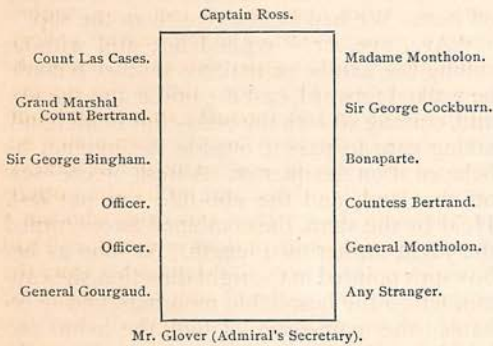


TAKING NAPOLEON TO ST. HELENA.

FROM A MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF THE TRIP, WRITTEN BY
THE ADMIRAL'S SECRETARY.¹



PLAN OF THE TABLE DURING THE VOYAGE.
(FROM MR. GLOVER'S MANUSCRIPT.)

A NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE TO ST. HELENA, PARTICULARLY RELATING TO THE ACTIONS AND CONVERSATION OF BONAPARTE, ONCE THE SCOURGE OF MANKIND, BUT NOW THE *DETENU* OF THAT NATION WHOSE ATTEMPTED DESTRUCTION HAD BEEN THE MAINSPRING OF HIS ACTIONS FOR MANY YEARS.

July 26, 1815.—Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn was appointed by the Government to convey Napoleon Bonaparte to St. Helena, which had been selected as the spot of all others most likely to secure him against returning to Europe. The *Northumberland*, Captain C. B. H. Ross, which ship was in the Medway, was hurried round to Portsmouth with all possible expedition. She arrived there on the 31st, when the utmost exertions were made to complete her for foreign service.

August 2-5.—On this day Sir George Cockburn arrived at Portsmouth, and on the afternoon of the third, notwithstanding the ship was in the greatest possible state of confusion (from the hurried manner in which stores of every description had been put on board), we sailed from

Spithead, with the *Bucephalus* and *Ceylon*, troopships having on board the second battalion of the 53d Regiment, commanded by Colonel Sir George Bingham. A company of artillery, commanded by Captain Greatly, was also on board the *Northumberland*. We had calm weather with light airs occasionally, which greatly enabled the ship being put somewhat to rights.

August 6.—About noon, when off Berry Head, we discovered a squadron which proved to be the *Tonnant*, having the flag of Lord Keith, commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet; the *Bellerophon* (having on board Napoleon Bonaparte and his suite); and the *Eurotas* frigate. Sir George Cockburn went on board the *Tonnant* when the squadron anchored to the westward of Berry Head. On communicating with the *Tonnant*, we found that Lord Keith had sailed suddenly with his squadron from Plymouth to prevent any difficulty or unpleasant consequences in removing Bonaparte to the *Northumberland*, it being understood that a writ of *habeas corpus*, or subpoena, had been taken out to remove him to London, to appear as evidence at some trial, in consequence of which it was determined that this ex-emperor should be removed at sea. During the afternoon a conference was held by Lord Keith, Sir George Cockburn, and Maréchal Bertrand, relative to the transhipment of the French party; and after dinner Lord Keith, accompanied by Sir George Cockburn, went on board the *Bellerophon* to make known to Bonaparte that it was necessary to remove him to the *Northumberland* as quickly as possible and convenient, for the purpose of being conveyed to St. Helena. Bonaparte protested strenuously against this procedure, and the right of the British government thus to dispose of him. Sir George, however, contented himself by observing that as a military officer he must obey his instructions, and therefore expressed a hope that

¹ This diary by John R. Glover, secretary to Rear-Admiral Cockburn, is here first published by arrangement with T. Fisher Unwin, Esq., of London. The original is in possession of the Reverend O. M. Grindon, The Vicarage, South Wraxall, Bradford-on-Avon, England, whose father-in-law married the widow of Mr. Glover. Mr. Grindon writes: "I can assure you that there is not a shadow of reason for supposing that the Napoleon MS. has been, even partially, printed before."

Careful inquiry fails to reveal any such publication of the narrative, which is not only unique as a contribution to Napoleonic literature, but has added interest in connection with Las Cases' account of the same voyage in his "Memoirs of Napoleon," both in the resemblances and in the differences which mark the two accounts. The longer sub-title is part of the original MS., which has been followed verbatim, except in one or two instances of manifest error.

EDITOR.

he (Bonaparte) would be ready to move the next day with such of his followers as it was determined were to accompany him.

