

NAPOLEON'S DEPORTATION TO ELBA.

BY THE OFFICER IN CHARGE.



PAINTED BY THOMAS USSHER.

ENGRAVED BY H. VELTEN.

ADMIRAL SIR THOMAS USSHER, R. N., K. C. B.

THOMAS USSHER, who was born in Dublin in 1779, was a descendant of one of the Neville family who settled in Ireland in the reign of King John, and assumed the name of Ussher to perpetuate the name of the office he held at court.

Entering the navy at the age of twelve years, as midshipman on board the *Squirrel*, Thomas Ussher was nominated acting lieutenant of the *Minotaur*, seventy-four guns, in 1796. In a boat-engagement, April, 1798, he was shot through the right thigh. Thinking his wound was mortal, he directed his party to retire, and then fainted from loss of blood. The French, to their honor, treated him and his fellow-sufferers with the kindest attention. For many months Mr. Ussher was obliged to use crutches; but in June, 1799, with the *Pelican's* cutter and twelve men, he attacked a French privateer, *Le Trompeur*, of five guns and seventy men, lying in a river at San Domingo. Although the

odds were so fearfully against him, *Le Trompeur* was boarded, captured, and destroyed. Altogether, while attached to the *Pelican*, Mr. Ussher was in upward of twenty boat-engagements. September, 1800, he returned to England, and was obliged to retire for a time on half-pay, as his wounds had threatened to produce lockjaw. April, 1804, he was appointed to the command of the brig *Colpoys*, attached to the blockading force under Admiral Cornwallis off Brest. The fleet having been blown off the coast for a time, the admiral was in doubt as to whether the enemy had left the port. On hearing of this, Mr. Ussher, of his own accord, stood close inshore after dark, and, lowering his gig, a four-oared boat, actually entered the harbor, discovered and rowed along the whole French line, and obtained an exact knowledge of the enemy's force. Arriving abreast of the French admiral's ship, he was descried, and pursued by three boats, from which he escaped, as well as from the boats of brigs lying in Camaret Bay. The *Colpoys* joined the admiral next day with the signal flying, "The enemy same as when last encountered." The wound in his thigh having broken out afresh, accompanied by alarming symptoms, Mr. Ussher was obliged to resign command of the *Colpoys*, but was almost immediately promoted to the command of the *Redwing*, a sloop of eighteen guns, his claims having been backed by testimonials from Earl St. Vincent and Admirals Cornwallis and Graves. His conduct at Aviles had already obtained for him a sword valued at fifty guineas from the Patriotic Society, and he had the satisfaction of receiving from the crew of the *Colpoys* a similar token of "respect and esteem." April 20, 1806, he was engaged in a spirited affair with a division of gunboats and several batteries, and from this time until August 19, in one way or another, he was in constant collision with the enemy, continuing to display the same zeal, skill, and enterprise which had already raised his reputation so high, and led Lord Collingwood to observe that "he was entitled to whatever regard the admiralty might be pleased to show him." During the winter of 1814 Captain Ussher was again stationed off Toulon, and in the following April occurred the interesting events narrated in the following pages. He died June 6, 1848.

W. H. Ussher.



IN the month of August, 1813, I was stationed in the *Undaunted*, frigate, in the Gulf of Lyons, with the *Redwing*, Sir John Sinclair, and the *Espoir*, the Hon. Captain Spencer, under my orders. The latter, who had joined me some time before, had brought me letters and papers from England in which were various reports of the reverses of the French army, and of the probable downfall of the Emperor Napoleon, with many speculations and surmises thereupon, and hinting at the possibility of his attempting to make his escape to America. The "Courier" even went so far as to insert in its columns a minute description of the Emperor's person, in case the attempt should be made. Singularly enough, I cut out the paragraph in question, and wafered it on the bookcase in my cabin, jokingly observing to the other captains, who happened to be dining with me about that time, that they had better take a copy of it, as he might possibly come our way; little imagining, at the time I made this observation, that a few short months would see him at the very same table at which we were then sitting. The *Redwing* and the *Espoir* afterward returned to England, and I remained through the winter cruising off the coast of France.

On April 24, 1814, about ten o'clock at night, being five or six leagues from the city of Marseilles, in company with the *Euryalus*, Captain Charles Napier, then under my orders, my attention was attracted by a brilliant light in the direction of, and seemingly coming from, the town, which I conjectured was an illumination for some important event. I began to think that the "Courier" might prove, after all, to be a true prophet.

Every sail was then set on both ships, and every exertion was made to work up the bay. At daybreak we were close off the land. All was apparently quiet in the batteries, and not a flag flying; nor were the telegraphs at work, which was uniformly the case on the approach of the enemy. Everything betokened that some great change had taken place.

The morning was serene and beautiful, with a light wind from the southward. Eager to know what had happened, but above all anxious to hear (for who that has once experienced the horrors and miseries of war can wish for its continuance?) that peace had been restored, I sailed in toward the island of Pomègue, which protects the anchorage of the bay of Marseilles. To guard against a surprise, however, should such be attempted, I took the precaution of clearing the ship for action, and made signal to the *Euryalus* to

shorten sail, that in the event of the batteries opening unexpectedly upon the *Undaunted*, my friend Captain Napier, by whose judgment and gallant conduct I had on other occasions profited, might render me any assistance, in the event of my being disabled. We now showed our colors, and hoisted at the main a flag of truce, and the royal standard of the Bourbons, which the ship's tailor had made during the night. This flag had not been displayed on the French coast for a quarter of a century. Thus equipped, we were allowed to approach within gunshot, when we observed men coming into the battery, and almost immediately a shot struck us on the main-deck. Finding it was not their intention to allow us to proceed, I gave orders to wear ship, and hauled down the flag of truce and standard. While wearing, a second shot was fired, which dropped under the counter. This unusual and unwarrantable departure from the rules of civilized warfare I resolved to notice in the only way such attacks ought to be noticed, and determined at once, in the promptest and most energetic way, to convince our assailants that under no circumstances was the British flag to be insulted with impunity. I therefore again wore round, and, arriving within point-blank shot of the battery, poured in a broadside that swept it completely, and in five minutes not a man was to be seen near the guns. It was entirely abandoned.

I now made sail for a second battery, and by signal directed the *Euryalus* to close, intending to anchor off the town. Shortly afterward, observing a boat with a flag of truce standing out of the harbor, I shortened sail to receive it. On coming alongside, I found she had on board the mayor and municipal officers of Marseilles, who had come from the town to apologize for the conduct pursued by the batteries, intimating that it was an unauthorized act of some of the men. They informed me of the abdication of Napoleon, and of the formation of a provisional government at Paris; I congratulated them on the change. I assured these gentlemen that with regard to the conduct of the batteries I could have no hesitation in forgiving all that had passed, and only hoped that I might be as easily forgiven for the part I had taken; that to prove my confidence in the honor and loyalty of their city, I should anchor my ship abreast of it, a proposition of which they did not seem very much to approve. I then made sail, with the *Euryalus* in company, and dropped anchor in the mouth of the harbor, that I might be the better able to take advantage of any circumstances that might occur. Captain Napier and I then proceeded in the barge of the *Euryalus* toward the land. We found a dense crowd collected at the landing-place, who, as we stopped to

inquire for the *pratique* officers, rushed into the water, and, seizing the bow of the boat, hauled me by main force on shore.

Never did I witness such a scene as now presented itself, as, almost choked by the embraces of old and young, we were hoisted on their shoulders, and hurried along, we knew not whither. I certainly did not envy the situation of my friend Captain Napier, whom I saw most lovingly embraced by an old lady with one eye, from whom he endeavored in vain to extricate himself, not using, I must say, the gentlest terms our language affords. In this way we arrived at the *hôtel de ville*, amid loud cries of "*Vive les Anglais!*" We were here received by our friends who had come with the flag of truce in the morning, but who were evidently not prepared for such a visit from us now. Indeed, under other circumstances we should not have been justified in appearing there as we did. Conscious, however, that we had no infectious disease on board, and as we had not visited any part of the Mediterranean where the plague prevailed, we endeavored to quiet their fears, and to satisfy them that no danger was to be apprehended from our visit.

However, this infringement of their sanitary laws, the observance of which they consider so essential to their safety, they appeared to feel deeply, though I gave them every assurance of the healthy state of the ships. Besides, as I observed, it was no act of ours, but had been forced upon us by themselves, and under circumstances which we could not very well control. They said there was no previous instance of their sanitary laws having been violated, except by Napoleon when he landed from Egypt. They then invited us, with true French politeness, into the *maison de ville*, remarking at the same time how much their city had suffered in the reign of Louis XIV. from the dreadful plague. A magnificent picture by David, showing some of the horrors of that visitation, hung in one of the principal rooms of the building.

They now politely requested us to wait upon the general in command. We found that officer attending high mass at the cathedral, and it is hardly possible to describe his astonishment, and the excitement caused by seeing two British naval officers, in their uniforms, in the midst of the congregation. I went up to the general, who received me with much apparent cordiality, and with considerable tact (for we were at that time the greater "lion" of the two) invited us to join the procession (I think it was that of the Virgin), for which preparations had been made, and which was about to set out from the church where we then were.

The streets through which we passed were

excessively crowded, so much so that it was with the utmost difficulty the procession could make its way at all. The predominance of old people and children among the crowd was remarkable. Commenting upon this to some of the municipal officers, I was told that this was caused by the conscription, which had swept off without distinction (like another plague) all the young men who were capable of bearing arms, causing indescribable misery not only here, but everywhere throughout France. Happy, indeed, were these poor people at seeing us among them, the harbingers of peace, which many of them had so long and ardently desired. That this was the prevailing feeling among them their whole demeanor amply testified, as with loud vociferations of "*Vive les Anglais!*" they plainly told us that we were not unwelcome visitors.

On arriving near the general's house, we were invited to take some refreshments, which we did; but the populace outside were very impatient, and were not satisfied until we again appeared among them. I now began to reflect on the singular and difficult circumstances in which I was placed, and the responsibility I was incurring, being positively without any information on which I could rely as to the state of affairs outside of Marseilles. Nevertheless, as I knew the ships were prepared for any emergency that might happen, and in the hand of Lieutenant Hastings, my first lieutenant, in whose zeal and gallantry I had the greatest possible confidence, I did not think there was much cause for apprehension, come what might. I had an idea, indeed, that this enthusiasm would not last.

