diagnose the illness. He recommended exercise, but the Emperor naturally disliked horseriding and had a veritable horror of those walks which only brought home to him his close confinement and the narrowness of his prison limits, and what other exercise was there? He later tried the see-saw, but it was towards the end and he had to give it up almost immediately. There was gardening, and if what Antommarchi boastingly said was true, that he was in a way responsible for the Emperor's fancy for it, some gratitude might be shown him, but did not the idea emanate from Napoleon himself? " For some time," said Marchand, " the Emperor has been speaking of enlarging the gardens in front of his windows. He feels the need of protecting himself from the trade-winds by a

and saw in this an occupation not only for himself and the colony but the advantage of pushing away the cordon of sentries stationed around the house each evening at nine o'clock." Antommarchi therefore did not suggest it, but he encouraged the Emperor to carry on and, together with the whole colony, did his bit.

As soon as Pierron, the *maître d'hôtel,* had bought spades, pick-axes and wheelbarrows in the town and everyone was supplied—even the Emperor, but he used his rake and his spade as walking-sticks—a start was made on the south side upon the erection of a grass mound nine feet wide and eighty feet long. Every morning at daybreak the valets, wakened by a stone which the Emperor used to throw into the blind of their room, would go and awaken all the residents at Longwood, Montholon, the priests, the doctor, the servants, French, English or Chinese. The Emperor, dressed—like Saint-Denis and Noverraz—in a nankeen jacket, from the neck of which protruded his shirt collar, and trousers of the same material, wearing red slippers and a wide brimmed straw hat, directed and supervised the work accompanied by Montholon and Bertrand who hardly ever arrived before eight o'clock. He even tried to wield a pickaxe but blisters obliged him to give it up. They downed tools at ten o'clock, and Napoleon took breakfast in an orange grove of one of the little gardens. Montholon used regularly to breakfast with him, and sometimes Bertrand, but rarely the doctor or the priests. The imperial breakfast consisted of soup, a plate of meat—chicken, leg of mutton, or roast breast of mutton—vegetables and coffee. The Emperor frequently remained at table gossiping and when he returned to the house often rested. From two to three he took his bath, dictated to or conversed with one of the generals he had summoned, and if he felt well would attire himself in full dress uniform, white waistcoat and breeches, green jacket without gold buttons but with the insignia of the Legion, silk stockings and gold-buckled shoes, regimental hat, but no sword. At four o'clock he went out again to inspect what the Chinese had done, and occupied himself by watering with a little wheeled pump. He thus spent the hour preceding dinner, after which he had a short drive with Montholon and occasionally with Bertrand. As to Mme. Bertrand, he used often to pay her a visit until July 1820, but after that date he saw her no more.

This gardening had had such a good effect upon the Emperor's health that when the programme was finished at the end of December

1819, similar and even more attractive occupations were suggested. In order to produce the shade requested by the Emperor around the house old trees were dug up and transplanted " with clods of earth in all requiring the strength of twenty men, especially oaks, trees which grow but slowly on St. Helena but extend their branches like appletrees in France." Several flourished, especially one which was called the Emperor's oak and under which he often took breakfast. Fruit trees, especially peaches, were transplanted, grew rapidly and even in the first year bore fruit.

Nothing had so far been attempted on the water works. At considerable expense the English had constructed on Diana's Peak a huge reservoir from which water was brought by means of pipes to the camp and Longwood. At Longwood it was collected into a reservoir constructed several feet in depth whence it could be taken to all parts of the garden. The Emperor planned to construct reservoirs joined up by uncovered pipes and in great detail traced the plans on the ground. On the side of these he was going to erect a huge aviary in the Chinese style. Out of the mould dug out for the reservoirs was made a round mound with grass steps and intended to be planted with flowers and rosetrees, but this sort of amphitheatre, being as high as the verandah, obstructed the view of the kitchen garden and impeded communication. The Emperor had a kind of tunnel driven through this earth and constructed a sort of grotto with glass doors, lined with painted wood and penetrated by a huge wooden guttering by means of which water was brought from the reservoir to the kitchen garden. He often went to sit down in this grotto. In the middle reservoir, Chandelier the cook had succeeded, by means of a lead pipe, in erecting a little fountain, which only played when the Emperor went out. And this was a substitute for his elaborate fountains at Saint-Cloud, Versailles and the Tuileries—compared to these this little spring was ridiculous, but these people had done their best and set their wits to work hoping to entertain him but not knowing how to please him: it was the work of lowly, humble folk.

They were proud because their master appeared gratified and because whoever could find some pretext went to see the work of the Frenchmen, the doings at Longwood being the sole topic of conversation throughout the whole island. And so, by an astonishing indiscretion, Miss Johnson, Lowe's step-daughter, boldly entered the garden where she met Montholon and told him that she had come to see Longwood and very much desired to meet the Emperor. She

was very pretty and Montholon offered his arm, took her everywhere and finally introduced her to the Emperor who was strolling beneath a long covered walk overrun with Passion flowers of which he was very fond. The Emperor was charmed with this young creature, made a few polite remarks to her, had sweets offered to her and with his own hand plucked a rose which he offered the girl.

It was not only in the gardens that the Emperor's servants busied themselves. If he was simple in his tastes the Emperor experienced a physical abhorrence of dirty curtains or carpets. This was the case in both his bedrooms where the nankeen curtains were covered with damp from the walls and the carpet had been gnawed by rats. Several remedies were suggested to him but he refused to allow English workmen to enter his interior apartments and only decided to permit a change upon Marchand assuring him that all the work would be done by people of the household, cleaning and papering the walls, repairing the window-frames, the substitution of muslin for the nankeen curtains, polishing and varnishing the furniture, whitewashing the ceilings, all this was carried out by his valets assisted by some of the Chinese. The transparent muslin, gathered top and bottom, fell in folds and formed a pleasing 'corrugated' effect, a narrow gathered frill of the same material hid the top hem of the curtain, while the bottom rested on the skirting-board. These curtains, of which they had others similar, could be changed in two hours. New green silk draperies were put on the two little camp beds, the knobs of the bedposts were unscrewed and in their place were substituted the eagles kept back when the silver had been broken up. The pictures were changed, everyone taxed his ingenuity, the Grand Marshal sent a little polished brass timepiece and a bust of the infant King of Rome which he put on the chimney-piece. When the Emperor entered the room, two aromatic pastils were burning in the scent-box and the flickering light from the covered flame pleasingly lit up the walls : " This is no longer a bedroom," he said, " it is a young lady's boudoir."

Almost immediately he had to occupy the second apartment. " The Emperor had at St. Helena, " Marchand wrote, " two little camp beds. At night he went from one to the other as he went from one room to the other. Several times he told me that if ever he fell ill these beds would be too narrow. Count Montholon had a brass one which he had bought in the town and suggested that it be put in the second room. Green hangings were bought for this bed. I

had lace and a large Alençon point on the Emperor's dressing-table, and procured a counterpane and lace pillowcases, for this bed was actually a state-bed " A mirror four feet high and three and a half wide, and two small bookcases completed the furnishing The Emperor appeared very satisfied except that on going to bed he said to Marchand " I do not want Montholon to give up his bed, he must have it back " That night as usual he changed from bed to bed beginning with the brass one and finding it most uncomfortable " All this lace, " he said to Marchand the next morning, " will be useful to the Grand Marshal's wife " and he substituted his second camp bed for the grand bed

These attentions pleased the Emperor to whom they provided a sort of pastime Just as he had supervised the furnishing of the Tuileries, Compiegne and Fontainebleau with Fontaine and Desmazis, Duroc and David so he now paid his own servants in shillings as formerly he had in millions He certainly discharged his obligation to Montholon, and to Gourgaud, and there exists his *maître d'hôtel's*, Pierron's, ledger with the increases entered in his own hand There is also that of his valet, Marchand, who was his treasurer and who endeavoured to economise on running expenses in order to increase the reserve fund by some thousand francs He had formerly in this way, by curtailing household expenses, put aside the sum of three hundred millions with which during the campaign in France, he maintained the national defence He was therefore equal to all demands, great or small, and his character was as stable as his habits In this little community habits and character are studied the more closely and particular ways of acting and thinking are the more precisely noticed

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The Emperor admitted that the four great events of human life could not be fulfilled without the intervention of religion and priestly help He had requested a Catholic priest upon the death of Cipriani " so that he himself should not die like a dog " All the priests chosen by Fesch were stupid, but they were priests and as such they could do for him what no other man knew how to do

That can only surprise those who, different in race, ancestry and religion to Roman Catholics, judge these latter by their own standards Napoleon never professed any disbelief and had an innate horror of

atheism. " It is the disease to be feared, " he said, and he fought it with not very convincing arguments. Incontestibly deistical he did not contradict the Catholic creed and never did he in word or deed question its dogma. He had an exclusively Catholic atavism, there had been priests in both family lineages, his mother was very pious and had become religious. He had had a Catholic childhood and a Catholic education. Who knows the mysterious and secret bonds which bind a man to his ancestors' religion, to the religion his mother taught him, and of which he learned to babble the prayers as soon as he could talk? What held him to it may have been neither the knowledge nor the comprehension of the religion, nor even faith, but his very life and the life of all his family, this it was which aroused him when he entered certain churches, heard certain hymns, smelt certain odours. Here was the religion in which his ancestors had lived, in which he had been born and educated, a religion which revealed the existence of God and belief in the immortality of the soul, with its traditional worship, its liturgical splendour, its sacramental graces. He considered it the best and never doubted it since between it and the Protestant religion, which lying and seditious men had asserted he had forced upon the nation, he had chosen it, restored it, and assured the material lot of its priests. He had granted it, if not political privileges, at least civil distinctions and dispensations. He had striven to preserve it by his laws from national danger, and had by his constant attendance at Sunday Mass and by his devotion during the service, testified to an observance which those alone disputed who were shocked at the idea of entering a church and participating in any traditional ritual. At the moments necessary to give more effective proofs of his reliance in the Catholic Church he never let it down, as certain incidents prove.