August 7.—After breakfast Sir George Cockburn went again on board the *Bellerophon* to examine the baggage of Bonaparte and his followers, at which they were excessively indignant. Nevertheless, everything was inspected, but no one of the French officers would attend. All the arms were delivered up, and 4000 napoleons were detained by Sir George Cockburn, and delivered to Captain Maitland to be forwarded to the treasury; after which the luggage was transhipped, and every necessary arrangement made. About two o'clock Bonaparte came on board the *Northumberland*, accompanied by Lord Keith. On coming on deck he said to Sir George Cockburn (in French), "Here I am, General, at your orders." He then begged to be introduced to the captain, and asked the names of the different officers on deck, to what regiments they belonged, and other questions of trifling import. He then, with Sir George Cockburn, Lord Keith, and some of his followers, went into the after cabin, where he was left. The following persons were allowed to follow Bonaparte into exile, and came at the same time with him from the *Bellerophon*, viz.: General Comte de Bertrand, grand marshal of the palace; General de Montholon; General Gourgaud; Comte Las Cases, and his son, about thirteen years of age; Comtesse de Bertrand, with three children; Comtesse de Montholon, with one child; three valets de chambre; three valets de pied; a maître d'hôtel; a chef d'office; a cook; a porter; a lamp-lighter (*lampiste*); and a male servant of Maréchal Bertrand's. The following persons were allowed to come on board from the *Eurotas* frigate to take their final leave of Bonaparte, viz.: Lieutenant-Colonel Resigny, Lieutenant-Colonel Schultz, Le Chef d'Escadre Mercher, Captain Autrié, Captain Rivière, Captain St. Catherine, Captain Piontkowski, and Lieutenant-Colonel Plaisir, the major part of whom appeared affected on quitting their quondam master, most particularly Piontkowski, who, after using every entreaty in vain to be allowed to accompany Bonaparte, solicited most earnestly to be allowed to become a servant. But this was also refused, and they all returned.¹

The admiral after this went into the after cabin with some of the officers, and, finding Bonaparte seemed to assume an exclusive right to this cabin, he desired Maréchal Bertrand to explain that the after cabin must be considered as common to us all, and that the sleeping-cabin could alone be considered as exclusively his. Bonaparte received this intimation with submission and apparent good humor, and soon

after went on deck, where he remained a considerable time, asking various questions of each officer of trifling import. He particularly asked Sir George Bingham and Captain Greatly to what regiments they belonged, and when told that Captain Greatly belonged to the artillery, he replied quickly, "I also belonged to the artillery." After conversing on deck for some time, this ex-emperor retired to the cabin allotted him as a sleeping-cabin, which is about nine feet wide and twelve feet long, with a narrow passage leading to the quarter-gallery. The admiral had a similar sleeping-cabin on the opposite side. The after cabin is our general sitting-room and the fore cabin our mess-room; the others of the party are accommodated below by the captain and some of the officers giving up their cabins, and by building others on the main deck. Thus this man, who but a short time since kept nations in dread, and had thousands at his nod, has descended from the emperor to the general with a flexibility of mind more easily to be imagined than described. He is henceforth to be styled general, and by directions from our Government he is to have the same honors and respect paid him as a British general not in employ.

Our mess now consists of Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn; C. B. H. Ross, captain of the *Northumberland*; Mr. J. R. Glover, secretary to Sir George Cockburn; Sir George R. Bingham, colonel of the 53d Regiment (a passenger); General Bonaparte; Maréchal Bertrand; Major-Generals de Montholon and Gourgaud; Le Comte de Las Cases; and Mesdames Montholon and Bertrand. At 6 p. m. dinner was announced, when we all sat down in apparent good spirits, and our actions declared our appetites fully equal to those spirits. General Bonaparte ate of every dish at table, using his fingers instead of a fork, seeming to prefer the rich dishes to the plain dressed food, and not even tasting vegetables. Claret was his beverage, which he drank out of a tumbler, keeping the bottle before him. He conversed the whole of dinner-time, confining his conversation principally to the admiral, with whom he talked over the whole of the Russian campaign, and attributed the failure of it in the first instance to the burning of Moscow, in the next to the frost setting in much sooner than was expected. He said he meant only to have refreshed his troops for four or five days, and then to have pushed on for St. Petersburg; but finding all his plans frustrated by the burning of Moscow, and his army likely to perish, he hurried back to Paris, setting out with a chosen body-guard, one half of which was frozen to death the first night. He said nothing could be more horrible than the retreat from Moscow, and indeed the whole of the Russian cam-

¹ See full and probably more correct list, p. 831.—ED.