In the midst of all this rejoicing, I received a communication from the commandant of the town, informing me that he had been instructed by his superior, the governor of Toulon, and commander-in-chief of the district, to order us to our ships, and to allow of no further communication, excepting by flags of truce. I replied to this somewhat insolent mandate by declaring my determination to remain where I was, telling the commandant pretty plainly that I should not comply with the orders. I knew my strength, and that the ships, by their position, had the entire command of the town.

The governor then intimated that he would march 3000 men against the town; for this also I was prepared. During this angry discussion, Colonel Campbell, the English commissioner, arrived, bringing with him the following very important note:

MARSEILLES, April 25, 1814. 8 P. M.

SIR: I have the honor to acquaint you that Lord Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has charged me with a mission to accompany the

late chief of the French government, Napoleon Bonaparte, to the isle of Elba, to whose secure asylum in that island it is the wish of His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, to afford every facility and protection. Having afterward written to his Lordship that Napoleon had requested that a British ship-of-war might be given to him as a convoy to the French corvette, and at his option for embarkation, in case of preferring it, his Lordship wrote to me as follows :

“Dated Paris, April 18.

“My instructions furnish you with authority to call upon His Majesty's officers, by sea and land, to give all due fidelity and assistance to the execution of the service with which you are entrusted. I cannot foresee that any enemy can molest the French corvette on board of which it is proposed Napoleon shall proceed to his destination. If, however, he shall continue to desire it, you are authorized to call upon any of His Majesty's cruisers (so far as the public service may not be prejudiced) to see him safe to the island of Elba. You will not, however, suffer this arrangement to be a cause of delay.”

Napoleon has since his departure from Fontainebleau toward St. Tropez pressed me to proceed here for this object, which I beg leave to submit to your consideration, hoping that, as the desire to proceed immediately to his destination is in unison with that of the Allied Powers, which would be defeated by delay, in referring to the admiral commanding His Britannic Majesty's fleet, you will find yourself at liberty to proceed to St. Tropez with His Majesty's ship under your command. I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

NEIL CAMPBELL, Col.

Attached to the Mission of H. E. General Viscount Cathcart.

TO CAPTAIN USSHER,

Senior Officer of His Britannic Majesty's ships off Marseilles.

I immediately waited upon Colonel Campbell, who informed me that he had left Napoleon on the road, pursuing his journey to St. Tropez, from which place it had been arranged he was to embark, accompanied by the envoys of the allied sovereigns. I immediately made arrangements for quitting the harbor of Marseilles, and on the following morning (April 26) set sail for St. Tropez, leaving Captain Napier in command of the station.

On arriving off St. Tropez, we hoisted a red flag at the main, that being the distinguishing signal agreed upon with Colonel Campbell at Marseilles. A boat immediately came out of the harbor with a lieutenant from the French frigate *Dryade* (commanded by the Comte de Montcabri), which was lying there with the corvette *Victorieuse*. The Comte sent his lieutenant to inform me that the Emperor Napoleon had abdicated, and that the Comte de Montcabri had orders from the provisional

Government to remain at St. Tropez with the *Victorieuse* for the purpose of conducting the Emperor to the island of Elba, the sovereignty of which island had been guaranteed to him by the allied sovereigns (it now struck me that the red flag at the main was considered in war a signal of defiance). At this moment a boat came alongside with an Austrian officer, Major Sinclair, despatched from Fréjus by Colonel Campbell, to inform me that at the particular request of the Emperor the commissioners of the allied sovereigns had thought proper to change the place of embarkation, and requesting me to proceed to Fréjus.

Fréjus is an open roadstead five or six leagues to the north of St. Tropez. Here it was that Napoleon landed on his return from Egypt. On arriving at the anchorage, I received a note from Colonel Campbell, informing me that horses had been sent down from the town, and an orderly sergeant placed at my disposal, to carry on any communications with the town, which lies on a height three or four miles from the anchorage. I took advantage of this conveyance, and immediately waited on Colonel Campbell, who, although suffering severely from his wounds, immediately accompanied me to the “Chapeau Rouge,” a small *auberge*, or hotel (and, I believe, the only one in Fréjus), where Napoleon was lodged. Whatever my previous feelings might have been toward this the most powerful and constant enemy my country ever had to contend with, I am proud to confess that all resentment and uncharitable feeling vanished quickly, and I felt all the delicacy of the situation in which circumstances the most extraordinary had placed me. His faithful follower in adversity, Comte Bertrand, was in attendance, and, having announced Colonel Campbell and myself, immediately presented us to the Emperor.

Napoleon was dressed in the regimentals of the Old Guard, and wore the star of the Legion of Honor. He walked forward to meet us, with a book open in his hand, to which he occasionally referred when asking me questions about Elba and the voyage thither. He received us with great condescension and politeness; his manner was dignified, but he appeared to feel his fallen state. Having asked me several questions regarding my ship, he invited us to dine with him, upon which we retired. Shortly afterwards I was waited upon by Comte Bertrand, who presented us with lists of the baggage, carriages, horses, etc., belonging to the Emperor. I immediately made arrangements for receiving them, and then demanded an interview with the several envoys of the allied sovereigns, feeling that, being placed in a position of such peculiar responsibility and delicacy, it was necessary to hear from them the instruc-

tions they had received from their respective sovereigns, that I might shape my conduct accordingly, and particularly that I might learn from them what ceremony was to be observed at Napoleon's embarkation, and on arriving on board the *Undaunted*, as I was desirous to treat him with that generosity toward a fallen enemy which is ever congenial to the spirit and feelings of Englishmen. They informed me that their instructions were precise and positive, and that he was styled by the treaty of *Fontainebleau*, Emperor and Sovereign of the island of *Elba*. I still entertained doubts as to the propriety of receiving him with a royal salute, but Colonel Campbell, in order to remove every doubt on the subject, showed me Lord Castlereagh's instructions to him, which were conclusive.

I now gave orders to embark the Emperor's baggage, carriages, horses, etc. The *Dryade* and the *Victorieuse* soon after arrived in the roads, and anchored. On landing, the Comte de Montcabri expressed his surprise to my first lieutenant on seeing the baggage going on board. But on being presented to the Emperor shortly after, and learning his intention of embarking on board the *Undaunted*, he returned to his ship, and sailed out of the bay, in company with the *Victorieuse*. The *Victorieuse*, I was given to understand, was to have remained at Elba in the Emperor's service.

The party at table consisted of Prince Schoovalof, Russian envoy; Baron Koller, Austrian envoy; Comte Truxos, Prussian envoy, and our envoy, Colonel Campbell; Comte Clam, aide-de-camp to Prince Schwarzenberg; Comte Bertrand, Drouot, and I. The Emperor did not appear at all reserved, but, on the contrary, entered freely into conversation, and kept it up with great animation. He appeared to show marked attention to Baron Koller, who sat on his right hand. Talking of his intention of building a large fleet, he referred to the Dutch navy, of which he had formed a very mean opinion; he said that he had improved their navy by sending able naval architects to Holland, and that he had built some fine ships there. The *Austerlitz*, he said, was one of the finest ships in the world. In speaking of her, he addressed himself to Prince Schoovalof, who did not seem to like the reference. The Emperor said the only use he could make of the old Dutch men-of-war was to fit them to carry horses to Ireland. He talked of the Elbe; said the importance of this river was but little known, that the finest timber for ship-building could be brought there at a small expense from Poland, etc.

I slept this night at Fréjus, and was awakened at four in the morning by two of the principal inhabitants, who came into my room to implore me to embark the Emperor as quickly

as possible, intelligence having been received that the army of Italy, lately under the command of Eugène Beauharnais, was broken up; that the soldiers were entering France in large bodies, and were as devoted as ever to their chief. These gentlemen were afraid the Emperor might put himself at their head. I told them I had no more to do with embarking the Emperor than they had, and requested them to make known their fears and misgivings to the envoys, who, I dare say, were as little pleased as I was at being awakened at so unreasonable an hour.

It was, indeed, pretty evident that Napoleon was in no hurry to quit the shores of France, and appeared to have some motive for remaining. The envoys became rather uneasy, and requested me to endeavor to prevail upon him to embark that day. In order to meet their wishes, I demanded an interview, and pointed out to the Emperor the uncertainty of winds, and the difficulty I should have in landing in the boats should the wind change to the southward and drive in a swell upon the beach, which, from the present appearance of the weather, would in all probability happen before many hours; in which case, I should be obliged, for the safety of His Majesty's ship, to put to sea again. I then took leave, and went on board, and at ten o'clock received the following note from Colonel Campbell:

DEAR USSHER: The Emperor is not very well. He wishes to delay embarking for a few hours, if you think it will be possible then. That you may not be in suspense, he begs you will leave one of your officers here, who can make a signal to your ship when it is necessary to prepare, and he will also send previous warning. I think you had better come up or send, and we can fix a signal, such as a white sheet, at the end of the street. The bearer has orders to place at your disposal a hussar and a horse whenever you wish to go up or down. Let me know your wishes by bearer. You will find me at General Koller's. Yours truly,

N. CAMPBELL.

Napoleon, finding that it was my determination to put to sea, saw the necessity of yielding to circumstances. Bertrand was accordingly directed to have the carriages ready at seven o'clock. I waited on the Emperor at a quarter before seven to inform him that my barge was at the beach. I remained alone with him in his room at the town until the carriage which was to convey him to the boat was announced. He walked up and down the room, apparently in deep thought. There was a loud noise in the street, upon which I remarked that a French mob was the worst of all mobs (I hardly know why I made this remark).

"Yes," he replied, "they are fickle people"; and added, "They are like a weathercock."

At this moment Count Bertrand announced the carriages. He immediately put on his sword, which was lying on the table, and said, "*Allons, Capitaine.*" I turned from him to see if my sword was loose in the scabbard, fancying I might have occasion to use it. The folding-doors, which opened on a pretty large landing-place, were now thrown open, when there appeared a number of most respectable-looking people, the ladies in full dress, waiting to see him. They were perfectly silent, but bowed most respectfully to the Emperor, who went up to a very pretty young woman in the midst of the group, and asked her, in a courteous tone, if she were married, and how many children she had.

He scarcely waited for a reply, but, bowing to each individual as he descended the staircase, stepped into his carriage, desiring Baron Koller, Comte Bertrand, and me, to accompany him. The carriage immediately drove off at full speed to the beach, followed by the carriages of the envoys. The scene was deeply interesting. It was a bright moonlight night, with little wind; a regiment of cavalry was drawn up in a line upon the beach and among the trees. As the carriage approached, the bugles sounded, which, with the neighing of the horses, and the noise of the people assembled to bid adieu to their fallen chief, was to me in the highest degree interesting.