The abbés Buonavita and Vignali had brought to St. Helena a trunk containing church ornaments and Mass vestments " of great beauty, " and they said Mass every Sunday upon a table in the drawing-room. The Emperor thought that the dining-room, which he no longer used, could be converted into a chapel " of a permanent nature, " and that he would in future take his meals in the drawing-room. Great care was taken to make the chapel worthy of the Emperor and all Longwood shared in the work. Noverraz, assisted by a Chinese carpenter, constructed an altar on two steps, Pierron who was versed in the art, made a most beautiful gold and white tabernacle for the Blessed Sacrament, Marchand and Saint-Denis

draped the sides with red satin hangings which reached from the ceiling and were drawn up by golden hooks, a green velvet carpet with a crown-surmounted N in gold and smaller N's in the corners covered the altar steps and reached to the Emperor's prie-dieu. The trimmings lacked crowns and the servants strenuously asserted that all the N's must bear their imperial decoration. Montholon very opportunely found in his trunks his dress jacket of aide-de-camp to the deputy commander-in-chief, the trimmings were there and four crowns besides for the carpet. There was a large cross for the altar frontal wrapped up in a cloth decorated with old and valuable lace. On each side of the tabernacle which was surmounted by an ebony cross bearing a beautiful figure of Christ, were put six-branched silver candlesticks and China vases filled with the most beautiful flowers from the garden. At midday the following Sunday —for everything had been prepared secretly in the course of a single week—the only door by which the room could be lighted was carefully shut, and the candles lighted. Lamps were placed on brackets on either side of the altar. Before it stood the abbé Buonavita, attired in his most beautiful vestments, assisted by the abbé Vignali and with young Bertrand as server. Behind the imperial chair the little colony was arranged in order of precedence. The Emperor entered, followed by the Grand Marshal and Montholon, and stood before his priedieu. The abbé Buonavita bowed to him, as the chaplain greeted him in the imperial chapels, and began the Mass. There were many joyful hearts on St. Helena that day and from that little chapel where in their simplicity, good honest men had worked hard, went forth affectionate, unrestrained prayer for their Country as well as thanksgiving for the Religion their ancestors had observed. And the Emperor did not hesitate to play his part. He wanted to share in the beautifying of the chapel and gave lace to ornament the cloths and the albs, and presented the abbé with fine linen albs. Every Sunday he attended the service and when his health deteriorated he heard Mass from his bed with his bedroom door open, but he never missed it until his dying day.

The exercise he took and the employment which the excavations in the gardens provided kept him in a wonderfully good state of health until about July 1820. The air did him so much good that he even went so far as to attempt a little riding, and Lowe in order to facilitate the opportunities for such recreation, even took upon himself to extend the boundaries within which the Emperor could walk without

being accompanied. He fancied that in this way his health would immediately mend and he could maintain the opinion that Gourgaud had broadcast, since this was also Antommarchi's conclusion. It is true Napoleon appeared very tired the first time he went out, but had he not lost the habit of taking exercise, especially of horseback riding and must needs start again?

Actually none of those who were intimate with him showed any serious concern for his state of health. The Grand Marshal, anxious though he was for his wife, would not have faced an absence even of only nine months—yet one never knows!—if he felt any apprehension. Even Montholon might not have insisted upon his departure if he thought the Emperor's illness gave real cause for alarm.

In the absence of all reliable witnesses, recourse must be had to symptoms. During the first years of the banishment the liver complaint from which the Emperor suffered had been comparatively mild and had responded to methodical treatment and to a suitable waters cure, as had happened to Madame when she was anxious on the same account. It is most likely that this disease was aggravated by lack of exercise, by primitive sanitation and by contra-indicated medicines, but it had never aroused fears for his life. He must not succumb to that disease, but to another.

Attempts have been made to connect the second illness, in July 1820, with Lowe's announcement of Bertrand's departure, but this is ridiculous. At most it could be asserted that the news produced a liverish condition as sudden disappointment does upon everyone liable to it, but it quickly disappeared. At the end of the month, Napoleon assumed a certain activeness which he maintained during August and the first half of September. Then his strength became impaired, the least exertion exhausted him and even the air disagreed with him. But he was determined to die fighting. He wanted to take advantage of the concessions Lowe had made, and he rode on horseback outside the limits, but returned completely exhausted and was obliged to take to his bed. Only with great difficulty could he even put up with the carriage. Nevertheless, he did not yet think he was so seriously ill, and considered his condition the result of prolonged inactivity which would rectify itself, he was convinced, by roughing it, by recreation and real hard work, so on October 4, he planned a trip to Sandy Bay, to Sir William Doveton's. Bertrand, Montholon, everyone was to accompany him and they took breakfast, a sumptuous champagne breakfast. It was a considerable distance

and the Emperor, whose appetite had recovered, ate a little more than usual and drank three glasses of champagne. Upon the return he was worn out and could scarcely reach the road where the carriage was waiting: he went to bed with a violent headache. Thenceforth he took only a short walk in the garden or a little ride in the carriage, and took to his bed, interspersed with very hot baths lasting two or three hours. Certain alarming symptoms appeared. He could barely tolerate the big lamp, he grew deaf and experienced giddiness. Then chronic constipation, yielding only to enemata, left him extremely weak. Antommarchi suggested the application of a vesicant on both his arms, but the Emperor refused: " Don't you think, " he said, " that Mr. Lowe has tortured me enough without you wishing to do your share? " Finally in the face of the persuasion of the Grand Marshal and Montholon he gave way on October 15 and bared his two arms, but Antommarchi did not know how to apply a blistering plaster; he did not know it should be cut either round or oval nor that the spot upon which it is applied must be shaved. He cut it in squares, put them on the Emperor's arms and then went for a walk to the town. The Emperor, lying on the bed, uncomfortable and tormented, several times asked for his doctor, but he had not returned. Antommarchi ultimately arrived, announced himself and asked the Emperor how he was: " I do not know, " the Emperor bluntly replied, " leave me in peace. You have applied blistering plasters of the wrong shape to my arms and you did not shave my arms before applying them, a wretch in a hospital would get better treatment. It seems to me you could very well have left one arm free without treating them both at once. A poor man is not treated in this way." The doctor was about to reply when the Emperor retorted: " Go away, you are a fool and I a bigger one for allowing myself to be served like this. "

Nevertheless when the plasters were removed they had produced the desired effect and for some days the Emperor's appetite recovered somewhat, but the life he led was not conducive to maintaining the improvement. He spent best part of his time indoors, with doors and windows tightly closed. If he went out it was only for a short drive or a stroll in the garden for an hour with Montholon or Bertrand. " This state of debility increased daily until on his walks the air made him ill and he went and shut himself up in the billiard room. His appetite disappeared and nothing any longer tempted him. He could not masticate the roast meat served up to him, and extracted

the juice from the outside pieces without being able to swallow the meat, of his stew he could only take the gravy, which became very heating. He received the doctor without ever telling him how he felt," and this general weakness clearly showed the gravity of the illness.

Antommarchi thought bleeding would produce wonderful results. The Emperor argued for a long time with Bertrand and Montholon whom the doctor had convinced, and finished by giving way, so on November 18, an issue was opened in his left arm. "This venesection seemed to produce the result the doctor anticipated for his appetite improved a little and the spasms became less frequent." But nothing induced the Emperor to have any confidence in his doctor with his unpunctuality, folly, negligence, everything which was irritating to a person feeling 'out of sorts,' and each day this man's conduct the more justified this opinion. He was never there to change the cautery or dress the puncture, but fortunately Marchand had watched him closely and proved himself a very capable deputy. Right at the end of 1820 according to Marchand "the Governor announced that the vessel from India which was to take the Grand Marshal and his family back to Europe was in the roads off St. Helena. The Grand Marshal was determined not to leave the Emperor in his present state of health and after anchoring for several days in port, the vessel proceeded to Europe." Bertrand does not seem to have spoken to the Emperor of the sacrifice he had made.

The year 1820 came to its close. Napoleon, at the dawn of the new year, knew he would never see it out. That morning when Marchand came into his room and had opened the shutters, he said "Ah, well! What are you going to give me for a New Year's present?" "Sire," replied Marchand, "the hope of seeing Your Majesty recover soon and leave a climate so detrimental to your health"—"That will not be long, my son, my end draws near and I cannot go much further." Marchand hastened to tell him that he was not of that opinion. "What God desires, will be," replied the Emperor. He received neither Mme. Bertrand nor her children, and remained indoors. January passed without any apparent decline or improvement. Treatment might not, it is true, have relieved him, but in any event he refused to receive it for he had no confidence in Antommarchi. The negligence and incompetence of this man struck him more forcibly than his foolishness and his ignorance, but he never expressed his opinion to him for he never spoke to him.