paigned; that for several days together it appeared to him as if he were marching through a sea of fire, owing to the constant succession of villages in flames, which arose in every direction as far as the eye could reach. He said the burning of these villages, as well as of Moscow, was attributed to his troops, but that it was invariably done by the natives. After dinner he did not drink wine, but he took a glass of noyau after his coffee, previous to rising from table. After dinner he walked the deck, conversing principally with the admiral, and to whom he said, during this conversation, that previous to his going to Elba he had made preparations for having a navy of a hundred sail of the line; that he had established a conscription for the navy; and that the Toulon fleet was entirely manned and brought forward by people of this description; that he had ordered them positively to get under way and manœuver every day the weather would permit, and to occasionally exchange long shots with our ships; that this had been remonstrated against by those about him, and it had cost him much money to repair the accidents which occurred from the want of maritime knowledge, such as ships getting foul of each other, splitting their sails, springing their masts, etc.; but he found this tended to improve the crews, and he determined to persevere in his plan. After walking for some time, he proposed a round game at cards, in compliance with which the admiral, Sir George Bingham, Captain Ross, and myself assembled with General Bonaparte and his followers in the after cabin, where we played at *vingt-un* [*sic*] (which was the game chosen by the ex-emperor) till nearly eleven o'clock, when we all retired to our beds.

Could any person ignorant of the events which had so lately occurred have witnessed the group at cards, he never could possibly have imagined that it consisted of a fallen emperor, a fallen marshal, two fallen generals, an ex-count, two ex-countesses, an English admiral (guardian of the fallen), and an English colonel, captain, and secretary in office; nor could he have distinguished any difference in the countenances of those fallen and those in the plenitude of their power.

As the ship had not been fitted for so many passengers, there was difficulty in providing them with adequate room and accommodation, as each asked and expected a separate apartment. The general was provided as before mentioned, Captain Ross gave up his cabin to Marshal and Madame Bertrand, I gave up mine to General and Madame Montholon, and it was arranged that General Gourgaud and Count Las Cases were to sleep on sofa-beds in the after cabin, until cabins could be built for them between decks.

August 8.—The weather unpleasant; wind from northeast, with much swell. We lay to most of this day off Plymouth, waiting to be joined by the squadron destined to accompany us. The *Havannah*, *Zenobia*, and *Peruvian* joined during the day. The last was despatched to Guernsey to procure French wines, and rejoin us at Madeira. Owing to the swell and consequent motion, but few of our guests were able to come to table, and the general did not make his appearance during the day.

August 9.—The *Zephyr*, *Icarus*, *Redpole*, and *Ferret* joined from Plymouth, which completed our destined squadron (except the *Weymouth*, store-ship). We proceeded down Channel with a fresh wind from the northwest and much swell. The ex-emperor made his first appearance this day about two o'clock, and after walking a short time on deck he went into the after cabin, where he played at chess until dinner was announced. During the first part of the dinner he was very reserved; but after taking a few glasses of wine, he threw off that reserve and conversed freely, but chiefly with the admiral, of whom he made many and particular inquiries relative to India and the state of our forces there. He said that formerly he had corresponded with Tippoo Saib, and on going to Egypt he entertained hopes of reaching India; but the removal of the vizir, and the change of politics with the Ottoman Porte, with other circumstances, had frustrated his hopes and prevented him pursuing that career which he had at first contemplated. He sat but a short time at dinner, and then went on deck, where he walked, keeping his hat off and looking round steadfastly and rather sternly to see if the British officers did the same. However, as the admiral, after saluting the deck, put his hat on, the officers did the same (the admiral having previously desired that the officers should not be uncovered), and thus not a British head was uncovered, at which he was evidently piqued, and soon retired to the after cabin. His followers were constantly uncovered in his presence, and watched his every motion with obsequious attention. About 8 P. M., General Gourgaud begged of us to join the *vingt-un* party, which the admiral, Sir George Bingham, Captain Ross, and myself did, and played until about half-past nine, when Bonaparte retired to bed. During this evening he talked but little and appeared sulky; however, this produced no alteration in our manners toward him, neither was he payed more respect than any other officer present. This afternoon the *Zenobia* was despatched to put letters into the post-office at Falmouth, off which place we were.