The Emperor, having left the carriage, embraced Prince Schoovalof, who, with Comte Truxos, took leave, and returned to Paris, and, taking my arm, immediately proceeded toward the barge, which was waiting to receive us. Lieutenant Smith (nephew of Sir Sidney Smith, who, it is well known, had been for some time confined in the Temple with Captain Wright) was, by a strange coincidence, the officer in command of the boat. He came forward and assisted the Emperor along the gang-plank into the boat. The *Undaunted* lay close in, with her topsails hoisted, lying to. On arriving alongside, I immediately went up the side to receive the Emperor on the quarter-deck. He took his hat off and bowed to the officers, who were all assembled on the deck. Soon afterward he went forward to the fore-castle among the people, and I found him there conversing with those among them who understood a little French. Nothing seemed to escape his observation; the first thing which attracted his notice was the number of boats (I think we had eleven). Having made all sail, and fired a royal salute, I accompanied him to my cabin, and showed him my cot, which I had ordered to be prepared for him. He smiled when I said I had no better accommo-

modation for him, and said that everything was very comfortable, and he was sure he would sleep soundly. We now made all sail, and shaped our course for Elba. At four, his usual hour, he was up and had a cup of strong coffee (his constant custom), and at seven came on deck, and seemed not in the least affected by the motion of the ship. At this moment we were exchanging numbers with the *Malta*, standing toward Genoa, and I telegraphed that I had the Emperor on board. The wind having changed to the southeast, I hauled on the larboard tack toward Corsica. At ten we breakfasted; Comte Bertrand, Comte Drouot, Baron Koller, Colonel Campbell, Comte Clam, and the officer of the morning watch were present. Napoleon was in very good spirits, and seemed very desirous to show that, though he had ambition, England was not without her share also. He said that ever since the time of Cromwell we had set up extraordinary pretensions, and arrogated to ourselves the dominion of the sea; that after the peace of Amiens Lord Sidmouth wished to renew the former treaty of commerce, which had been made by Vergennes after the American war; but that *he*, anxious to encourage the industry of France, had expressed his readiness to enter into a treaty, not like the former, which it was clear, from the portfolio of Versailles, must be injurious to the interests of France, but on terms of perfect reciprocity—viz., that if France took so many millions of English goods, England should take as many millions of French produce in return. Lord Sidmouth said:

"This is totally new. I cannot make a treaty on these conditions."

"Very well. I cannot force you into a treaty of commerce any more than you can force me, and we must remain as we are, without commercial intercourse."

"Then," said Lord Sidmouth, "there will be war; for unless the people of England have the advantages of commerce secured to them, which they have been accustomed to, they will force me to declare war."

"As you please. It is my duty to study the just interests of France, and I shall not enter into any treaty of commerce on other principles than those I have stated."

He stated that although England made Malta the pretext, all the world knew that was not the real cause of the rupture; that he was sincere in his desire for peace, as a proof of which he sent his expedition to San Domingo. When it was remarked by Colonel Campbell that England did not think him sincere, from his refusing a treaty of commerce, and sending consuls to Ireland, with engineers to examine the harbors, he laughed, and said that was not necessary, for every harbor in England and

Ireland was well known to him. Bertrand remarked that every ambassador was a spy.

Napoleon said that the Americans admitted the justness of his principles of commerce. Formerly they brought over some millions of tobacco and cotton, took specie in return, and then went empty to England, where they furnished themselves with British manufactures. He refused to admit their tobacco and cotton unless they took from France an equivalent in French produce; they yielded to his system as being just. He added that now England had it all her own way, that there was no power which could successfully oppose her system, and that she might now impose on France any treaty she pleased. "The Bourbons, poor devils [here he checked himself], are great lords who are contented with having back their estates and castles; but if the French people become dissatisfied with that [the treaty], and find that there is not the encouragement for their manufactures in the interior of the country that there should be, they [the Bourbons] will be driven out in six months. Marseilles, Nantes, Bordeaux, and the coast are not troubled by that, for they always have the same commerce; but in the interior it is another thing. I well know what the feeling is for me at Terrare [?], Lyons, and those places which have manufactures, and which I have encouraged."¹

He said that Spain was the natural friend of France and enemy of Great Britain; that it was the interest of Spain to unite with France in support of their commerce and foreign possessions; that it was a disgrace to Spain to allow us to hold Gibraltar. It was only necessary to bombard it night and day for a year, and it must eventually fall. He asked if we still held Cintra. He did not invade Spain, he said, to put one of his family on the throne, but to revolutionize her; to make her a kingdom in right; to abolish the inquisition, feudal rights, and the inordinate privileges of certain classes. He spoke also of our attacking Spain without a declaration of war, and without cause, and seizing the frigates bringing home treasure. Some one remarked that we knew Spain intended to make common cause with him as soon as the treasure should arrive. He said he did not want it; all he had was five millions (francs) per month.

On my asking a question regarding the Walcheren expedition, he said he could not hold Walcheren with less than 14,000 men, half of whom would be lost annually by disease; and as he had such means in the neighborhood of

Antwerp, it could at any time be attacked, and by means of superiority of numbers must fall; that the expedition against it was on too great a scale and too long preparing, as it gave him time. He added that he wrote from Vienna that an expedition was going to Antwerp; he thought that a *coup de main* with 10,000 men and with his preparation would have succeeded; laughed at our ignorance in suffering so much time to be lost, and in settling down before Flushing (whereby we lost a large proportion of our army through disease) instead of advancing rapidly on Antwerp; and seemed astonished at our Government's selecting such a commander-in-chief for so important an expedition.

After breakfasting, Napoleon read for some hours, and came on deck about two o'clock, remaining two or three hours, occasionally remarking what was going forward, as the men were employed in the ordinary duties of the ship, mending sails, drawing yarns, exercising the guns, etc.

After dinner, he referred to a map of Toulon Harbor, and went over the whole of the operations against Lord Hood and General O'Hara (he commanded the artillery there, as major). All the other officers, he said, were for a regular siege. He gave in a memoir proposing to drive off the fleet from the inner harbor, which, if successful, would place the garrison of Toulon in danger; that it was upon this occasion he felt the superiority of the new tactics. He related an anecdote of one of the representatives of the people ordering his battery to fire, and unmasking it too soon.

This evening a small Genoese trading-vessel passed near us. I ordered her to be examined, and, as Napoleon was anxious to know the news, I desired the captain to be sent on board. Napoleon was on the quarter-deck; he wore a great-coat and round hat. As he expressed a wish to question the captain, I sent him to the Emperor on the after part of the quarter-deck, and afterward ordered him down to my cabin. "Your captain," said he, "is the most extraordinary man I ever met; he put all sorts of questions to me, and, without giving me time to reply, repeated the same questions to me rapidly a second time." When I told him to whom he had been speaking, he appeared all astonishment, and instantly ran on deck, hoping to see him again; but Napoleon, to his great disappointment, had already gone below. When I told Napoleon the man had remarked the rapidity with which he put questions to him

¹ "Les Bourbons, pauvres diables [here he checked himself], ils sont des grands seigneurs qui se contentent d'avoir leurs terres et leurs châteaux, mais si le peuple français devient mécontent de cela, et trouve qu'il n'y a pas l'encouragement pour leurs manufactures dans l'intérieur qu'il devrait avoir,

ils seront chassés dans six mois. Marseille, Nantes, Bordeaux, et la côte ne se soucient pas de cela, car ils ont toujours le même commerce, mais dans l'intérieur c'est autre chose. Je sais bien comment l'esprit était pour moi à Terrare, Lyon, et ces endroits qui ont des manufactures, et que j'ai encouragés."

twice over, he said it was the only way to get at the truth from such fellows.

One morning when Napoleon was on deck, I ordered the ship to be tacked, and we stood toward the Ligurian coast. The weather was very clear as we approached the land. We had a fine view of the Alps. He leaned on my arm and gazed at them with great earnestness for nearly half an hour; his eye appeared quite fixed. I remarked that he had passed those mountains on a former occasion under very different circumstances. He merely said that it was very true.

The wind was now increasing to a gale. He asked me, laughing, if there was any danger, which was evidently meant to annoy Baron Koller, who was near him, and who had no great faith in the safety of ships, and whom he constantly joked on his bad sailorship, as the Baron suffered dreadfully from seasickness. He made some observations to me as to our men's allowance of provisions, and seemed surprised that they had cocoa and sugar, and asked how long they had had that indulgence. I told him they were indebted to him for it; that the Continental system had done this good for sailors, that as we could not send our cocoa and sugar to the Continent, the Government had made that addition to the allowance of the men. We now tacked, and stood over toward the Corsican shore, passing a small vessel that he was very anxious for me to hail for news. I told him we could not get near enough for that purpose, as she was to windward, crossing us on the opposite tack. We were then at table; he whispered to me to fire at her and bring her down. I expressed my surprise at his request, as it would *denationalize* her (referring to his Milan decree). He pinched my ear, and laughed, remarking that the Treaty of Utrecht directs that when vessels are boarded it shall be done out of gunshot. It was on this occasion, he said, that England was not prepared for the steps he took in retaliation, upon her blockading an entire line of coast from the river Elbe to Brest; it was that which forced him to take possession of Holland. America behaved with spirit, he said; adding that he thought their state correspondence was very well managed, and contained much sound reasoning. I asked him if he issued his famous Milan decree for the purpose of forcing America to quarrel with us. He said he was angry with America for suffering her flag to be denationalized.¹ He spoke long on this subject, and said that America had justice on her side; he rather expected America to invade Mexico. He said the expedition against Copenhagen was most unjust, and from every point of view bad policy; and that, after all, we only took a few vessels that were of no use to us; that the gross injustice

of attacking a weaker nation, without a cause and without a declaration of war, did us infinite harm. I observed that it was at that time believed that their fleet was sold to him.