At the end of January, Antommarchi wrote to Sir Thomas Reade requesting to be sent home. The Governor went to consult Montholon and on the 27th had a long conversation with him relating to the people who could be invited to come to take the places of Montholon and Bertrand, a priest to take Buonavita's place, he to be sent back to Europe for health reasons, and a doctor to succeed Antommarchi. For the priest and the doctor the Emperor relied entirely upon the French Government. "Napoleon is particularly anxious," Montholon told Lowe, "that his family should take no part in the choice of these new people. He has, as it is, enough to complain of in its choice of those already sent to St. Helena. The ministry of the King of France being almost entirely composed of men who had served in the same places, was best qualified to select those it thought suitable. As to substitutes for Bertrand and Montholon, the Emperor might have nominated General Drouot as first choice and the other person could be a private individual, even a former ecclesiastic, an old councillor of State, an old chamberlain or confidant, a friend with whom he had been closely associated when he was an artillery officer, but must be an educated man, a serious, clever man of whom he could make a companion."

In order to be specific Montholon handed the Governor several notes "which he was ordered to deliver to him." The Emperor requested that the choice of a surgeon should be left to Desgenettes, Percy or Larrey, and that he should be selected from the doctors of his household or those of an army corps. "In place of Count Bertrand he would welcome anyone who had been associated with him, but had a preference for the Ducs de Vicence or de Rovigo, Counts de Ségur, de Montesquiou, Daru, Drouot, Turenne, or the men of letters Baron Denon and Arnault." These were the same names he had listed in July when he was concerned about the Grand Marshal's departure. The note, signed by Montholon, was returned because of the use of the imperial title on it, but Hudson Lowe kept a copy of it and immediately sent the Emperor's requests to his government. In consequence of this tacitly arranged agreement with Montholon, the request was immediately dispatched. Louis XVIII's government made great efforts to find a priest and a doctor. Mgr. de Quélen, coadjutor of Paris, himself volunteered and only the state of the health of the Archbishop, Cardinal de Talleyrand-Périgord, induced him to stay. In his stead the abbé Deguerry, the future vicar of the Madeleine and martyr of the Commune was appointed.

The selected doctor was M. Pelletan, fils, one of the most distinguished in his profession and physician to the King. They were ready to start in July 1821. Six months had been enough for the request to be received in London, forwarded to Paris, the selection made by the King's Council, and all arrangements concluded.

So Antommarchi was going, but Montholon and Bertrand found it no easy matter to find an immediate deputy since the Emperor had said he would rather die than give himself over to the care of Dr. Baxter whom Lowe wished to attend him or of Dr. Verling who, since O'Meara's departure, had occupied his house until Antommarchi's arrival. Ignorant, negligent and badly educated as this latter was he was a doctor or at least called himself one, with the prestige of a degree even if it was assumed, and this was enough to induce the inhabitants of Longwood to be prepared to make sacrifices to have him at hand in case of urgent necessity. Efforts were therefore made to induce Antommarchi to agree to stay and similar attempts to persuade the Emperor to see him again.

At this time "the Emperor rarely dressed himself, ordered that no one should oblige him to go out, and certain pressure from Montholon did not always succeed in the Emperor's overcoming his dislike of the south-east wind which upset him and irritated his nerves. Carriage drives and walks became more and more infrequent and he never returned but that he threw himself on his sofa completely exhausted. His feet were constantly frozen and could only be warmed by means of very hot towels which he preferred to hot water bottles or anything else."

To take the place of the exercise he disliked or could not get out of doors, he conceived the idea of erecting an indoor see-saw supported in the centre by a pivot three or four feet high, and taking up his place at one end of the plank, he got one of his officers to level up matters at the other. This necessitated a little exertion on his part and "often," said Arthur Bertrand, "he sat my sister and two of my brothers or myself on the other end of the see-saw and amused himself by giving us terrific bumps which sometimes threw us off. It provided both exercise and a distraction from his misery." In this manner February passed. Without anyone paying much attention to the fact, vomiting became more frequent, almost daily. Weariness increased and appetite became almost nil, but from time to time when the wind dropped and the sun rose he still went for short rides or walks.

During the morning of March 17, he received the abbe Buonavita, who was just going aboard, having been ordered back to Europe by his doctors He was in bed and the abbé, who had great difficulty in walking, approached him and bent a knee to kiss the Emperor's hand Napoleon requested him to arise and sit down, and gave him his instructions as to what he should tell Madame and the Family The abbé, who had not seen him for several weeks, departed dismayed at the havoc wrought by the disease on his features and was at the same time profoundly moved by his calmness and resignation Montholon, a little later, in response to the Emperor's request that he should even use violence towards him to induce him to go out, came as usual to ask him to go for a drive and the doctor who was present also insisted, but the Emperor, who was in bed, resisted "I feel so ill," he said, "when I return, and I feel very comfortable in bed but, Montholon, if you insist, have the carriage brought up" The general immediately came to say it was there and that there was scarcely no wind The Emperor ate a little jellied meat, donned a pair of stocking-pantaloons, slippers, a cravat, a green overcoat and a round hat, and went out leaning upon Montholon's arm When they reached the carriage, he was unable to get in and returned shaking with a shivering chill He went straight to bed and Marchand covered him with two blankets Noverraz and Saint-Denis brought hot towels which Marchand applied to his feet He complained of feeling sick and hot towels were applied to his stomach also, prespiration began and then such sweats that the sheets had to be changed He dismissed the doctor, told Montholon to go and have his breakfast and got Marchand to read the campaigns of Dumouriez to him When Bertrand came in the afternoon, he chatted with him about the campaign of '93 and, feeling better, wanted to get up, go as far as his oak tree and sit in its shade while his room was aired In the space of a few minutes another attack became evident He returned with the assistance of Montholon and Noverraz, and went straight back to bed His body was frozen and the doctor was summoned, but he had gone to the town in charge of Buonavita When he returned the attack had passed, and after spending a good night the Emperor wanted to go out the following morning He took a glass of malaga wine and a biscuit, and was conducted to his seat, but there he vomited again, a new attack took him and his features became distorted and his limbs cold From that time onward this was almost the daily bulletin As if to aggravate his sufferings by the irritation of their

continual buzzing, and the smarting of their bites, gnats swarmed around Longwood. The covered lamp had to be taken into the adjoining room and a mosquito-net erected into which the mosquitos flew in clouds; this was a fresh torture added to the others.

Almost every time he was wanted Antommarchi was absent, which perhaps was not a bad thing for his prescriptions were liable to produce serious disorders. Under what pretext he ordered an emetic no one knew, and the Emperor showed the greatest dislike for it, but finally on the 22nd, overcome by the insistence of those around him, he took it in two doses. His effort produced no result. Driven from his bed for lack of air beneath the mosquito-net to an alternative equally unpleasant, that of being bitten by the gnats, he spent the night in his armchair, without a light, the lamp being placed in the next room. The 23rd brought with it a kind of respite which enabled him to shave and clean his teeth. Antommarchi, triumphant, suggested a second emetic and the Emperor agreed, but the efforts which the vomiting demanded discouraged him and thenceforward he refused to take it, drinking only aniseed liquorice water from a little bottle he kept near him. However, Antommarchi insisted: "You go for a walk and take one yourself" the Emperor told him. The doctor did not reply but endeavoured to persuade Marchand to insert an emetic into the drinks he gave the Emperor. Marchand refused, but a tactless remark by Bertrand led Napoleon to believe that his valet had done what the doctor wanted of him and he became furiously angry with Marchand. He was a little better when Antommarchi returned from Jamestown and asked to be admitted. The surgeon sought to be excused the responsibility of endangering his life since he would not avail himself of his remedies. "Ah well, Monsieur," Napoleon replied, "must I be accountable to you? Do you not think that Death would be a Heaven-sent relief to me? I do not fear it, but while I shall do nothing to hasten it I shall not grasp at a straw to live." He dismissed him and two days passed before he saw him again.

Nevertheless perhaps Antommarchi was glad of that. Since the 18th Marchand looked after him every night assisted by Noverraz and Saint-Denis who slept in the next apartment. On the 24th, Noverraz had to take to his bed with a most violent bilious attack and Marchand, only lately recovered from an attack of dysentery, was in danger of a relapse. The Emperor's illness might be a long one so it was necessary to reorganise periods of duty. Montholon and

Bertrand offered to do their share and the Emperor ordained that Montholon should watch from nine till two and that Marchand should relieve him. Antommarchi did not even offer.