August 10.—The weather moderate; the wind to the westward, with considerable swell

from that quarter. As soon as the *Zenobia* re-joined, we made sail on the starboard tack. Our passengers, with the exception of the general, were all assembled at the second breakfast about half-past ten. This meal consisted of soup, roasted meat, a haricot, marmalade, with porter and claret as a beverage (which, I understand, is the constant breakfast of the general), the ladies, and even the children, drinking both porter and wine with water. Between two and three Bonaparte made his appearance on deck, asking various questions as to the names of the vessels with us, the probable time of our voyage to Madeira, etc. His fellow-prisoners are ever uncovered in his presence, and in speaking to him invariably address him either "Sire" or "Votre Majesté," but the admiral as well as the officers at all times address him as general. However, the difficulty of repressing the inclination to pay him marked attention is evident, and the curiosity of both officers and men in watching his actions is very easily perceived. About four o'clock he retired to the after cabin, where he played at chess with General Montholon until dinner-time. He appeared to play but badly, and certainly very much inferior to his antagonist, who nevertheless was determined not to win the game from his ex-majesty. At dinner he ate heartily of every dish, his fork remaining useless, whilst his fingers were busily employed. During dinner, in conversation with the admiral relative to our contests with America, he said Mr. Madison was too late in declaring war; that he had never made any requisition to France for assistance; but that he (Bonaparte) would very readily have lent any number of ships of the line Mr. Madison might have wished for, if American seamen could have been sent to man them and carry them to America; but that, the affairs of France beginning to go wrong about that period, it was out of his power to afford any material assistance to the American government. During the dinner he drank very heartily of claret out of a tumbler, but nothing after dinner except a glass of noyau. When coffee was served, he swallowed his hastily, and got up from table before many of us were even served, and went on deck, followed by Maréchal Bertrand and Comte Las Cases. This induced the admiral to desire the remainder of the party not to quit the table, and directed the steward in future to serve coffee to the general, and such of his followers as chose to take it, immediately after the cloth was removed, whilst we would continue at table and drink our wine.

Bonaparte walked the deck, asking various trifling questions, until nearly dark, when our vingt-un party was again formed. The general was again unlucky, losing ten or twelve napoleons, but with perfect good humor. About half-

past nine he retired to his sleeping-cabin. General Gourgaud (who was one of the general's aides-de-camp at the battle of Waterloo), in conversation with the admiral, said that during that battle, when the Prussians appeared, General Bonaparte believed them to have been General Grouchy's division, he having left between 30,000 and 40,000 men with that general under orders to advance (in the direction from which the Prussians came) if from the firing heard General Grouchy should have reason to suppose the day was obstinately contested by the English; and this he said induced Bonaparte to persist in his efforts so long, and occasioned (when it was discovered that there was nothing but Prussians on the French flank) so general and complete a rout. He said Bonaparte was forced off the ground by Soult, and he proceeded as quickly as possible afterward to Paris; but so great were the panic and disorder among the French soldiers that many of them, without arms or accoutrements, actually arrived in Paris, some behind carriages, and others in carts, etc., on the same day with the general and his attendants, not having halted once from the moment of their quitting the field, and reporting everywhere as they passed that all was lost. Our latitude to-day at noon was $49^{\circ} 41' N$.

August 11.—The weather bad and squally, with an unpleasant swell and wind from the northwest. Our guests were all seasick, and General Gourgaud was the only one able to sit at table. Bonaparte did not quit his cabin the whole day. Maréchal Bertrand, in a conversation relative to General Bonaparte's return, stated it was actuated by what the papers mentioned of the distracted state of France, and that he was received everywhere as a father returning to his children. Our latitude to-day was $48^{\circ} 48' N$., longitude, $5^{\circ} 58' W$.

August 12.—The weather moderate; wind to the westward, with much swell, which caused so unpleasant a motion as to prevent our female guests from assembling at the breakfast-table. About three o'clock Bonaparte made his appearance upon deck; but owing to the motion, he found it difficult to walk. However, with the help of Sir George Bingham's arm, he walked for about half an hour, asking commonplace questions, and pitying those on board the brigs in company, which seemed to roll and pitch very much. General Montholon, Comte Las Cases, and the two ladies complained much of seasickness; nevertheless, we all assembled at five o'clock at dinner, except General Montholon. Bonaparte was more silent than usual, and did not eat so heartily, apparently affected by the motion. After dinner he walked a considerable time with the admiral, in earnest conversation. About eight we adjourned to the after cabin, and played the usual game of