In speaking of Toulon, he remarked that he found great inconvenience in being obliged to complete the provisions and stores after the ships went out of the inner harbors, as it gave information of his intentions to British cruisers. To avoid this, he sent the *Rivoli* out from Venice on a camel,² with her guns, stores, and provisions on board. He meant to form an establishment for building men-of-war at Bouc, near the mouth of the Rhone, instead of at Toulon, the timber of which was to be brought there by a canal from the Rhone, and that he intended to make Toulon a port of equipment. In speaking of Cherbourg, he described the basin cut out of the solid rock, with docks for ships, executed by his orders, and drew with a pencil on a plan I have of the town a line of fortifications erected for its defense against any expedition from England, which it seemed he expected. The entrance is mined at each side. The Empress Marie Louise visited Cherbourg (when he was in Dresden) at the completion of the works last year. He said he had in his possession what would be invaluable to England, and spoke of the weak and strong points of the empire. Some remarks arising from this observation, he said: "France is nothing without Antwerp; for, while Brest and Toulon are blockaded, a fleet can be equipped there, wood being brought from Poland." He never would consent to give it up, having sworn at his coronation not to diminish France. He had the Elbe sounded and surveyed carefully, and found that it was as favorable as the Scheldt for great naval establishments near Hamburg.

He told me his plans for the navy were on a gigantic scale; he would have had three hundred sail of the line. I observed that it was impossible for him to man half the number. He said the naval conscription, with the enlistment of foreigners which he could have from all parts of Europe, would supply men enough for the whole of the navy; that the *Zuyder Zee* is particularly well fitted for exercising conscripts. Having expressed some doubts as to the merits of his conscript sailors, he said I was mistaken, and asked my opinion of the Toulon fleet, which I had had frequent opportunities of seeing manœuver in the presence of our fleet. He begged I would tell him frankly what I thought of it.

The conscripts were trained or exercised for two years in schooners and small craft, and his

¹ All this is exactly as in original.—W. H. U.

² A water-tight structure placed beneath a ship to raise it in the water, in order to assist its passage over a shoal or bar.—EDITOR.

best officers and seamen were appointed to command them. They were constantly at sea, either to protect the coasting trade or for exercising. He had not calculated on their becoming perfect seamen by these means, but had intended to send squadrons out to the East and West Indies, not for the purpose of attacking the colonies, but for perfecting the men, and annoying, at the same time, the commerce of England. He calculated upon losing some ships, but said he could spare them; that they would be well paid for.

While on this subject, he surprised me by explaining to Baron Koller, and that very well, a very nice point of seamanship—viz., that of keeping a ship clear of her anchor in a tide-way. He admired much the regularity with which the duty of the ship was carried on, everything being so well timed, and, above all, the respect observed by different ranks of officers to one another and to the quarter-deck. He thought this most essential to good discipline, and was not surprised that we were so tenacious of the slightest deviation from it. He said that he endeavored to introduce this into the French navy, but could not drive it into the heads of his captains.

The wind still continuing to the eastward, with a heavy sea, we stood in to get well within the Corsican shore. Having carried away the leech-ropes of the fore- and maintopsails, we repaired them aloft, close reefed them, and sent down topgallant-yards and royalmasts. There now being every appearance of bad weather, I mentioned my intention, if the gale increased, of anchoring at Bastia. Napoleon seemed most desirous that we should anchor at Ajaccio. I explained to him that it was much out of our course. He proposed Calvi, with which he was perfectly acquainted, mentioning the depth of water, with other remarks on the harbor, etc., which convinced me that he would have made us an excellent pilot had we touched there.

This evening we fell in and exchanged numbers with the *Berwick*, *Aigle*, and *Alcmene*, with a convoy. I invited Sir John Lewis and Captain Coghlan to dine with me. When they came on board I presented them to Napoleon; he asked them various questions about their ships, their sailing and other qualities. Captain Coghlan was not a little surprised by his asking him if he were not an Irishman and a Roman Catholic. All this night we carried sail to get inshore, the *Aigle* and *Alcmene* keeping company. At daylight we saw the town of Calvi bearing south. Napoleon was on deck earlier than usual; he seemed in high spirits, looked most earnestly at the shore, asking the officers questions relative to landing-places, etc. As we closed with the shore the wind moderated. During the bad weather Napoleon re-

mained constantly on deck, and was not in the least affected by the motion of the ship. This was not the case, however, with his attendants, who suffered a good deal.

The wind now coming off the land, we hauled close inshore. Napoleon took great delight in examining it with his glass, and told us many anecdotes of his younger days. We rounded a bold, rocky cape, within two or three cables'-lengths, and Napoleon, addressing himself to Baron Koller, said he thought a walk on shore would do them good, and proposed landing to explore the cliffs. The Baron whispered that he knew him too well to trust him on such an excursion, and begged me not to listen to his suggestion.

We now hauled in toward the Gulf of St. Florent, fired a gun, and brought to a felucca from Genoa, who informed us that Sir Edward Pellew, the commander-in-chief, and fleet were lying there. We then shaped our course for Cape Corso, which we passed in the night. In the morning we tacked, and stood toward Capraja Isle, and, observing colors flying at the castle, stood close in and hove to. A deputation came off from the island, requesting me to take possession of it, and informing me that there was a French garrison in the castle. I accordingly sent Lieutenant Smith with a party of seamen to hoist the British colors for its protection. Napoleon held a long conversation with the members of the deputation, who expressed the utmost surprise at finding their Emperor on board an English man-of-war. Having now made all sail, and shaped our course for Elba, Napoleon became very impatient to see it, and asked if we had every sail set. I told him we had set all that could be of any use. He said, "Were you in chase of an enemy's frigate, should you make more sail?" I looked, and, seeing that the starboard topgallant stunsail was not set, observed that if I were in chase of an enemy I should certainly carry it. He replied, that if it could be of use in that case, it might be so now. I mention this anecdote to show what a close observer he was; in fact, nothing escaped him. When the man stationed at the masthead hailed the deck that Elba was right ahead, he became exceedingly impatient, went forward to the fore-castle, and as soon as the land could be seen from the deck was very particular in inquiring what colors were flying on the batteries. He seemed to doubt the garrison's having given in their adhesion to the Bourbons, and, it appears, not without some reason, as they had, in fact, done so only during the preceding forty-eight hours; so that, if we had had a fair wind, I should have found the island in the hands of the enemy, and consequently must have taken my charge to the commander-in-chief, who

would, no doubt, have ordered us to England. On nearing Elba, General Drouot, Comte Clam (aide-de-camp to Prince Schwarzenberg), and Lieutenant Hastings, the first lieutenant of the *Undaunted*, were sent ashore, commissioned by Napoleon to take possession of the island. Colonel Campbell accompanied them. They were conducted to the house of General Dalhème, who had received orders from the provisional Government only two days before, in consequence of which he and his troops had given in their adhesion to Louis XVIII., and had hoisted the white flag. The general expressed his desire to do whatever should be agreeable to the Emperor.

May 3, 1814. One part of Drouot's instructions from Napoleon mentioned his desire to receive the names of all officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates who would wish to enter into his service. He desired also a deputation of the principal inhabitants to come off to him. About 8 P. M. we anchored at the entrance to the harbor, and soon after the deputation waited upon Napoleon. There had been originally about 3000 troops, but the desertion and the discharge of discontented foreigners had reduced the number to about 700. The island had been in a state of revolt for several weeks, in consequence of which the troops were shut up in the fortifications which surrounded the town of Porto Ferrajo.

During the night an Austrian officer was sent off in one of my boats to Piombino, to invite a renewal of communication and to obtain news, etc. This was done by a letter from the commissioners to the commandant, who, however, politely declined communication with us, at the same time stating that he had written to his superior for his permission to do so.

May 4. Napoleon was on deck at daylight, and talked for two hours with the harbor-master, who had come on board to take charge of the ship as pilot, questioning him minutely about the anchorage, fortifications, etc. At six we weighed anchor, and made sail into the harbor; anchored at half-past six at the Mole Head, hoisted out all the boats, and sent some of the baggage on shore. At eight the Emperor asked me for a boat, as he intended to take a walk on the opposite side of the bay, and requested me to go with him. He wore a great-coat and a round hat. Comte Bertrand, Colonel Campbell, and Colonel Vincent (chief engineer) went with us; Baron Koller declined doing so. When half-way ashore Napoleon remarked that he was without a sword, and soon afterward asked if the peasants of Tuscany were addicted to assassination. We walked for about two hours. The peasants, taking us for Englishmen, cried, "Viva!" which seemed to displease him.

We returned on board to breakfast. He afterward fixed upon a flag for Elba, requesting me to remain while he did so. He had a book with all the ancient and modern flags of Tuscany; he asked my opinion of that which he had chosen. It was a white flag with a red band running diagonally through it, with three bees on the band (the bees were in his arms as emperor of France). He then requested me to allow the ship's tailor to make two, one of them to be hoisted on the batteries at one o'clock. At 2 P. M. the barge was manned; he begged me to show him the way down the side of the vessel, which I did, and was soon followed by the Emperor, Baron Koller, Comte Bertrand, and Comte Clam. The yards being manned, we fired a royal salute, as did two French corvettes which were lying in the harbor at that time. The ship was surrounded by boats with the principal inhabitants and bands of music on board; the air resounded with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur! Vive Napoleon!" On landing, he was received by the prefect, the clergy, and all the authorities, and the keys were presented to him on a plate, upon which he made a complimentary speech to the prefect, the people welcoming him with loud acclamations.

We proceeded to the church through a double file of soldiers, and thence to the hôtel de ville, where the principal inhabitants were assembled, with several of whom he conversed. Remarking an old soldier in the crowd (he was a sergeant, I believe, and wore the order of the Legion of Honor), he called him to him, and recollected having given him that decoration on the field of battle at Eylau. The old soldier shed tears; the idea of being remembered by his Emperor fairly overcame him. He felt, I doubt not, that it was the proudest day of his life. Napoleon afterward mounted a horse, and, attended by a dozen persons, visited some of the outworks, having, before leaving the ship, invited me to dine with him at seven o'clock. I ordered all my wine and stock to be handed to him for his use, the island being destitute of provisions of that sort.

May 5. At 4 A. M., I was awakened by shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" and by drums beating; Napoleon was already up, and going on foot over the fortifications, magazines, and store-houses. At ten he returned to breakfast, and at two mounted his horse, and I accompanied him two leagues into the country. He examined various country-houses, and gave money to all the poor we met on the road. At seven he returned to dinner. I should remark that, before leaving the *Undaunted*, Napoleon requested that a party of fifty marines might accompany him, and remain on shore; but this he afterward changed to an officer

and two sergeants, one of whom, O'Gorum (one of the bravest and best soldiers I ever met, and to whom the Emperor had taken a great fancy), he selected to sleep on a mattress outside the door of his bedchamber, with his clothes and sword on. A *valet de chambre* slept on another mattress in the same place, and if Napoleon lay down during the day, the sergeant remained in the antechamber.