His aversion towards his surgeon clashed with other considerations for his agreeing to accept an English doctor suggested by Lowe. Not that Lowe thought he was ill, he was convinced that it was all a sham and almost until the end of April persisted in that belief, but the orderly officer responsible for the daily presence of the prisoner had not seen him for a fortnight and General Buonaparte might well have escaped. The doctor at least ascertained that he was still there. The Emperor had to submit for the officer of the guard had instructions to force the door if necessary. Montholon obtained a few days grace from Lowe, and all Longwood combined to persuade the Emperor to see Dr. Arnott, surgeon of the 20th regiment. Napoleon set little store upon life, but he did at least wish that someone could alleviate his sufferings. His strength was daily failing and thereupon he suspected something. " That Calabrian of a Governor leaves us well alone. What does it mean? He doubtless knows through the Chinese that I am ill." On April 1 he said to Bertrand: " Your English doctor will go and give an account of my state to this tyrant. It is sure to give him great pleasure to know of my agony. And then what will he suggest if I agree to see him? It will really be more for the satisfaction of the people around me than for my own who expects nothing from his skill." He agreed that Arnott should confer at the Grand Marshal's house with Antommarchi who should inform him of the state of the illness, and said he would receive him that night at nine o'clock. Arnott arrived punctually at nine o'clock, entered the room scarcely lighted by the one covered lamp in the next room, approached the bed from which Marchand lifted the mosquito-net, felt his pulse, examined his stomach and asked permission to return the next day at the same hour.

He accordingly arrived on April 2, conducted by Count Bertrand who acted as interpreter and accompanied by Antommarchi the ban upon whom had been raised. The Emperor received him graciously and told him " that it was the reputation he enjoyed with his regiment which prompted him to agree to see him and on condition that he did not report his condition to the Governor." After Arnott had made his examination, the Emperor asked him many different questions on the functions of the stomach, and the passage of food through the pylorus. "I have," he told him, "severe and acute pain

which, whenever it assails me, seems to cut me like a razor; do you think the pylorus can be affected? My father died of that disease at the age of 35; is it hereditary?" Arnott made a second examination and said that the stomach was inflamed, that the pylorus was not affected, that the liver had nothing wrong with it, and that the pain in the intestines arose from flatulence. The Emperor insisted, argued, and pleaded that his stomach was perfect, saying that all his life except for occasional vomiting, his digestion was regular. And so, alone, without any medical knowledge, and despite the doctors whom he had fruitlessly consulted, he ascertained his disease, and then having spoken in vain of the feelings he experienced and seeing that no one listened to him, he changed the subject. Knowing that Arnott had served in Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition he talked to him of Egypt with complete calmness.

Thenceforward he waited until four o'clock for Doctor Arnott whom he considered " a fine man "—this was the time he chose for his dinner. The Grand Marshal entered with Arnott and Antommarchi, the Emperor kept the two doctors a half to three-quarters of an hour, and the Grand Marshal stayed until six or seven o'clock. During this time Montholon went for dinner and a breath of fresh air, and returned to the Emperor's abode between nine and ten o'clock remaining until two or three in the morning when Marchand relieved him.

Everything contributed to establish the Emperor in the conviction of his approaching death upon the appearance of a comet, and he said : " Ah! my death will be signified like Caesar's!" So the next day, when Doctor Arnott spoke of the smallness of the room in which the Emperor lay and of the benefits he would feel by allowing himself to be moved into the new house the rooms of which were large and airy, he was sharply rebuffed. What good would it be? Doubtless he could get more air there, but he was going to die just the same. Earlier he might have derived some diversion from taking up residence there, but unlike Cockburn who made the old Longwood habitable in a few weeks, Lowe had spent five years in preparing the new Longwood.

It was a huge block of buildings surrounding a long courtyard. To shield the residents from the south-east wind, the plan had been conceived of digging the earth to a certain depth and throwing it up on the slope so that anyone arriving by that side found himself on the roof around which a balustrade had been erected to prevent

accidents. The main frontage, facing the north, was composed of two fore-buildings, each forming a large room, connected by a verandah on to which opened the doors and the windows of the apartments within: these latter looked also on to the east and west ends and on to the courtyard. The fourth side was intended for the kitchens, stables, and quarters for a part of the domestic staff, and joined the out-houses and the pantries. Allowing for the situation, the building was well-planned, and several times upon the suggestion of Montholon, the proposer of which the Governor well knew, several alterations had been made to the original plan. If, officially, the Emperor had tried to appear indifferent he none the less followed the building of the house with interest and more than once, when he thought the English officer did not see him, he walked about on that side. "Doctor," he told Arnott, "it is too late. I told your Governor when he submitted the plans of this house that it would take five years to build and that I should want a grave by then. You see, the keys of it have been offered to me and it is the end of me". Moreover, Antommarchi asserted that such an upheaval might have serious results and that if the Emperor was not getting sufficient air in his bedroom, he must be moved into the drawingroom. The English recognised that the Emperor, dying in the hovel of a stable allotted to him by the Government, would for ever be a blot on their name. So they attached great importance to his being moved into the new house so that they could in the future point it out as the house assigned to the Emperor. Although Napoleon never entered it, they did not fail to exhibit the new Longwood as his palace and at the same time allow the house in which he had lived and the room in which he died to fall into a distressing state of decay and to be used to the lowest ends.[1]

Several days passed in this way. Dr. Arnott came regularly and

[1] At this time Marchand recorded what will be of the highest importance if it is not warrantably contradicted. Firstly, in Arnott's journal, published by M. Fr[illegible] p. 196 and 216; secondly, in the [illegible] hirdly, from the records of Ant[illegible] Majesty's house he (Doctor Arn[illegible] which caused him to state that he had an ulcer in the stomach. He informed the Grand Marshal and Count de Montholon of this and prescribed different treatment, but the Emperor continued to act the rebel as he had towards Doctor Antommarchi." So, according [illegible] manuscript Marchand reversed these dates.

each day suggested pills or other medicine. The Emperor replied " that he felt no ill effects from it, changed the conversation and always finished up by taking nothing." One day when Dr. Arnott felt his pulse and asked him how he felt, he replied: "Not too well, doctor, I am going to spend underground that part of life which so many kings desire to enjoy." When the doctor insisted upon his taking his medicine, he said: " That's all very well, doctor, but your hospitals are still full of sickness." He occasionally spoke to him in Italian, but more often the Grand Marshal acted as interpreter. He was very pleased with Arnott since he could speak with him about Egypt, one of the subjects which delighted him most, and this was a welcome diversion.

The nights were very painful, the perspiration being such that his gown had to be changed five or six times. Sometimes a respite during the afternoon enabled him to wash and shave, get up, don a dressing gown and sit in his armchair in front of an open window, and then he would send Bertrand or Montholon into the garden to pick a flower which he held in his hand and frequently smelt. Otherwise he stayed in the two rooms the shutters of which were tightly closed, and whenever the pains in his side became too severe, he had hot towels applied.

On April 10, he began to speak of the provisions of his will, and conversed with Montholon about it during the day. In Marchand's presence he asked him if two millions would be sufficient to procure the property of his family in Burgundy.

On the 12th he agreed to take a soothing draught and, feeling a little better for it, began to dictate his last wishes to Montholon. The following day he continued his dictation—" Count Montholon remained closeted alone, locked in, with the Emperor who dictated to him until three o'clock." At four o'clock, when the doctors were announced, the Emperor asked Doctor Arnott if people died from weakness. He could not keep down even the little jelly or soup he managed to swallow and vomiting increased despite the absence of food. He continued his dictations on the 14th and 15th, and ordered Marchand to make an inventory of his plate, his Sèvres china, his clothes and belongings. That day when Dr. Arnott went to see him he spoke to him of the generals who had commanded the English armies and praised Marlborough whose campaigns he had intended to describe as he had Caesar's, Turenne's and Frederick's, and had hoped to describe Hannibal's. He asked Dr. Arnott if the library of

the 20th regiment possessed the biography of this general and upon Arnott replying that he was not sure, the Emperor sent Marchand to bring the work from his library. It was a copy, sumptuously bound, of " The Life of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, etc., etc., printed by order of His Imperial Majesty " (Paris, at the Imperial Press, 1806), a notable and unusual tribute from a military genius to his rival. Like all the books the Emperor possessed at Longwood, this volume was inscribed on the half-title *'L'Emp. Napoléon'* written in ink by Saint-Denis, with the impression of an ink stamp comprising the imperial arms. " One moment, doctor," he said to Arnott, " I admire the brave men of any country. Put this book into your regiment's library. I agreed to see you," he added, " to satisfy those around me and because you are a man of honour and have the esteem of the officers of your regiment." He then paid tribute to the English soldier, " the red coat." To dishonour the English Government " I am going to write to the Prince Regent and your ministers. They have desired my death and are about to see their wish fulfilled after murdering me with pinpricks. I want my remains to rest in France: your Government will oppose that, but I predict that the monument it will erect to me will be to its shame. Posterity will avenge me upon the tyrant ordered to guard me and your ministers will die violent deaths."

Arnott appeared deeply moved by the Emperor's present, but " The Life of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough " never reached its destination. Capt. Lutyens, orderly-officer at Longwood, sent the volume to Major Jackson, in command of the 20th, who wrote: " I cannot really understand how an officer of the 20th could send, as a present from General Buonaparte to the regiment, a work on which was written 'L' Empereur Napoléon' ", and at the same time Lowe wrote to Arnott: " This attempt to use you as a means of communication is contrary to the duties of your profession. They knew this well enough and did not act without ulterior motive."