vingt-un until near ten. The admiral told me that in the conversation with the general this evening, in speaking of Ferdinand of Spain, he (the general) considered him both a fool and a coward, that he was perfectly under the dominion of priesthood, and was merely a passive instrument in the hands of the monks. He added that he looked on King Charles of Spain as an honest, good man, but that he had lost everything by his attachment to a bad wife. Among other things he mentioned that Baron de Kolly, who was sent by the British government to bring off Ferdinand, was first discovered by his endeavoring to gain some person to his interest in Paris, and also from suspicion excited by the command of money which he appeared to possess; that upon his being arrested all his papers were discovered, and then it was determined to send off a police officer from Paris to personate Kolly at Valençay, to deliver the prince regent's letter, and to assure Ferdinand that everything was prepared for his escape, purposely to prove how he would act under such circumstances; but in spite of everything this sham Kolly could urge (and Bonaparte added that he was a clever fellow), Ferdinand's courage was not equal to the undertaking, and he obstinately refused to have anything to do with the supposed agent of Great Britain. The general said that until Kolly was discovered at Paris, the French government had no idea of our attempting to carry off Ferdinand; but however, he was quite convinced, had Kolly not been discovered, the pusillanimity of Ferdinand would have prevented all possibility of our success. Our latitude this day at noon was $46^{\circ} 30' N.$, and longitude $8^{\circ} 2' W.$

August 13.—The weather very fine, with calms. Napoleon has hitherto breakfasted in his cabin. Our other guests were all assembled at the second breakfast, and it was evident from their appetites that they had forgot their seasickness. During the forenoon Madame Bertrand expressed great regret at having undertaken the voyage; she also expressed hopes that Maréchal Bertrand and herself would be allowed to return to England in the course of twelve months. Between two and three the general came on deck, and walked until nearly dinner-time. He made many inquiries relative to a French merchant brig spoken by one of the squadron, which was fourteen days from Havre. He seemed anxious to know how long we should be in reaching Madeira, and whether we were likely to anchor there. At dinner the Rev. George Rennell, chaplain of the ship, who had been invited to dine with us, happening to sit opposite the general, the latter observed him with peculiar attention, and during the whole of the dinner-time he was completely

occupied in asking questions relative to the Protestant religion,—asking what were the forms of our church service; whether we used music; whether we used extreme unction; whether we prayed for the dead; how many sacraments we had, and how often the sacrament was performed; whether our religion was similar to either the Calvinist or Lutheran; whether length of time was necessary to study, and how long so before a clergyman could be ordained; how many different sects of dissenters we had in England; whether we believed in transubstantiation—in fact he asked almost every possible question. He also asked Mr. Rennell whether he had ever seen the Roman Catholic worship performed; and being answered in the affirmative (in Spain), he said, “Ah, there you would see it with every pompous effect.” After dinner he walked until nearly dark, when he retired to the after cabin. I went in shortly after, and, on taking up one of his books, of which he has a very good collection, he asked me if I had ever read Ossian. I replied I had in English, when he said, “I do not know what it is in English, but it is very fine in French,” and immediately offered me the book he had in his hand, and which was Ossian. After conversing a few minutes he asked, “What is the hour?” and being told it was eight, he said, “It is time to play at vingt-un.” Madame Bertrand, seeing that I appeared somewhat surprised, it being Sunday evening, said, “Do you never play cards on Sunday?” I replied it was not customary. Bonaparte said, “Why, the upper circles in London play cards on Sundays,” to which I assented. He then said, “The admiral, I suppose, will not dislike it. Send for him and the colonel” (meaning Sir George Bingham). Cards were produced, and we played for about an hour (but neither the admiral nor Sir George Bingham joined the party), when Bonaparte went to bed. Our latitude at noon was $45^{\circ} 42' N.$, longitude, $8^{\circ} 10' W.$

August 14.—Light winds, with a continuation of fine weather. Bonaparte, as usual, breakfasted in his cabin. He walked the deck both before and after dinner, and spent the evening playing at vingt-un; but nothing occurred in his conversation worthy of notice. Both he and the admiral appeared distant to each other. Madame Bertrand during the day made many anxious inquiries as to our opinions whether the English ministry would allow her and the maréchal to return to England. To-day, in a conversation with Mr. Barry O'Meara, late surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, who was permitted by Lord Keith, at the request of General Bonaparte, to accompany him to St. Helena (and who is now considered one of the general's suite), he told me that on July 15 the