May 6, at 6 A. M., we crossed the bay in my barge, and found horses waiting for us. We rode to Rion to see the famous iron mountains. We visited several mines, and likewise a temple built by the ancients, and dedicated by them to Jupiter. The road to the latter is highly romantic and beautiful, but is difficult of access, being situated on the summit of a steep and lofty mountain. This obliged us to dismount, and we walked through a thick covert of beautiful trees and shrubs till we arrived at the temple. We saw also a small museum very nicely kept, which contained many fine specimens of the ores of the adjoining mines, two or three of which Napoleon presented to me. He expressed a wish to see the principal mine, and, when everything was prepared, asked Baron Koller, me, and one or two of the party to accompany him. The others politely declined; I, however, accepted his invitation. Two guides with torches accompanied us.

When we arrived at the middle of what appeared to be an immense cavern, the guides suddenly struck the ground with their torches, and all the cave became instantly and splendidly illuminated. At the moment I expected an explosion; Napoleon may have thought so too, but he very coolly took a pinch of snuff, and desired me to follow him.

At Rion the "Te Deum" was chanted, I suppose for the first time, as the officiating priest did not seem to understand his business. In passing through Rion a salute was fired, and Napoleon was received with loud acclamations of "Vive l'Empereur!" The people seemed very anxious to see him; several old women presented petitions, and numbers pressed forward to kiss his hand. At five we embarked in the barge, and crossed the harbor to Porto Ferrajo. At seven we sat down to dinner. He spoke of his intention of taking possession of Pianosa, a small island without inhabitants, about ten miles from Elba. He said "All Europe will say that I have already made a conquest."¹ Already he had plans in agitation for conveying water from the mountains to the city. It appears always to have been considered by him of the first importance to have a supply of good water for the inhabitants of towns, and upon this occasion it was evidently the first thing that occupied his mind, having, almost imme-

diately after arrival, requested me to go with him in the barge in search of water.

One day, exploring for this purpose, he remarked the boats of the *Undaunted* getting water in a small creek; he said he was quite sure that good water was to be found there. I asked him why he thought so. He said: "Depend upon it, sailors know where to find the best. There are no better judges." We landed at this place, as he desired to taste the water. Jack made the rim of his hat into what is called a "cocked hat," and filled it with water. Napoleon was amused at the contrivance, tasted the water, and pronounced it excellent. The channeling of the streets he also thought of the greatest importance, and requested me to allow the carpenter of the ship to go to him (having learned he was a tolerably good engineer), that he might consult him about forcing the sea water by means of pumps to the summit of the hill. I believe he afterward abandoned his sea-water plan; which would have been attended with great expense. He had plans also for a palace and a country-house, and a house for Princess Pauline, stables, a lazaretto, and a quarantine ground. About the latter he asked my opinion.

May 7. Napoleon was employed visiting the town and fortifications. After breakfast he again embarked in the barge, and visited the different storehouses round the harbor. In making excursions into the country he was accompanied by a dozen officers and the captain of the *gendarmerie*; and one of the *fourriers de palais* always went before, and sometimes a party of *gendarmes à pied*.

After taking our places in the barge, some of the party keeping their hats off, he desired them to put them on, remarking, "We are together here as soldiers."² The fishing for the tunny is carried on here by one of the richest inhabitants, who from poverty has amassed a large fortune; he employs a great number of the poor, and has considerable influence. The removal of his stores to a very inferior building, to make way for a stable for the Emperor's horses, is likely to give great offense.

May 8. The *Curaçoa*, Captain Towers, arrived here with Mr. Locker, secretary to Sir Edward Pellew, commander-in-chief. He requested an audience to present to the Emperor a copy of the treaty of peace. Napoleon received Mr. Locker very graciously, and seemed to read the treaty with deep interest; Baron Koller, Comte Bertrand, Drouot, General Dalheme, Colonel Campbell, Captain Towers, and I were present. Having read and folded it, he returned it to Mr. Locker,

¹ "Toute l'Europe dira que j'ai déjà fait une conquête."

² "Nous sommes ici ensemble en soldats."

expressing his obligations to the commander-in-chief.

May 9. Baron Koller, having demanded an audience, took leave of the Emperor, and embarked in the *Curçoa* for Genoa. This day I accompanied Napoleon to Longone, where we lunched amid repeated cries of "Vive l'Empereur!"

Longone is a place of considerable strength; the works are regular, the bay is small, but there is a safe anchorage within. Many old people presented petitions, and girls brought flowers, which he accepted with much condescension, talking to all, but particularly to those that were pretty. A young lad fell on his knees before him, either to ask charity or merely as a mark of respect; he turned to Colonel Campbell and said, "Ah! I know the Italians well; it is the education of the monks. One does not see that among the northern people."¹ On proceeding a little farther we met two well-dressed young women, who saluted him with compliments. One of them, the youngest, told him with great ease and gaiety that she had been invited to the ball at Longone two days before, but as the Emperor did not attend it, as was expected, she had remained at home.

Instead of returning by the same road, he turned off by goat-paths, to examine the coast, humming Italian airs, which he does very often, and seemed quite in spirits. He expressed his fondness for music, and remarked that this reminded him of passing Mont St. Bernard, and of a conversation he had had with a young peasant upon that occasion. The man, he said, not knowing who he was, spoke freely of the happiness of those who possessed a good house and a number of cattle, etc. He made him enumerate his greatest wants and desires, and afterward sent for him and gave him all that he had described; "That cost me 60,000 francs."²

May 10. Napoleon rode to the top of the highest hill above Porto Ferrajo, whence we could perceive the sea from four different points, and apparently not an English mile in a straight line in any direction from the spot where we stood. After surveying it for some time, he turned round and laughed, "Eh, my isle is very small."³ On the top of this hill is a small chapel, and a house where a hermit had resided until his death. Some one remarked that it would require more than common devotion to induce persons to attend service there. "Yes, yes; the priest can say as much nonsense as he wishes."⁴

On the evening of the ninth, after his return from Longone, he entered upon the subject of the armies and their operations at the close of the last campaign, and continued it for half an hour, until he rose from table. After passing into the presence-chamber, the conversation again turned on the campaign, his own policy, the Bourbons, etc., and he continued talking with great animation till midnight, remaining on his legs for three hours. He described the operations against the allies as always in his favor while the numbers were in any sort of proportion; that in one affair against the Prussians, who were infinitely the best, he had only 700 infantry *en tirailleurs*, with 2000 cavalry and three battalions of his guards in reserve, against double their number. The instant these old soldiers showed themselves, the affair was decided.

He praised General Blücher: "The old devil has always attacked me with the same vigor; if he was beaten, an instant afterward he was ready again for the combat."⁵ He then described his last march from Arcis to Brienne; said that he knew Schwarzenberg would not stand to fight him, and that he hoped to destroy half his army. Upon his retreat, he had already taken an immense quantity of baggage and guns. When it was reported to him that the enemy had crossed the Aube to Vitry, he was induced to halt; he would not, however, credit it till General Gérard assured him that he saw 20,000 infantry. He was overjoyed at this assurance, and immediately returned to St. Dizier, where he attacked Wintzingerode's cavalry, which he considered the advance-guard of Schwarzenberg's army; drove them before him a whole day, like sheep, at full gallop, took 1500 or 2000 prisoners, and some light pieces of artillery, but, to his surprise, did not see any army, and again halted. His best information led him to believe that they had returned to Troyes. Accordingly he marched in that direction, and then ascertained, after a loss of three days, that the armies of Schwarzenberg and Blücher had marched upon Paris. He then ordered forced marches, and went forward himself (with his suite and carriages) on horseback night and day. Never were he and his friends more gay and confident. He knew, he said, all the workmen of Paris would fight for him. What could the allies do with such a force? The national guards had only to barricade the streets with casks, and it would be impossible for the enemy to advance before he arrived to their assistance. At 8 A. M., a few

¹ "Ah! je connais bien les Italiens; c'est éducation des moines. On ne voit pas cela parmi le peuple du nord."

² "Cela m'a coûté 60,000 francs."

³ "Eh, mon île est bien petite."

⁴ "Oui, oui; le prêtre peut dire autant des bêtises qu'il veut."

⁵ "Le vieux diable m'a toujours attaqué avec la même vigueur; s'il était battu, un instant après il se recontrait prêt pour le combat."

leagues from Paris, he met a column of stragglers, who stared at him, and he at them. "What does this mean?"¹ he demanded. They stopped and seemed stupefied: "What! it is the Emperor!"² They informed him that they had retreated through Paris; he was still confident of success. His army burned with desire to attack the enemy and to drive them out of the capital. He knew very well what Schwarzenberg would risk, and the composition of the allied army compared with his own; that Schwarzenberg never would hazard a general battle with Paris in his rear, but would take a defensive position on the other side. He himself would have engaged the enemy at various points for two or three hours, then have marched with his 30 battalions of guards and 80 pieces of cannon, himself at the head, upon one part of their force. Nothing could have withstood that; and although his inferiority of numbers would not have enabled him to hope for a complete victory, yet he should have succeeded in killing a great number of the enemy and in forcing them to abandon Paris and its neighborhood. What he would afterward have done must have depended on various circumstances. Who could have supposed that the senate would have dishonored themselves by assembling under the force of 20,000 foreign bayonets (a timidity unexampled in history), and that a man who owed everything to him—who had been his aide-de-camp, and attached to him for twenty years—would have betrayed him! Still, it was only a fraction which ruled Paris under the influence of the enemy's force; the rest of the nation was for him. The army would, almost to a man, have continued to fight for him, but with so great an inferiority in point of numbers that it would have been certain destruction to many of his friends and a war for years. He preferred, therefore, to sacrifice his own rights.