The surrender of this book gave rise to other stories. The Emperor had eyed Antommarchi severely for laughing: the following day he addressed "smarting reproaches to him upon the levity of his conduct. The doctor tried to excuse himself by saying the memory came to him of a song which his nurse used to sing to him." At the moment Napoleon did not dwell on the matter, but in all probability he was singing in Corsican dialect *Marlborough's gone to war.*

After Antommarchi's visit, the Emperor remained shut up with Montholon and began to write. Twice Marchand had to be summoned on account of vomiting and he wrapped his master's feet in hot towels. The Emperor asked for his constantia wine which Las Cases had sent him from the Cape of Good Hope, but in vain did they try to dissuade him for he persisted and was brought a glass in which he dipped a biscuit and when Montholon told him that there was no hurry, he replied " My son, it is time I finished, I feel it." Seated on his bed, he held in one hand a sheet of thick paper and wrote with the other without being supported by anyone. Count Montholon stood near the bed and held the ink.

When Arnott arrived at four o'clock the Emperor told him that he had taken a glass of wine and a biscuit. " This is adding fuel to the flames," the doctor replied, and upon the Emperor asking " what chance he had " and Arnott replying that there was quite a good one since his condition was not desperate, he said to him : " Doctor, you are evading the truth, and you do wrong to conceal the position from me : I know it." And he spoke of Larrey and Corvisart, reverting often to Larrey. " If the army," he said, " raises a monument to Gratitude it must raise it to Larrey."

He again spent the mornings of the 17th and 18th closeted with Montholon. On the 19th Bertrand having arrived earlier than usual, he asked him to read him the progress of Hannibal's campaigns, and during the morning he settled with Montholon all the details of the return of his companions to Europe. " He reviewed all the existing provisions and those which could be taken on board for their journey, even the sheep kept in the stable were not forgotten."

He spent a bad night on the 19th, but in the afternoon when Bertrand came, the Emperor sent for the *Iliad* and asked the Grand Marshal to read him a verse, "Homer describes so well the deliberations I often held on the eve of a battle that I am never tired of listening to him." Later, when Marchand was present, he told him that he had appointed him, together with Montholon and Bertrand, one of his executors. " At the Grand Marshal's house," he then told him, " I have a will to be opened by him after my death, tell him to give it you, and bring it to me." Marchand went to Bertrand's house and explained his commission. Surprised though he was Bertrand sent the request into his secretary and handed the will to Marchand who brought it back to the Emperor. He unsealed it, read over the pages, tore them in two and told Marchand to throw them in the fire.

He got out of bed during the afternoon and got to his armchair from which he delivered a violent harangue against the English government to Arnott who had arrived at four o'clock as usual. Bertrand translated it sentence by sentence as he described the offences of which he had been the victim. "That is the hospitality I have received from your Government," he told the doctor, "I have been murdered by degrees and with premeditation over a long period, and that scoundrel Hudson Lowe is the executioner of your ministers. You will finish like the superb republic of Venice and I, dying on this frightful rock, bequeath the disgrace of my death to the English Royal family."

No one has better described his condition at this time than the orderly-officer: "All his strength seems to have passed from his body to his head. He now recalls all the events of his former life, and no longer experiences mental stupor, his memory seems to have recovered and he is continually talking of what is to be done at his death."

The will he had just drawn up—written twice in its entirety in his own hand with the exception of estimates drawn up and written by Marchand—the result of profound meditation and the most serious accomplishment of his captivity, proved upon an analysis of its provisions to be a most amazing resumé of his life, of his infancy and youth, of the men he loved, those he appraised, those he pitied and immortalised because they were sacrificed for his cause and persecuted for having served him. He declared the intensity of his love for the veterans of his armies and for the people whose grandeur was inseparable from his glory. But he also revealed the depths of his heart —a subject of which he never spoke nor allowed anyone else to speak —in which he had constantly childish pictures before his eyes, this was what filled his will just as it filled the heart of his father. Not that he bequeathed the treasures imputed to him . . . . Poor treasures indeed! But everything which represented him in concrete form, had touched him, which he had worn, which had guarded his perishable form and attested to it, the souvenirs he had received from sovereigns, the presents from his mother and sisters, the supreme mark of his command and the representation of his glory.

The will related, explained and commented upon the whole Napoleon, it contained the doctrine he had bestowed upon the French, and the opinions he desired they should retain of him. It requires a several page survey and the strange incidents which accompanied

its execution must also be recorded, without any appearance of delight for most serious were the facts which were disclosed.

Dates are important in the drawing up of the will. Until the day before his death Napoleon was in full possession of his faculties and looked upon death with the perfect clarity he was wont to regard a battlefield, but as life ebbed away and weakness increased must he not have existed in a sort of dream or spell? The will itself and its first codicil, referring wholly to the sums in the Laffitte fund, the existence of which there was no doubt, were dated April 15. In an additional codicil the Emperor allocated two hundred millions from his private estate to his companions in arms and to the inhabitants of the towns which had suffered most severely from any invasion. He knew the Bourbons would not return what they had taken, but he raised a protest, and included "the officers and soldiers who from 1792 until 1815 fought for the glory and independence of the nation" and "the towns and villages in Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Burgundy, Ile-de-France, Champagne, Forez and Dauphiné," thereby associating the France of the Revolution, the 'blue' France, with his sorrows, since it was she with whom he shared his wealth and to whom he turned for justice.

That was contained in the political part of the will and the Emperor had no illusion upon the immediate efficacy of such a bequest. Did he declare in the codicils dated April 24 and 25 from what funds he intended to pay the legacies? From capital which he actually did possess and which he was fairly sure to be able to distribute, he passed on to much less tangible estate, irrecoverable claims, the recovery of old gifts and former liberality, and I.O.U.'s . . . . But with regard to that which he wanted to leave to his faithful followers he knew himself to be so poor that he was obliged, at least in imagination, to exaggerate that miserable pittance intended for them, which he believed constituted his fortune, and of which half was known to have been stolen from him.

And so in the same way as he begged souvenirs of himself for his son from those with whom he had been in contact or who had undertaken some duty or task for him, so he sought for his soldiers some share in the millions ascribed to Eugène or assumed by Marie Louise. This share of his wealth was not for his son nor his relatives, but for those who gave him a start and guided him during his youth, for those who remained loyal to him in adversity, and for the children of those whose devotion to him had cost them their lives.

One cannot believe that he fancied he was disposing of it effectively, but he deluded himself by what appeared to put his mind at rest. Nevertheless he knew whom to confine himself to as was evidenced by the manner in which he proceeded and by the grading of his generosity. Actually he had at St. Helena only the necklace of stones returned by Queen Hortense as a last resource upon leaving Malmaison, and the little reserve hidden from the English and augmented by various deductions from the funds sent from London. He requested Marchand to bring him the necklace and said as he returned it to him: "Good Hortense gave it to me thinking I might need it. I believe it is worth 200,000 francs. Hide it on your person: I give it to you. I do not know the state of my affairs in Europe and it is the only thing of value I can dispose of. It will enable you to await the result of my will and codicils . . . ."

And in this way he settled the lot of the man who had devotedly and constantly attended him by a personal gift from his own hand. The 300,000 francs he possessed he shared among his companions according to their rank and to defray the cost of their return journey. There was still some more available money so, as contained in the first codicil, he disposed "of the six millions he invested upon leaving Paris together with the interest thereon at 5 per cent. since July 1815." He must have thought that this sum would have risen to between seven and eight millions, but he actually settled only five million five hundred thousand francs and by doing so considered that he would have put the bequests ascribed to this sum of money outside the pale of all possible reduction.

He was still in complete possession of his faculties when on the 22nd he signed all the inventories brought to him. The cases and snuffboxes remained to be listed. He asked Marchand for the casket containing them and dictated a list of them. He put aside one box for Lady Holland, one adorned with a beautiful cameo which was given to him by Pius VI after the treaty of Tolentino. He himself wrote on a card: "Napoleon to Lady Holland: a token of esteem and affection," and ordered Count Montholon to dispatch it, at the same time expressing his gratitude to Lord and Lady Holland. He picked out another box intended for Doctor Arnott, to which Montholon added 12,000 francs in gold. The box, which was of gold, bore on its lid a long design depicting bunches of grapes around a blank shield. The Emperor while talking to Marchand said that his initial should have been engraved on it and taking some scissors

scratched a very badly formed N with their point. This autograph N was considered by Doctor Arnott more precious than if it had been executed by the cleverest engraver.

After the inventory of the snuffboxes, the Emperor asked Marchand for a list of the things deposited with the Comte de Turenne, keeper of the wardrobe. He disposed of them, giving the greater part to his son and dividing the rest between the Empress, his Mother, Fesch, Eugène, Princess Pauline, the Queen of Naples, Queen Hortense, Jérome, Joseph and Lucien, and commanded that a locket should be made of his hair for every member of his family, a bracelet for the Empress and a watch-chain for his son: nothing could be more real, more practical than these provisions.