following persons quitted France with Bonaparte.¹

To-day at noon our latitude was 45° 13' N., and longitude 9° 5' W. We had still light airs, with the wind to the westward, and with much less swell than usual. This being Bonaparte's birthday, all his followers appeared dressed in their best. He walked as usual before dinner, and appeared particularly cheerful. He asked numerous questions relative to the Cape of Good Hope: as to the color of the natives; their disposition; what inland traffic was carried on; how far the interior had been explored. During the dinner he reverted to his northern campaign, saying had he succeeded in that, he seriously intended to have invaded Great Britain. At dinner we all drank his health in compliment to his birthday, with which civility he seemed much pleased. He walked a considerable time with the admiral after dinner, talking of the invasion of England. He said that when the demonstration was made at Boulogne, he had most perfectly and decidedly made up his mind to it (the invasion); that his putting guns into the praams and the rest of his armed flotilla was only to deceive and endeavor to make us believe he intended to make a descent upon England with their assistance only, whereas he had never intended to make any other use of them than as transports, and entirely depended on his fleets being enabled to deceive ours by the route and manœuvres he intended them to make; and that they would thereby be enabled to get off Boulogne, so as to have a decided superiority in the Channel long enough to insure his making good a landing, for which he said everything was so arranged and prepared that he would have required only twenty-four hours after arriving at the spot fixed on. He said he had 200,000 men for this service, out of which

6000 were cavalry, which would have been landed with horses and every appointment complete and fit for acting the moment they were put on shore; and that the praams were particularly intended for carrying over these horses. He said the exact point of debarkation had not been fixed on, as he considered it not material, and only therefore to be determined by the winds and circumstances of the moment; but that he intended to have got as near to Chatham as he conveniently could, to have secured our resources there at once, and to have pushed on to London by that road. He told Sir George Cockburn he had ordered his Mediterranean admiral to proceed with his fleet to Martinique to distract our attention, and draw our fleet after him, and then to exert the utmost efforts to get quickly back to Europe; and looking into Brest (where he had ordered another fleet under Ganteaume to be ready to join him), the whole was to push up Channel to Boulogne, where he (Bonaparte) was to be ready to join them, and to move with them over to our coast at an hour's notice. And in point of fact, he said, he was so ready, his things embarked, and himself anxiously looking for the arrival of his fleets, when he heard of their having returned indeed to Europe; but instead of their coming into the Channel, in conformity with the instructions he had given, they had got to Cadiz, where they were blocked up by the English fleet, with which they had had a partial engagement off Ferrol, and thus, he said, by the disobedience and want of management of his admirals, he saw in a moment that all his hopes with regard to invading England were frustrated, with this additional disadvantage (which he had fully foreseen when he first turned in his mind the idea of such an attempt), that the preparations at Boulogne had given a stronger military bias to every individual in England,

¹ GÉNÉRAUX.—Le Lieutenant-Général Comte Bertrand, grand maréchal; le Lieutenant-Général Duc de Rovigo; le Lieutenant-Général Baron Lallemand (refused permission to go), A. D. C. à sa Majesté; le Lieutenant-Général Baron Gourgaud, A. D. C. à sa Majesté; Le Comte Las Cases, conseiller d'état.

DAMES.—Madame la Comtesse Bertrand; Madame la Comtesse Montholon.

OFFICERS.—Lieutenant-Colonel De Planat; M. Maingant, chirurgien de sa Majesté. Mr. Barry O'Meara, surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, accompanies the general as his surgeon in lieu of M. Maingant, who was re-landed in France.

ENFANTS.—Three children of Madame la Comtesse Bertrand; one child of Madamela Comtesse Montholon.

OFFICIER.—M. Las Cases, page.

SERVICE DE LA CHAMBRE.—M. Marchand, 1st valet de chambre; M. Gilli, valet de chambre; M. St. Denis, valet de chambre; M. Navarra, valet de chambre; M. Denis, garçon de garde-robe.

LIVRÉE.—M. Archambaud, 1st valet de pied; M. Gaudron, valet de pied; M. Gentilini, valet de pied.

SERVICE DE LA BOUCHE.—M. Fontain, 1st maître d'hôtel; M. Freron, 1st chef d'office; M. La Fosse,

1st cuisinier; M. Le Page, cuisinier; two femmes de chambre de Madame la Comtesse Bertrand; one femme de chambre de Madame la Comtesse de Montholon.

SUITE DE PERSONNES QUI ACCOMPAGNENT SA MAJESTÉ.—One valet de chambre du Duc de Rovigo; one valet de chambre du Comte Bertrand; one valet de chambre du Comte Montholon; one valet de pied du Comte Bertrand. The foregoing went on board the *Bellerophon*.

OFFICERS.—Le Lieutenant-Colonel Resigny; Capitaine Autrié; Capitaine Piontkowski; Sous-Lieutenant St. Catherine; Lieutenant-Colonel Schultz; Capitaine Mercher; Lieutenant Rivière.