It was not for the sake of a crown that he had continued the war; it was for the glory of France, and not for the sake of plans which he saw no prospect of realizing. He had wished to make France the first nation in the world; now it was at an end. "I have abdicated; at present I am a dead man!"³ He repeated the latter phrase several times. In remarking on his confidence in his own troops and the Old Guard, and on the want of union among the allies, he referred to Colonel Campbell to say candidly if it were not so. Colonel Campbell told him it was; that he had never seen any

considerable portion of the French army, but every one spoke of the Emperor and his Old Guard as if there was something more than human about them. Napoleon said that the inferiority which he conceived of Schwarzenberg's army was justly founded—it had no confidence in itself or in its allies; each party thought he did too much, and his allies too little, and that they were half-beaten before they closed with the French. He sneered at Marmont's anxiety for his life: "Was there ever anything so artless as that capitulation?"⁴ Marmont wished to protect his person, but deserted, leaving him and the whole of his comrades open to the surprise of the enemy; for it was his corps which covered the whole front. The night previous Marmont said to him, "I answer for my corps d'armée."⁵ So he might. The officers and soldiers were enraged when they found what had been done—8000 infantry, 3000 cavalry, and 60 pieces of cannon. "Voilà l'histoire!" He animadverted on Marmont's conduct before Paris, saying, "Who ever heard of such a thing—two hundred pieces of artillery in the Champs de Mars and only sixty on the heights of Montmartre!" General Dalheme asked if he had not fought with vigor.

This was nearly all that passed at that time. After accompanying him into another room, he resumed the conversation, enlarging upon the general state of his army and the policy of France. He seemed to repent his abdication, and said that had he known that it was owing only to the treachery of Augereau that his army fell back behind Lyons, he would have united his own to it even after Marmont's capitulation. He animadverted strongly upon the conduct of Augereau, yet he met him with all the kindness of a friend. The first idea of his defection struck him after separating from him on the road between Valence and Lyons. The spirit of the troops was such that he durst not remain among them, for on his arrival many old soldiers and officers came up to him weeping, and said they had been betrayed by Augereau, and requested Napoleon to put himself at their head. He had an army of 30,000 fine men, many of them from the army of Spain, which ought to have kept its ground against the Austrians. He again spoke of Marmont's defection, saying that it was reported to him in the morning, but that he did not believe it; that he rode out and met Berthier, who confirmed it from an undoubted source. He referred to the armistice between Lord Castlereagh and Talleyrand, saying that he thought the allies were pursuing a bad policy with regard to France by reducing her so much, for it would wound the pride of every man there. They might have left her much more power without any risk of seeing

1 "Qu'est-ce que c'est que cela?"

2 "Quoi! c'est l'Empereur!"

3 "J'ai abdiqué; à présent je suis un homme mort!"

4 "Fut-il jamais rien si naïf que cette capitulation?"

5 "Pour mon corps d'armée j'en réponds."

her again on an equality with several other powers.

France had no longer any fleet or colonies; a peace would not restore ships or San Domingo. Poland no longer existed, nor Venice; these went to aggrandize Russia and Austria. Spain, which is the natural enemy of Great Britain, more so than of France, was incapable of doing anything as an ally. If to these sacrifices were added that of a disadvantageous treaty of commerce with Great Britain, the people of France would not remain tranquil under it, "not even six months after the foreign powers have quitted Paris."¹ He then remarked that a month had already elapsed, and the King of France had not yet come over to the people who had placed him on the throne. He said England now would do as she pleased; the other powers were nothing in comparison. "For twenty years at least no power can make war against England, and she will do as she wishes."² Holland would be entirely subservient to her. The armistice gave no information as to the ships at Antwerp or in the Texel. "The brave Verhuel continues to defend himself."³ (This admiral commanded the ships at Antwerp.) He then enumerated the ships he had in each of the ports, saying that in three or four years he would have had three hundred sail of the line—"What a difference for France!"⁴ with many other remarks in the same strain.

Colonel Campbell remarked, "But we do not know why your Majesty wishes to annihilate us." He laughed and replied, "If I had been minister of England, I would have tried to make her the greatest power in the world."⁵ Napoleon frequently spoke of the invasion of England; that he never intended to attempt it without a superiority of fleet to protect the flotilla. This superiority would have been attained for a few days by leading ours out to the West Indies, and suddenly returning. If the French fleet arrived in the Channel three or four days before ours, it would be sufficient. The flotilla would immediately push out, accompanied by the fleet, and the landing might take place on any part of the coast, as he would march direct to London. He preferred the coast of Kent, but that must have depended on wind and weather; he would have placed himself at the disposal of naval officers and pilots, to land the troops wherever they thought they could do so with the greatest security and in the least time. He had 1,000,000 men, and each of the flotilla had boats to land them; artillery and cavalry would soon have followed,

and the whole could have reached London in three days. He armed the flotilla merely to lead us to suppose that he intended it to fight its way across the Channel; it was only to deceive us. It was observed that we expected to be treated with great severity in case of his succeeding, and he was asked what he would have done had he arrived in London. He said it was a difficult question to answer; for a people with spirit and energy, like the English, was not to be subdued even by taking the capital. He would certainly have separated Ireland from Great Britain, and the occupying of the capital would have been a death-blow to our funds, credit, and commerce. He asked me to say frankly whether we were not alarmed at his preparation for invading England.

He entered into a long conversation with Comte Drouot, who was with Admiral Villeneuve in the action with Sir Robert Calder, and said that Villeneuve was not wanting either in zeal or talents, but was impressed with a great idea of the British navy. After the action, he was entreated by all the officers to pursue the British squadron and to renew the action. Napoleon said that about the end of the campaign of 1804, before England had seized the Spanish galleons, and before he had obtained from Spain an entire and frank coöperation, having then no auxiliary but the Dutch, he wished to run the Toulon fleet through the Straits, unite it to six sail of the line at Rochefort, and to the Brest fleet, which consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, and with this combined force to appear before Boulogne, there to be joined by the Dutch fleet, thus securing the passage and landing of his troops. He said he was diverted from his intentions by the Austrians.

At the death of Admiral De la Touche-Tréville, one of his ablest admirals, Villeneuve was appointed commander-in-chief at Toulon, and hoisted his flag on the *Bucentaure*. His squadron consisted of four 80-gun ships, eight 74-gun ships, six frigates, and 7000 troops. On March 30, 1805, Admiral Villeneuve sailed from Toulon, and on April 7 was before Carthage, waiting a reinforcement of six Spanish sail of the line. These ships not being ready, he pursued his course about the middle of April, appeared before Gibraltar, and chased Sir John Orde, who, with five sail of the line, was before Cadiz.

Admiral Villeneuve was joined by a seventy-four and two corvettes, and by Admiral Gravina with six sail of the line and 2000 troops,

¹ "Pas même six mois après que les puissances étrangères quitterent Paris."

² "Pour vingt années au moins aucune puissance ne peut faire guerre contre l'Angleterre, et elle fera ce qu'elle veut."

³ "Le brave Verhuel se défend toujours."

⁴ "Quelle différence pour la France."

⁵ "Si j'avais été ministre d'Angleterre, j'aurais tâché d'en faire la plus grande puissance du monde."

making eighteen sail of the line in all. May 9, Villeneuve opened his sealed orders, and gave Admiral Gravina his instructions, which were to separate with his squadron, reinforce the garrison of Porto Rico and Havana, and rejoin him at a prescribed rendezvous. Villeneuve anchored at Martinique on May 14, and heard that Admiral Missiessy had just left the West Indies. Missiessy sailed from Rochefort June 11, his squadron consisting of six sail of the line, three frigates, and 3000 troops, his flag-ship being the *Majestueux*.

Napoleon said he was visiting the fortresses on the Rhine when he wrote the orders for these expeditions—the first to reinforce Martinique and Guadaloupe, and to take Dominica and St. Lucia; the second to take Surinam and its dependencies, and to strengthen San Domingo; the third to St. Helena. It was before he quitted Milan to visit the departments of the East that he learned of the return of the Rochefort squadron. He blamed the precipitation with which Dominica had been abandoned. He saw in this fortunate cruise the advantage he had gained; he felicitated himself in having concealed the secret of the destination of Villeneuve; still, he was uneasy about Nelson. In his despatch written at the moment of his departure from Milan he said: "It is uncertain what Nelson intends doing. It is very possible that the English, having sent a strong squadron to the East Indies, have ordered Nelson to America. I am, however, of the opinion that he is still in Europe; the most natural supposition is that he has returned to England to refit, and to turn his men over to other vessels, as some of his ships need docking." He impressed on the mind of the Minister of Marine the importance he attached to Villeneuve's having the means of victualing the fleet at Ferrol. He said, with respect to the Rochefort squadron, that the English would no doubt send a squadron after them. "One must not calculate upon what it is the duty of the admiralty to do, with 100,000 men at Boulogne, seven sail of the line in the Texel, with an army of 30,000 men and a fleet of twenty-two sail of the line at Brest. It may happen that Villeneuve will return suddenly; but he might also direct his course to India or to Jamaica. What responsibility, then, weighs on the heads of the ministry if they allow months to pass without sending a force to protect the colonies! It is scarcely probable that England can at any time assemble sixty-five sail of the line. Word must be sent to Villeneuve the moment he arrives at Ferrol, as nothing gives greater courage and clears the ideas so well as knowing the position of the enemy.

"It is true that the English have 111 sail of the line, of which three are guard-ships, and sixteen prison-ships and hospitals. There remain, then,

ninety-two, out of which twenty are undergoing repairs (that is, not ready for sea); there remain seventy-two, the disposition of which is, probably, eight or ten in India, three or four at Jamaica, three or four at Barbadoes, making fourteen or eighteen, leaving fifty-four or fifty-eight with which it is necessary to blockade Cadiz, Ferrol, and Brest, and to follow Villeneuve and Missiessy. The following is the state of our force: Twenty-two at Brest, fifteen at Cadiz, twelve at Ferrol, twenty with Villeneuve, one at Lorient, five with Missiessy—total seventy-five. The fifteen at Cadiz occupy only five English; deduct ten from seventy-five, there remain sixty-five which could be united. It is scarcely possible that the English at any time can assemble sixty-five."