*He spent the morning of the same day in writing his codicils:* one in which he bequeathed the two millions left " of the funds sent in gold to Empress Marie Louise, his very dear and beloved wife, at Orleans in 1814 ", another in which he dealt with two millions in the hands of Eugène from the liquidation of the Italian civil list. He doubtless considered these four millions as problematical but he did not think of suggesting any means of payment of the legacies he made, whereas when he then disposed of six hundred and then of four hundred thousand francs destined for more or less probable fulfilment, he gave these legacies the same value as those in the first codicil, that is to say that, failing the resources upon which he was relying, he intended they should be paid from the sums deposited with Laffitte, but was this Laffitte capital sufficient to discharge legacies amounting to six million eight hundred and ten thousand francs ? He was so doubtful of it that he reduced his debit of 225,000 francs on one account and an allowance of 20,000 francs on another. And so he blended in a most wonderful manner the power of imagination and practical policy which overlooked no detail, weighed up and adapted everything, even provided for the expenses of the administration of such a succession and rule as might be appointed. There was more: there were the instructions for the executors of the will, dictated all through that morning to Marchand, in which the clarity of the calculations, the preciseness of their terms, the amazing test of memory, the prodigious enumeration of facts in thirty-seven articles, some related for the first time, with a decision, an order, and explicit directions in every case, to all whom he appointed to the various tasks.

And that was not all. Having dictated these instructions which

he only signed on the 26th when Marchand had made a fair copy of them, he then wished to lock the three boxes containing his snuffboxes. He wrapped them up in green silk, sealed them with his arms and gave the keys to Marchand whom he made custodian of them. Even this little job was continually interrupted by his vomiting. Feeling very exhausted but "wanting to finish," he requested a glass of constantia wine and almost immediately the pains became worse: "It feels like the blade of a razor cutting me", he said, but even when the vomiting became more frequent, he would not abandon his work.

When the doctors arrived he detained them a while along with the Grand Marshal, and gave instructions for his burial. He desired to be buried on the banks of the Seine or, if that was not permitted, on an island at the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône, near Lyon, or as a last resource, in the cathedral at Ajaccio. "But," he continued, "the English Government has foreseen my death and in the event of orders being given that my body shall stay on this island, which I do not think likely, have me buried in the shade of the willows under which I have often rested on my way to Hutt's Gate, near the spring from which you bring me water every day."

On the 27th, he again shaved in bed and at half past three he got up and, leaning on Marchand and Saint-Denis, reached his armchair. On the table were his covered lamp, his writing materials and paper, and various sealed packets on the chest of drawers. He sent for Montholon, Bertrand and Vignali and instructed them, along with Marchand, to prepare an official report testifying to the existence of a will, codicils and directions to his executors. This necessitated much writing because each witness had to countersign each of the seven packets, three of which were tied together with red ribbon, and then to place his seal on the green ribbon in which the Emperor had wrapped his snuffboxes. When this business was finished, the Emperor was left alone with the abbé Vignali. This was to hand him, in the secret of the confessional, a duplicate of the will and codicils which he had copied himself, so as to be as valid as the original lest the latter be seized by the English or destroyed.

Marchand returned upon the abbé's departure and the Emperor, who was lying back, entrusted him with the originals of his will, codicils and the Maison Laffitte receipt so that, after his death, he could hand them to Count Montholon in the presence of General Bertrand and Vignali. He had his manuscripts and the cashbox containing his spare money taken to Montholon's house, his arms to

Bertrand's, to Marchand's the dressing-case and the snuffboxes. " Ah ! well, my son," he said to Montholon when the latter came at eleven o'clock, " it will be a pity not to die after putting one's affairs in such good order, will it not ? "

Prostration increased on the 28th although consciousness never left him. The doctors had thought that the Emperor might get more air in the drawing-room than in his bedroom and for several days everything had been ready to move him. One of the camp beds was put between the windows, in front of the fire. A screen covered the door and near the head of the bed was a small table. The Emperor asked if everything was ready, and with great difficulty got out of bed, put on his dressing-gown and slippers, and refusing to be carried reached the other bed with the support of Montholon and Marchand, saying : " I have no more strength, lay me on the palliasse !" His feet and legs were swathed in hot towels as had been done each time collapse was expected. " The usual camp bed was hastily carried into the corner of the drawing-room, near the door opening on to the billiard-room, on the same wall as the fireplace," because these last days the Emperor, with the help of Montholon or Marchand or Saint-Denis went from one bed to the other during the night in an endeavour to find a repose which always eluded him.

During the night of the 28th/29th when the Emperor could not sleep, he dictated to Montholon until three o'clock and, when Marchand relieved Montholon, he continued with him. These dictations were entitled " First Dream," " Second Dream." The second concerned " an organisation of national guards in the interests of defence." He dictated in this way for another hour and a half, and at the conclusion of this time, he directed Marchand to make a fair copy of the dictation, and to put it with the copy Montholon had made, but Montholon mislaid these dictations, the last political dicta of the Emperor—for the welfare of France.

On the morning of the 29th he considered revising the eighth codicil, but weakness prevented him. Nevertheless he dictated two letters to Montholon addressed to Laffitte and Baron de La Bouillerie, begging the latter, his former treasurer, to send to Montholon the capital and interest of his private exchequer, and the former, the banker, to liquidate the sum of six millions granted to Montholon, Bertrand and Marchand and in exchange for the receipt, to pay the interest on it. These two communications, although drawn up on the

29th, bore the date of the 25th : Marchand who copied them noticed this, but no one paid any attention to it.

These four hours' work exhausted the Emperor who talked a lot during the evening, sometimes with difficult articulation, solely about his son, and wanted to dictate new bequests to Marchand, in the unlighted room: and so he left to his son "his house in Ajaccio, and all his possessions around Ajaccio the rents of which would benefit him to the extent of £50,000 . . ." Fanciful fortunes!

On the 30th, it was suggested that a vesicant be applied to his stomach, venesection no longer lessening the fluid. Antommarchi realised at length that the Emperor was dying and requested that he might bring his bed and sleep in the library. Napoleon, who had by this time forgiven him, ordered him " to examine the state of his stomach thoroughly when he performed his post mortem in order to spare his son a disease which had carried his father and himself to the grave." He had moments of drowsiness, but upon awakening, his mind was perfectly clear. As a great favour he allowed Mme. Bertrand to come and see him the following day. Since she had manifested a desire to leave St. Helena, the Emperor had neither gone to visit her nor received her at Longwood. He sent for the *maître d'hôtel* who had been to the town and asked what sort of oranges he had brought; he also ascertained what people were saying about him. "During the day his eyes were focussed most often upon a little oil painting: the portrait of the King of Rome."

Mme. Bertrand was introduced on May 1 at eleven o'clock. The Emperor asked her to take a seat at the head of his bed and spoke to her of the illness from which she had just recovered: " You are well now," he told her, " your complaint was known, mine is not, and so I shall die." He asked after the children and why she had not brought Hortense. She took leave of him and when she got outside his room she burst into tears: " The Emperor has been very cruel to me by refusing to see me and I am most gratified by this return to favour, but I should have been even more so if he had wanted my attention and care." From this time she came daily to spend a few moments at his bedside.

Death was nigh: Arnott and Antommarchi slept in the library. Bertrand was allowed to sleep with Marchand and Montholon with Saint-Denis. Two men were not too many: during the night of the 2nd " the Emperor who despite his weakness had always wanted to get up at the slightest instance, tried to get out of bed and Count

Montholon and Saint-Denis approached him. Standing for a moment, his legs collapsed under the weight of his body and he fell to the floor before either of them could hold him." He was put back to bed and was so weak that it was thought his last moment had come so Antommarchi and Arnott tried to revive him.

On the 3rd he took nothing except a little sugared water with a little wine and each time Marchand brought it to him he said, looking at it with an almost merry eye : " This is good, very good ! "

The Governor came to request Arnott and Antommarchi to consult with Doctors Shortt and Mitchell, but these latter did not see the patient since they talked with their colleagues in the presence of Count Bertrand and Montholon. The Grand Marshal went to report the result of the deliberations to the Emperor—that as his kidneys were affected he should allow his loins to be rubbed with eau de Cologne mixed with ordinary water, and that he should take a sedative. " Very well, we shall see," he said to the Grand Marshal, and when Bertrand had gone, he said to Marchand, looking at him and grimacing : " A wonderful scientific consultation ! What a decision ! Massaging my loins with eau de Cologne is all very well, but as for the sleeping draught, I don't want it."

Noverraz, who had been dangerously ill with a liver complaint and had been confined to his bed for a month, struggled into his master's room and the Emperor remarked to him : " You are much altered, my boy, you look better.—Yes, Sire.—I am very glad to know you are out of danger, do not tire yourself by standing too long on your legs, go and lie down ". Noverraz had scarcely reached the adjoining room when he collapsed.

At two o'clock on that day Montholon was alone with the Emperor when Saint-Denis came in to tell him that the abbé Vignali wanted to speak to him : " The Emperor," said the abbé, "asked me through Count Montholon to come and sée him, but I must be alone with him." He was in civil garb and under his jacket he held something which he tried to hide. Without doubt he carried out the precise commands which the Emperor excelled in giving.