SUITE DE SA MAJESTÉ.—Cipriani, maître d'hôtel; Rosseau, lampiste; Archambaud, valet de pied; Liviany, garde d'office; Fumeau, valet de pied. The above on board the *Myrmidon*.

N. B.—The names were copied from the original French list delivered on board the *Bellerophon*. General Gourgaud, one of the first mentioned, went to England with a letter to the Prince Regent; but, not being permitted to land, he returned on board the *Bellerophon* when that ship arrived in Torbay.

and enabled ministers to make greater efforts than they otherwise perhaps would have been permitted to do. He added that he believed, however, the English administration had entertained great alarms for the issue, if he had got over, as his secret agents at the Russian court reported to him that Great Britain had most pressingly urged that court with Austria to declare war against France for the purpose of averting from England the danger of this threatened invasion, which he said, however, he had given up from the moment he found his fleets had failed. Having then turned his whole attention to his new enemies on the Continent, his force collected at Boulogne enabled him to make the sudden movement which proved fatal to General Mack, and gave him (Bonaparte) all the advantages which followed. In short, the account he gave very much tallied with Goldsmith's relation of the same circumstances as given in his "History of the Cabinet of St. Cloud."

During the conversation Bonaparte told the admiral in a manner not at all suspicious that Admiral Villeneuve decidedly put himself to death, though the general in talking of him seemed very strongly impressed with an idea of that admiral's unpardonable neglect, disobedience, and negligence throughout. He also said that he had ordered Admiral Dumanoir to be tried by a court martial for his conduct at the battle of Trafalgar, and that he had exerted all his influence to have him shot or broke, but that he had been acquitted in spite of him; and he added that when the sentence of acquittal was given, Admiral Cosmao (who was one of the members of the court, and whom he said he decidedly considered to be the best sea officer now in France, and whom he had therefore lately created a peer) broke his own sword at the time that of Dumanoir was returned to him, which act Bonaparte seemed most highly pleased with. In the course of the evening he told Sir George that he had prepared a strong expedition at Antwerp, destined to act against Ireland, which he had only been prevented from sending forward by his own affairs taking an unfavorable turn on the Continent. He was in very high spirits this evening, and was very fortunate at vingt-un, which seemed to please him the more as it was his birthday. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $43^{\circ} 51' N.$ and $10^{\circ} 21' W.$

August 16.—Our fine weather continued, with light airs. Bonaparte walked before and after dinner, and was particularly cheerful in conversation, asking a variety of questions relative to St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope. He inquired most particularly as to the number of respectable families at St. Helena, the number of ladies there, and how many officers' wives

were in the squadron. After dinner to-day he had a long conversation with the admiral, whom he assured, on his word of honor, that on returning from Elba he had not held communication or correspondence with, nor had he received any invitation from, any of the marshals or generals whatever, and that it was entirely owing to the representations in the public papers of the state of France that he was induced to return, and no longer to hesitate in taking the steps he did. He stated that, on reaching Grenoble, the garrison showed an inclination to resist his progress, but that on his putting himself in front, throwing open his greatcoat to show himself more conspicuously, and calling out, "Kill your emperor if you wish it!" the whole immediately joined, and that afterward he received nothing but congratulations and proofs of attachment all the way to Paris. Maréchal Bertrand related to me the foregoing circumstances in a very similar manner, adding, however, that at first Bonaparte found some difficulty in inducing the officers to espouse his cause, and that many of them, on being sent for by Bonaparte, stated that they had taken the oath of allegiance to Louis XVIII., and consequently that as their troops had deserted them their appointments were null and void, and that they had acted up to their faith as far as regarded Louis. Bonaparte then asked them if they would accept commissions from him, when there were very few but what replied in the affirmative, and served under his banners. Bertrand also said that as they proceeded toward Paris their forces increased most rapidly; that he felt convinced that Maréchal Ney left Paris with a full intention of opposing Bonaparte, but, finding his army to a man quitting him, he espoused the cause of Bonaparte, and became a strenuous supporter of his. Bonaparte, amongst other things, told the admiral that on his return to Paris from Elba he had paid too much attention to, and had submitted too much to the opinion of, the Jacobin party, which he was now persuaded had not been so requisite as he then conceived it to be; and that had he depended altogether on his own popularity, he should have succeeded better. He said the circumstances of the times compelled him to form his army quickly, and how he could; and in consequence of not having time to examine and weed it, many officers remained in it who had received their appointments from Louis XVIII., and who were much disaffected to him, and anxious to betray him. He said many of his officers deserted previous to the battle of Waterloo; and in speaking of the French nation he said that the lower orders of the people were the most sincere, the most firm, and at the same time the best dispositioned in the world; but in the proportion as