Villeneuve, having sailed to the West Indies, was pursued by Nelson. He left the anchorage at Martinique on May 21, captured a convoy off Barbadoes, and another off the Azores, fell in with and captured a privateer, with a rich prize, a galleon. He was afterward reinforced by Admiral Magon de Clos-Doré, with two sail of the line, and received from him instructions to proceed to Ferrol, where he could be reinforced by five sail of the line under the command of Rear-Admiral Gourdon, and six sail of the line (Spaniards, under the command of Grandelina), and a third squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Lallemand, consisting of five sail of the line (formerly under the command of Missiessy). It was with this fleet of about forty sail of the line that Villeneuve, driving away Admiral Cornwallis from Brest, would necessarily open the passage for Admiral Gauthaume, who had twenty-two sail of the line, and form at the entrance to the Channel sixty-two sail of the line, six 3-deckers, nine 80-gun ships, and forty-seven seventy-fours, for the purpose of covering the 2283 transports of which the flotilla consisted. Such was Napoleon's plan, the execution of which was defeated by Villeneuve, who after the action with Sir Robert Calder, went into Vigo, landed his wounded, and, leaving three sail of the line there, ran into Corunna, where he was reinforced by six sail of the line (French), and ten sail of the line (Spanish), making thirty-one sail of the line.

Napoleon was at Boulogne at that time, and learned from England the situations of the different squadrons. He ordered Gauthaume to anchor at Brest, and to be ready to join Villeneuve with the twenty-two sail of the line, three of them 3-deckers. August 21 Gauthaume anchored in the bay. August 10, the wind being easterly, Villeneuve, having been reinforced by the French and Spanish squadrons under Gourdon, Gravina, and Grandelina, anchored in the bay of Anas, near Ferrol, and put to sea. The 13th, nothing being then in sight,

he first steered northwest, suddenly changed his course to the south, out of sight of land, cruised four days off St. Vincent, and entered Cadiz the 21st, the very day that he was expected at Brest. Lord Collingwood was before Cadiz with four sail of the line; was surprised, and narrowly escaped.

While this was going on, Admiral Lallemand, with four sail of the line, was cruising in the Bay of Biscay. His orders were to cruise to a certain period, then to wait in a particular latitude for orders, and, if none reached him, to proceed to Vigo, the 13th, in order to reinforce Villeneuve. He executed his orders punctually, and anchored on the 16th, two days after Villeneuve had sailed, who, although he expected this reinforcement, had left no orders for Lallemand, compromising by this extraordinary conduct the safety of the squadron. Lallemand, finding no orders, put to sea again, and cruised till December 24. He took a 50-gun ship, a sloop of war, and anchored at Rochefort the 24th of December. Napoleon was at Boulogne when he learned from England the certainty of Villeneuve's arrival at Cadiz. He was furious, saying, "It is treason."

Villeneuve, before leaving Ferrol, said that he was going to Brest, and even wrote to Lallemand, who was to meet him at Vigo. Notwithstanding that he expected this squadron at Vigo, he passed the harbor without sending in. Napoleon ordered the Minister of Marine to make a report of these proceedings.

May 26. Napoleon had been so long expecting his troops, baggage, horses, etc., that he began at length to show signs of impatience, and to suspect the good faith of the French government; but when I informed him that our transports were engaged, and might shortly be expected at Elba, he seemed satisfied, complimented us on our generosity, and added that had he known that our ships were to bring his troops, he should not have had a moment's uneasiness. I dined with Napoleon the following day. While at table a servant announced one of my officers, who wished to see me. It was an officer whom I had stationed at a signal fort that I had established on a commanding height. He reported seven sail in the northwest quarter, standing toward the island. I had no doubt from the number of vessels, and the course that they were taking, that they were the long-expected transports.

Napoleon almost immediately rose from the table, and I accompanied him to his garden, which with his house occupies the highest part of the works, and has a commanding view of the sea toward Italy and the coast of France. Full of anxiety, he stopped at the end of every turn, and looked eagerly for

the vessels. We walked till it was quite dark; he was very communicative, and his conversation highly interesting. It was now near midnight. I told him that with a good night-glass I should be able to see them; for with the breeze they had they could not be very far from the island. He brought me a very fine night-glass, made by Donaldson, which enabled me to see the vessels distinctly. They were lying to. He was much pleased, and in the highest spirits wished me good night.

At four in the morning he was out again giving orders. I was awakened by the beating of drums and cries of "Vive l'Empereur." He ordered the harbor-master and pilots out to the transports, made arrangements for the comfort of his troops, and provided stables for one hundred horses. At about seven o'clock the troops were landed, and paraded before Napoleon, who addressed every officer and private. They appeared delighted at seeing their Emperor again. Among the officers were several Poles, remarkably fine young men. At eight o'clock I ordered half the crew of the *Undaunted* to be sent on board the transports, and by four o'clock the whole of the baggage, carriages, horses, etc., was landed, and the transports were ready for sea. During the entire operation Napoleon remained on the quay under an excessively hot sun.

When I informed him that everything was landed, and that the transports were ready for sea, he expressed surprise, and said, pointing to some Italian sailors, "Those fellows would have been eight days doing what your men have done in so many hours; besides, they would have broken my horses' legs, not one of which has received a scratch." General Cambronne, who came in command of the troops, remained in conversation with Napoleon the whole time. At four the Emperor mounted his horse and rode into the country, and returned to dinner at seven. At half-past seven he rose from the table, and I accompanied him to his garden, where we walked till half-past eleven. It was during this conversation that I told him it was generally thought in England that he intended to rebuild Jerusalem, and that which gave rise to the supposition was his convoking of the sanhedrim of the Jews at Paris. He laughed, and said the sanhedrim was convoked for other purposes; it collected Jews who came from all parts of Europe, but particularly from Poland, and from them he obtained information of the state of Poland. He added that they gave him much useful information, that they were well informed as to the real state of the country on every point, and possessed all the information he wanted, and which he was able to turn to account, and found to be perfectly correct. Great numbers came to

Paris on that occasion, among them several Jews from England.

In talking of his marshals, he seemed to regret that he had not allowed some of them to retire. He said they wanted retirement. He ought to have promoted a batch of young men, who would have been attached to him, like Masséna. He considered Gouvion St. Cyr one of his best soldiers. He said Ney was a man who lived on fire, that he would go into the cannon's mouth for him if he were ordered; but he was not a man of talent or education. Marmont was a good soldier, but a weak man. Soult was a talented and good soldier. Bernadotte, he said, had behaved ill on one occasion, and should have been tried by a court-martial; he did not interfere or influence in any way his election by the Swedes. He had a high opinion of Junot, who stood at his side while he was writing a despatch on a drum-head, on the field of battle, during which time a shot passed, tearing up the earth about them. Junot remarked that it was very apropos, as he needed sand to dry his ink.

The following morning I requested an interview before taking leave, on my sailing from Elba to join the commander-in-chief at Genoa. He was alone at the time. He seemed affected, and requested me to prolong my stay at Elba, and asked me if the wind was fair for Genoa. He said, "You are the first Englishman I have been acquainted with," and spoke in a flattering manner of England. He said he felt under great obligations to Sir Edward Pellew, and requested that I would assure him of his gratitude for the attentions shown him; that he hoped, when the war with America was terminated, I would pay him a visit. I told him I had that morning breakfasted with the Comte de Montcabri on board the frigate *Dryade*; that he informed me that the Prince of Essling had had a dispute with Sir Edward Pellew, and that the French government had, in consequence, some intention of removing him from the command at Toulon. He remarked that he was one of his best marshals, a man of superior talent; but that his health was bad in consequence of bursting a blood-vessel. I

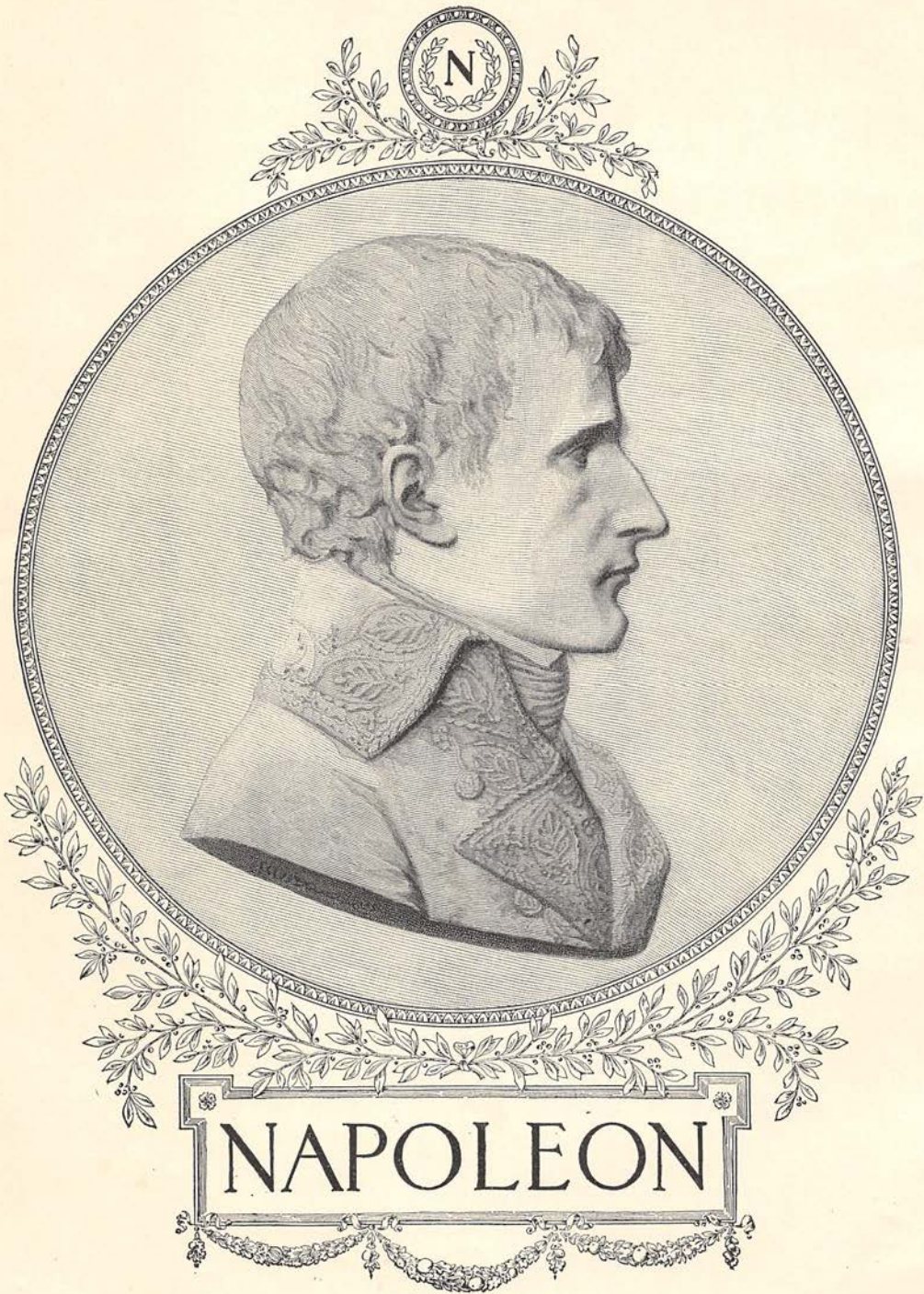
¹ "Adieu, Capitaine, comptez sur moi. Adieu!"

said it was understood that he was so much displeased with the conduct of the Prince of Essling in the Peninsula that he had ordered him to Barèges. He replied that I was greatly mistaken, that at the time referred to the Prince's health was very delicate, and his physicians recommended him to go to Nice, the place of his birth, and that after his recovery he was given the command of Toulon, which was just then vacant. I requested the Emperor to allow me to present Lieutenant Bailey, the agent of transports, who had been appointed to embark his guards, etc., at Savona. He thanked Lieutenant Bailey for the attention paid to his troops, and for the care which had been taken of his horses, and remarked how extraordinary it was that no accident had happened to them (there were ninety-three) either in the embarkation or disembarkation, and complimented him highly on his skill and attention, adding that our sailors exceeded even the opinion he had long since formed of them.