On April 20 the Emperor had said to Vignali in Antommarchi's presence : " Do you know what a *chambre d'ardente* is ?—Yes, Sire. Have you ever officiated in one ?—Never, Sire.—Ah ! well, you will in mine. When I am dying you are to prepare an altar in the next apartment, expose the Blessed Sacrament and recite the prayers for the dying. I was born a Catholic, I want to obey

its commands and receive the help it affords" When he had said this, the Emperor perceived a smile on the lips of Antommarchi who was standing at the foot of his bed "Your insults weary me, Monsieur," he said to him, "I can forgive your foolishness and your lack of skill, but a want of reverence, never! Get out."

He addressed the abbe afresh, saying to him "When I am dead, I shall be put in a *chambre d'ardente* and you are to celebrate Mass and cease only when I am buried" There was a long silence The Emperor, resuming, spoke to the abbe of his country, of Ponte-Nuovo di Rostino, of the house he must have himself built there and of the happy life he would be able to lead there The abbe, falling on his knees, took the Emperor's hand which was hanging over the bed and kissed it piously, leaving the room with his eyes full of tears

At this time the Emperor intimated his intention of seeing the abbé again as his end drew near, and no doubt saw him upon different occasions, for the latter won his confidence to the extent of being entrusted with the duplicate of his will and being made one of the signatories among the witnesses of his last wishes, but up till the 3rd, he had not fulfilled his religious duties

Marchand introduced the abbe, left him alone with the Emperor, and stood at the door to prevent anyone entering

"The Grand Marshal arrived while I was there," Marchand wrote, "and enquired what the Emperor was doing I told him how the abbe Vignali had asked to be admitted and left alone with him, and that I thought he was at the moment engaged in some religious ceremony of which the Emperor did not desire any witness —I am going, he said to me, to Montholon's house let me know when Vignali leaves About half an hour later the abbe told me on his way out that 'the Emperor has been anointed, but the condition of his stomach did not permit any other sacrament'"

And so it was not, as has recently been asserted, to a political and dynastic end that he insisted at the hour of his death upon receiving the help of the Church Had he had such an intention, he would have assembled his servants and like very Christian kings did, ordered all the doors to be opened that the greatest publicity might be given to his last act —But not so now, he desired no one between priest and himself he requested him to keep the secret He suggested that the abbe should come in civil attire and hide "the object he brought." Why? It was not so that the others might

think he wanted a priest, but because *in his conscience* he required him and resolved to receive at his hands "the help" given by the Catholic religion to her faithful children. It was not an ostentatious action, it was as intimate as he could make it, the voluntary and determined declaration of his traditional faith.

These ceremonies exhausted him, and when Marchand returned to the room, he found him with his eyes shut, his arm over the edge of the bed and his hand hanging down. This faithful servant approached and kissed that hand without the Emperor's opening his eyes. Marchand called Saint-Denis who also kissed his hand without the Emperor making any movement. They, too, had the faith.

At this juncture Dr. Arnott asked to be admitted and Marchand announced him softly to the Emperor. Then the Grand Marshal arrived. The Emperor opened his eyes and with complete apathy spoke of the unsuccessful result of the consultation, but even when he was alone with Marchand he made no mention of what passed between himself and the abbé Vignali.

He was not told that the doctors had decided to administer calomel to him, as his repugnance to all medicines was well known, so it was thought best to tell him as little as possible and to conceal it as well as they could. Marchand hesitated, not wishing to deceive his master, and only lent himself to the deception by General Bertrand's remark: "This is a last resource, the Emperor is dying We must not be blamed for not doing all that was humanly possible to save him." Stirring the powder in the sweetened water, Marchand handed the glass to the Emperor who swallowed it with difficulty and tried to spit out the mouthful he had taken, and turning to Marchand said to him in a reproachful if kindly tone: "And you are deceiving me, too!" Marchand, thrown into confusion, had scarcely recovered his composure when, half an hour later, the Emperor asked once more for a drink and confidently took a little sugared water saying: "This is good, very good!"

None of the servants went to bed on the night of the 3rd or 4th.

On the 4th he could only take a little sweetened water mixed with wine or orangeflower water and could not often keep this down. A hiccup developed which lasted into the evening, but he could still raise himself up a little, and when Antommarchi tried to stop him he pushed him away seeming to resent the force used against him, but he spoke no more. Towards ten o'clock he vomited a black matter, the

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hiccup reasserted itself, and then delirium commenced. He spoke many inarticulate words, some of which were " France—my son—the Army ": these were the last words he spoke. This condition lasted until four o'clock the next morning and was followed by complete tranquillity, with fixed eyes, open mouth and weak pulse. At six o'clock the shutters were opened and Mme. Bertrand was warned and arrived at seven o'clock to sit beside his bed. At eight o'clock all the Frenchmen not of the indoor staff were summoned, Pierron, Coursot, Archambault, Chandelier, and they all arrived. It was necessary that they should see how their master died and they arranged themselves around his bed with Noverraz in their midst. They stood with their eyes fixed upon his noble head, silent and sorrowful until Death had made its conquest. At ten minutes to six resounded the cannon shot for the retreat, the sun went down, the Emperor was dead.

The first to approach the bed was the Grand Marshal who on bended knee kissed the hand of his master, and after him came all the members of his suite and servants in order of seniority, the ladies, the Bertrand children whose mother had had them fetched, *the daughter of Saint-Denis—barely one year old—all put their* lips to his icy hand.

Doctor Arnott had gone to advise the orderly-officer Crokat, who certified death, and then the two doctors sent by the Governor arrived. In accordance with the Emperor's instructions, the executors of the will assembled in the billiard room to draw up the official report and to make themselves acquainted with the two codicils dated April 15 and 16 in which the Emperor indicated his desire as to place of burial, made his executors a fictitious gift of all he possessed, divided among his servants the 300,000 francs in his reserve account, and left his mother, sisters, brothers and nephews various personal effects independent of those bequeathed in the will.

The death certificate was then made out which Bertrand signed as Grand Officer of the Household, then the statement of the existence of the will and codicils and the documents entrusted to Montholon, Bertrand and Marchand.

*Montholon then read out the letter which the Emperor had* dictated on April 29 to be sent to the Governor after his death. In this letter, the date of which had been left blank, Montholon announced to the Governor the death of " the Emperor Napoleon," offered to make known to him his last wishes, and asked what were

the arrangements made by the British Government for the conveyance of the body to Europe and for the return of the members of his suite.

At midnight Marchand, Saint-Denis, Pierron and Noverraz gave the body its last toilet, in the presence of Bertrand and Montholon, and bore it from the death-bed to the second camp bed prepared to receive it and "put in place of the one taken away." They took away most of the furniture and put near the bed two little tables on which stood the candlesticks from the chapel. The abbé Vignali put a silver crucifix on the Emperor's breast. "In this state," said Marchand, "the Emperor presented his consular appearance, *his mouth, faintly contracted, gave to his face an expression of* resignation and he did not look older than thirty." Later, and especially two days afterwards when a death mask was taken, the retraction of the flesh made him look older and spoilt his beautiful appearance.

Everyone withdrew except the abbé Vignali, who never left the body until it was buried, Pierron and Arnott. The others went to get a little rest, but they were awakened for Hudson Lowe announced his visit for six o'clock in the morning. He arrived at seven, accompanied by his entire staff, the Admiral, the general commanding the forces, the commissioner of the King of France, several naval officers, doctors and surgeons on the island. He entered the parlour whence he was conducted, and those with him, into the room of death. Bertrand and Montholon bowed to him and with a gesture invited him to approach the bed: he went up with the Marquis de Montchenu to whom he said, looking at the Emperor: "Do you recognise him?" The French commissioner turned his head a little and then said: "Yes, I recognise him." They bowed and went out. "He was the greatest enemy of England and of myself also," Lowe said to Henry and Gorrequer, "but I forgive him everything!" Such a remark shows precisely the character of the man.

He did not dare, however, to mention Bathurst in the presence of the dead Emperor. For the first time he refrained from calling him *General* as ordained in his instructions. He felt that such grotesque meanness was at an end and that History should commence with everybody in his rightful place, victim and executioners. And so, there again, even in death, Napoleon triumphed. Neither England nor the oligarchs of the whole world succeeded in deposing

him. Dying in that stable where British good faith and generosity imprisoned him, he remained what he had wished to be to his country, to his son, to posterity. The Leader four times unanimously acclaimed by his people, the Sovereign anointed and blessed by the Sovereign Pontiff, the Elect of France and of God. No power in the world prevailed against him and his prophetic predictions foretold the disastrous suicide of Castlereagh as precisely as the extinction of the Hanoverian dynasty, and the destruction of British oligarchy with the collapse of its empire.

At two o'clock Antommarchi began a post mortem in the presence of Bertrand and Montholon, three British officers and seven doctors, the abbé and the Emperor's personal servants. There was much discussion among the doctors concerning the liver, its adhesion to the stomach and its extraordinary size. Shortt said it was swollen, Arnott said it was not and Sir Thomas Reade, Lowe's deputy, intervened. There was no doubt as to the cause of death—cancer of the stomach : life had even been prolonged by the distension of the liver which had stopped up the perforation. When once the investigations were completed which the Emperor had commanded should be made upon his body to save his son from the same disease, Bertrand and Montholon objected to Antommarchi continuing operations further and examining the brain. The heart was taken out and placed in a silver vase which was to be taken at the Emperor's wish, to Empress Marie Louise: the stomach also. But Hudson Lowe's deputy objected to the dispatch of the heart and said that the stomach only should be sent to England. Further, he said his Government would not permit any embalming.