During this conversation Napoleon gave a remarkable proof of his retentive memory, and of his information on subjects connected with naval matters. Lieutenant Bailey informed him that after the guards had embarked, a violent gale of wind arose, with a heavy sea, which at one time threatened the destruction of the transports, and that he considered Savona a dangerous anchorage. Napoleon remarked that if he had gone to a small bay (I think it was Vado) near Savona, he might have lain there in perfect safety. He requested me to inform the commander-in-chief how much he was satisfied with Lieutenant Bailey's kind and skilful conduct. He then thanked me for my attention to himself, and, embracing me *à la Française*, said, "Adieu, Captain! rely on me. Adieu!"¹ He seemed much affected.

IN closing this, I may say that I have endeavored throughout to execute faithfully and zealously the somewhat difficult mission with which I have been charged, but at the same time with that deference and respect for the feelings of Napoleon which have appeared to me no less due to his misfortunes than to his exalted station and splendid talents.

THOMAS USSHER, *Captain R. N.*



NAPOLEON

LIST OF PERSONS ACCOMPANYING THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE ISLAND OF ELBA.

General Koller	} Austrian Envoys.	M. Sotain	Master of the Ceremonies.
Comte Clam		M. Purron	Officer of the Ceremonies.
Colonel Campbell	} English Envoy.	M. Rousset	Chief Cook.
Comte Bertrand	Grand Marshal of the Palace.	M. Lafosse	Chief Baker.
Comte Druot	General of Division and A. D.	M. Gaillard	} Valets.
	C. to the Emperor.	M. Archambault	
Baron Germanowki	Major of the L. H. Guards.	M. Poillett	
Chevalier Foureau	First Physician to the Emperor.	M. Berthault	
		M. Villenaine	
Chevalier Baillon	} Grooms of the Bedchamber.	Dennis	Keeper of the Wardrobe.
Chevalier Deschamps		Treasurer.	Gandron
M. Gatte	Apothecary.	Mathiers	
M. Callin	Comptroller to the Household.	Rousseau	
M. Rothery	Secretary to the Grand Marshal.	Armaudrau	Rider.
M. Gueval	Clerk to the Comptroller.	Noverve	Body-servant.
M. Pelard	} Valets de Chambre.	Besson	} Grooms of the State.
M. Hubert			
			Chauvin
		Sentini	

NOTE. When Colonel Campbell arrived at Marseilles on April 25, he informed me that, having been appointed by Lord Castlereagh to accompany Napoleon to Elba, he arrived at Fontainebleau on the 16th, at nine o'clock in the morning. He met there Comte Bertrand, who expressed the Emperor's anxiety to proceed to his destination, and his wish to change the place of embarkation from St. Tropez to Piombino, as there could be no certainty of his being received by the commandant of Elba, and by going to Piombino that would be previously ascertained. If refused, he might be driven off the island by tempest while waiting permission to land. He expressed the hope that Colonel Campbell would remain at Elba until his affairs were settled; otherwise an Algerine corsair might land and do what he pleased. He seemed much satisfied when Colonel Campbell told him that he had Lord Castlereagh's instructions to remain there for some time, if necessary for the security of Napoleon. After breakfast Comte Flahaut informed the commissioners that the Emperor would see them after he had attended mass. The commissioners were introduced in the following order: Russian guard, Prince Schoovalof, who remained five minutes; Austrian general, Baron Koller, the same time; Comte Truxo, Colonel Campbell, quarter of an hour. Napoleon asked Campbell about his wounds and service, where his family resided, and seemed very affable. Colonel Campbell received from Paris a copy of the order from General Dupont, Minister of War, to the commandant at Elba, to give up the island to Napoleon, taking away the guns, stores, etc. This displeased Napoleon exceedingly; he had a conversation with General Koller on the subject, and requested him to send his aide-de-camp with a note relating to it to Paris, wishing to know how he was to protect himself against any corsair, and saying that

if this conduct was continued he would go to England. A note was presented to the commissioners by Comte Bertrand, who added verbally that the Emperor would not disembark unless the guns were left for security and defense.

April 20. The horses were ordered at 9 A. M. The Emperor desired to see General Koller. He spoke warmly against the separation from his wife and child, also of the order for withdrawing the guns from Elba, saying he had nothing to do with the provisional government; his treaty was with the allied sovereigns, and to them he looked for every act. He was not yet destitute of means to continue the war, but it was not his wish to do so. General Koller endeavored to persuade him that the treaty would be fulfilled with honor. He then sent for Colonel Campbell, and began a conversation similar to the one on the 16th, speaking of service, wounds, etc., the system and discipline of the British army, necessity of corporal punishment, though he thought it should seldom be applied. He was much satisfied at Lord Castlereagh's placing a British man-of-war at his disposal, if he wished it, for convoy or passage, and complimented the nation. He then said he was ready. The Duke of Bassano, General Belliard, Arnano, and four or five others (his aides-de-camp), with about twenty other officers, were in the ante-chamber. On entering the first room there were only General Belliard and Arnano; an aide-de-camp suddenly shut the door, so it is presumed he was taking a particular leave of them; the door then opened, and the aide-de-camp called out, "The Emperor." He passed with a salute and smile, descended into the court, addressed his guards, embraced General Petit and the colors, entered his carriage, and drove off.

April 21. Slept at Bienne in a large hotel, a good supper being provided. The Emperor supped with General Bertrand.

April 22. Slept at Nevers. Cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" In the morning he sent for Colonel Campbell. The table was laid; so he desired the servant to lay another cover, and invited the colonel to stay and breakfast. General Bertrand also joined them. Napoleon asked Colonel Campbell who commanded in the Mediterranean. He said he did not know for certain, but believed Sir Sidney Smith was one of the admirals. When Comte Bertrand sat down, he said, laughing: "Que pensez-vous, Sidney Smith amiral dans la Méditerranée!"¹ He then related Smith's having thrown several thousand shot from his ships on them without killing a man (this was at Acre). It was his great source, for he paid much for every shot brought in by the men. "Il m'envoya des parlementaires comme un second Marlborough."²

April 23. Before the journey this morning, he requested Colonel Campbell to go on, in order to expedite the British man-of-war, and also to write to Admiral Emeriau at Toulon to expedite the French corvette. He sent off to Auxerre to order his heavy baggage, with

the escort of 600 guards and horses, to go by land to Piombino; but if that was objected to, to go by Lyons, and to drop down the Rhone. Colonel Campbell proceeded on by Lyons and Aix, when he learned that I was at anchor in the bay of Marseilles, where he arrived the evening of the 25th. The morning of the 20th the commissioners communicated to Comte Bertrand the facilities which had been obtained in regard to the several difficulties presented respecting a director of posts for the horses, and a British man-of-war for convoy or conveyance, and a copy of the order given by General Dupont.

After the formation of the provisional government, a person was asked by Napoleon what he thought of his situation, and whether he thought there were any measures to be taken. He replied in the negative. Napoleon asked what he would do in a similar situation; his questioner said he would blow out his brains. The Emperor reflected a moment. "Oui, je puis faire cela, mais ceux qui me veulent du bien ne pourraient pas en profiter, et ceux qui me veulent du mal, cela leur ferait plaisir."³

Thomas Ussher, R. N.

¹ "What do you think, Sidney Smith admiral in the Mediterranean!"

² "He sent me parlementaires like a second Marlborough." ("Parlementaire" means "the bearer of a flag of truce.")

³ "Yes, I can do that, but those who wish me well could not profit by it, and those who wish me harm would be pleased."

JAMAICA.

WITH PICTURES BY THE AUTHOR.



WE were bound for the tropics. No more overcoats, no more cold. We had been told that in three days' sail from New York we would be on deck in summer clothing. Could it be true? Then we were on the deck of the steamer *Aquan*, fruiter and freighter, at one of the Brooklyn wharves, the wind howling through the rigging, battling the boards on the side of the wharf building, reddening our noses, and obliging us to stamp up and down to keep alive. There was no steam turned on in the cabin, and it was as cold below as it was on deck. Every one was disconsolate. We turned on our heels to find, if possible, a warm place up by the boilers. It was of no use. We went between decks, and found a dark gangway where we walked up and down. At least we were out of the biting wind there, but the darkness was very oppressive, and the odors were not wholesome; so, after a time, we went on deck, and found all excitement. They were casting off the lines, men were hurrying

here and there, officers were shouting, bells ringing, whistles blowing, and we thought we heard the propeller beginning to turn. It was so; we were off. Slowly we passed the end of the pier, and glided out into the open water, by the Battery, and by the forts on the island. The captain quietly remarked that we had better go and eat a good dinner while we were able.

At the table we found about thirty fellow-passengers, but only three ladies among them. That middle-aged gentleman, Major —, was an American consul. He had been home to recover his health, and was going back now in good trim to try it again. Beside him was Mr. G—, second in charge of the works of the Nicaragua Canal Company. Yonder gentleman on the right was a miner from California, who was going down to see what there was in that gold-mining hurrah in Central America. That young man with the prominent nose and retreating forehead was known as Captain M—. He was not a captain, though,—only a salesman of cash-registers,—but was called captain as a mark of esteem, because he was