After the post mortem, as the English doctors were leaving, Mme. Bertrand asked them if it would not be possible to obtain the suitable plaster wherewith to take an impression of the Emperor's head. Doctor Burton replied that there was some proper plaster of Paris for the purpose on the island, and that he was going to the town and would get some.

Antommarchi in the meantime sewed up the incisions made during the autopsy and with Marchand's help took the most exact measurements of the body, the only ones in existence. Then Marchand and Saint-Denis clothed it in the uniform of the Chasseurs of the Guard, white silk stockings, long boots with spurs, white breeches, a three-cornered hat with the tricoloured cockade, a green coat with red facings and the insignia of the Legion of Honour,

the Iron Cross and the Reunion, the badge and cordon of the Legion.

Thus attired, the Emperor's body was carried at four o'clock in the afternoon into his former bedroom which had been transformed into a *chapelle d'ardente*, hung with black cloth bought either at the Company's stores or from the shops in the town, and it was actually the purchase of this material which made the Emperor's death known to the inhabitants of Jamestown. All the lamps in the house were assembled, and an altar had been prepared at the head of the bed. On one of the camp beds was spread out the blue cloak worn by the Emperor at Marengo and in this cloak the body of the Emperor, with his hat on his head, was wrapped. A crucifix was laid upon his breast. A silver eagle held the white sheets, turned back at the corners by four more eagles. On a little table near the bed were the silver urns containing his heart and his stomach and at the head of the bed stood the priest in a surplice. At the four corners stood members of the Emperor's retinue and, between the altar and the bed, Bertrand and Montholon. Domestic servants lined up between the door and the window to leave a free passage.

The doors opened and Captain Crokat, the orderly-officer at Longwood, headed the line of superior officers, officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers and sailors: several brought their children. "Take a good look at Napoleon, he was the greatest man in the world," said one soldier to his little boy. That was the *vox populi*.

At five o'clock that evening the Governor, in reply to the letter Montholon wrote to him the previous day, informed him that "since 1820 he had been under orders not to allow the mortal remains of General Buonaparte to leave the island, but that it was immaterial to him otherwise where they were laid to rest." The Emperor had foreseen this final persecution at the hands of the English—that even his remains should suffer captivity. Failing the "banks of the Seine," the island near Lyon and the cathedral of Ajaccio, he had chosen Geranium Valley, the Torbett Fountain.

He had, however, only gone there once since his arrival at St. Helena and that was in the early days of his captivity. One night when he had been at Hutt's Gate, he went with a little difficulty down into the valley which lay before it, and reached a little plain

from which the sea could be seen. Three willows, at the foot of which trickled a pretty little stream, gave this corner of the island an appearance of French dejection. He tasted the water from the stream and found it excellent, but it was getting late and he was afraid daylight would be gone before he could return so he told Las Cases to go to the house of Dr. Kay, who lived on the side of the valley, to make his acquaintance. From that time a Chinese servant went daily to bring water from the stream for the Emperor to drink. Sometime later when he thought his water was being changed he sent Archambault to fetch some more in his champagne bottles. As they were ascending the Emperor had said to Bertrand: " Bertrand, if my body stays in the hands of my enemies after my death bury it here." Many times during his illness he had repeated this and the Governor acquiesced in his wish, but just as he had objected to any embalming so he also ordered the heart to be buried with the body in the grave. He further desired to stipulate what inscription the gravestone should bear. The Emperor's companions wanted his name: NAPOLEON with the dates of his birth and death, but Lowe wanted BUONAPARTE. Failure to agree left the stone blank.

That night, Captain Crokat was sent on board the *Heron* to bear the news of the Emperor's death to the King of England together with the official report of the post mortem.

During the morning of the 7th, in the chamber of death, officers and soldiers who could not come the previous evening paid their last respects followed by the most prominent residents: the masses of people congregated in front of the first enclosure were not admitted.

Nevertheless Dr. Burton, at the peril of his life, had obtained the plaster required for the death mask. The Emperor's head was carefully shaved and the hair put aside for the members of the Family, sealed by Montholon and handed to the care of Marchand. Then Burton and Antommarchi, assisted by Archambault, took an impression which was a great success. " This may be the present appearance," said Marchand, " but it is not that of six hours after death when it was that of Consul."

During the afternoon the coffin arrived. It was of tin, lined with white satin, with a pillow and mattress of the same material. The corpse was laid in it, but for lack of space the hat was removed from

the head and laid across his thighs. Into the coffin[1] was put the urn, surmounted with the imperial eagle, containing the heart and another vessel containing the stomach. Then a silver urn bearing the imperial arms, a silver knife, fork and spoon, a silver plate, six golden French double and four ordinary napoleons, one double and one ordinary silver napoleon, a half-napoleon, and two Italian double napoleons. The first coffin, soldered up by the English plumber who had sealed the silver urns, was put into a second coffin of mahogany which in its turn was placed in a third coffin of lead, sealed like the first, and finally into a fourth of mahogany secured with silver-headed screws. The whole was then replaced on the camp bed, covered with a purple velvet pall, over which was spread the Marengo cloak. The lamps stood as on the previous night, and before the coffin, on which was laid a crucifix, the abbé Vignali prayed. Dr. Arnott continued his supervision and two of the Emperor's servants stood on each side of the coffin. The doors opened again and holy water was sprinkled upon the bier by everyone present.

The construction of the tomb was not begun until the morning of the 7th. It consisted of a grave eleven feet deep, six wide and eight long, the foundation at the bottom of a pier of masonry two feet thick. The foundation, sides and top were made with flagstones six feet long, three wide and five inches thick which had been intended for the kitchen floor in the new house.

The work was finished by the morning of the 9th. The Governor had it announced that in accordance with the instructions he had received to do General Buonaparte the honours due to an officer of the highest grade, the garrison were to be in full mourning and the cortège was to begin at eleven o'clock. At ten o'clock, at Longwood, the abbé Vignali celebrated Requiem Mass at which all the Frenchmen were present. An hour later the English arrived. Twelve grenadiers took the coffin on their shoulders and bore it into the long garden path up

[1] Marchand asserted that Dr. Arnott was entrusted with the examination of the body and the urns containing the heart and stomach, but according to Sir T. Reade (Forsyth, III, 290, Engl.) assistant-surgeon Rutledge was responsible and Forsyth published a report sent by Rutledge to Reade in which he claimed: 1, to have sealed the silver urn containing the heart and put into it a George III silver shilling; 2, to have put in the coffin the various objects which the French desired it should contain, and written his name on the silver plate as being the last British officer to see him. Must this anecdote, though so typical of the English character be considered true, so unlikely is it? The report of the funeral, signed by the executors of the will, is full of: "We have" etc.

which the hearse appoached. The coffin was put on it, covered with the Marengo cloak, upon which Bertrand placed a sword.

The abbe Vignali in his vestments walked at the head of the procession, accompanied by Henri Bertrand who carried the holy water. Doctors Arnott and Antommarchi came next, then the hearse drawn by four horses led by grooms in mourning and escorted by twelve grenadiers without arms who were to carry the coffin when it arrived at the valley. The corners of the pall were held by Bertrand, Montholon, young Napoleon Bertrand and Marchand. Behind came Ali, the Emperor's horse, led by Archambault, and followed by the servants in deep mourning. Last of all in a carriage drawn by two horses were Mme. Bertrand with Hortense and Arthur. Then came on horseback the Governor, the rear-admiral, the French commissioner and a numerous staff Two thousand of the garrison troops were lined up on the elevation to the left of the route and as the cortège passed each corps played funeral airs while the flagship and the forts fired minute guns in salute. At Hutt's Gate the artillery were at their guns.

At the bend in the road, where were Lady Lowe and her daughter in mourning like the servants accompanying them, everyone alighted as the grenadiers took the coffin upon their shoulders and descended to the tomb. It was laid upon two planks placed across the mouth of the grave and the abbé Vignali came forward, prayed over it and gave the absolutions Lowe asked the Grand Marshal if he had to speak and Bertrand replied with a negative nod of the head. The coffin was lowered into the grave saluted by three volleys of fifteen guns from the artillery. A huge stone, to which a ring was fastened, was raised by a crane and gently lowered closing the tomb Then the ring was detached and all the stones were cemented together and secured with iron hooks. The next day the tomb was filled in and finally enclosed with three flagstones resting on stone pillars.

The spectators who were marshalled under the willows began cutting off branches for souvenirs : that was serious and gave rise to a dangerous superstition. To prevent its further occurrence Hudson Lowe had a temporary barricade erected around the grave and two sentries were stationed there together with a guard of one officer and twelve men. It pleased the Emperor's companions to call this a guard of honour.

. . . At four o'clock on May 27, Napoleon's companions embarked for Europe on the storeship *Camel.*

Beneath the stone on which England had forbidden that even His name should be inscribed, in an unknown and unfrequented valley which had in a moment become the most famous valley in the whole world, Napoleon, a prisoner of European oligarchy even to death, slept his last sleep.

And the souls of those who had trusted in His word turned towards that tomb, the Medina of the nations, as it radiated His immortality . . .

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