you rose the class their characters became the worse, and above the bourgeois they were too fickle and too volatile to be at all depended on. They had one principle for to-day and another for to-morrow, according to the circumstances of the moment; and he attributed his Waterloo disasters solely to the disaffected officers of his army. In talking of the battle he assured the admiral he had never for a moment mistook the Prussians for Grouchy's division, but that he knew early in the day that the Prussians were closing on his flank; that this, however, gave him little or no uneasiness, as he depended on General Grouchy also closing with him at the same time, and he had ordered a sufficient force to oppose the Prussians, who were in fact already checked. And he added that he considered the battle throughout the day to be very much in his favor, but that so soon as it was dusk the disaffected officers promulgated the cry of "Sauve qui peut!" which spread such confusion and alarm throughout his whole line that it became impossible to counteract it, or to rally his troops, situated as they were. But, he said, had it been daylight an hour longer, he was positive the result would have been very different; he further said that had he been able, when the alarm and confusion first took place, to have placed himself in a conspicuous situation in front, it would have insured the rallying of all his troops around him; but as it was, treachery and darkness combined rendered his ruin inevitable. He said that on the morning of June 18 he did not entertain the most distant idea that the Duke of Wellington would have willingly allowed him to have brought the English army to a decisive battle, and consequently he had been the more anxious to push on, and if possible to force it, considering nothing else could offer him a chance of surmounting the difficulties with which he was surrounded; but, he added, could he have beaten the English army, he was positive scarcely one would have escaped being either killed or taken, in which case the Prussian army (having been already beaten on the 16th) must have made a precipitate retreat, or most probably would have been dispersed, and certainly entirely disorganized. It was his intention then to have pushed on by forced marches to have met the Austrians before any junction could have been made between them and the Russians, which would have placed the game in his own hands, even if hostilities had been obstinately persevered in; though in the state of things he had built on the idea that a victory over the English army in Belgium, with its immediate results, would have been sufficient to have produced a change of administration in England, and have afforded him a chance of concluding an armistice, which he said was really his first

object, as he felt that France was not equal to the efforts she was then making, and it was perfectly impossible for her to think of making any adequate resistance against the numerous forces of the allies, if once united and acting in concert against him. He said that things, however, having taken the turn they did against him, he was compelled to act as he had done, and he felt convinced that Great Britain had not pursued the wisest policy by refusing him an asylum, as he was ready to have pledged his honor, and would have done so, not to have quitted the kingdom, nor to have interfered in any manner directly or indirectly with the affairs of France, or in politics of any sort, unless hereafter requested so to do by our Government; that the influence he had over the minds of the people of every description in France would have enabled him to have kept them quiet under whatever terms it might have been thought necessary for the future security of Europe to impose on France; but that if terms at all repugnant to the vanity of the French nation were acquiesced in by the Bourbons, it would render them more unpopular than they even are at present, and that the people, sooner or later (waiting a favorable crisis), would rise *en masse* for their destruction. He said the disbanding of the French army was of little or no consequence, as the nation was now altogether military, and could always form into an army at any given signal. The admiral, in answer to the observations he had made, said that after the events of latter years, he did not think the Government of Great Britain could be supposed to have sufficient reliance in him (Bonaparte) to have allowed him to take up his residence in England, due reference being had to the present state of affairs in France and to the feelings of the allies on the Continent, however conscious he himself might be of his own integrity and of the sacredness with which he would have observed any stipulations to which he would have pledged his word of honor. The admiral observed that he therefore was surprised at his not retiring in preference to Austria, where his connection with the emperor would have afforded him a strong claim to more distinguished reception and consideration. Bonaparte replied that had he gone to Austria he had no doubt but what he would have been received with every attention, but that he could not bring himself to submit to receive a favor from the Emperor of Austria after the manner in which he had now taken part against him, notwithstanding his former professions of affection, and his close connection with him, which latter, Bonaparte added, had not by any means been sought for by himself. He then gave the following curious relation respecting his marriage with Maria Louise. He said that,

when at Erfurth, the emperor Alexander took an opportunity one day of pressing upon him how important his having a legitimate heir must prove to the future repose of France and Europe, and Alexander therefore advised his setting aside Josephine, to which if he would consent the emperor offered him in marriage a Russian princess (he believed Princess Anne was named). But Bonaparte said he did not at the moment pay much attention; for, having lived so long with Josephine in such harmony, and having so much reason to be satisfied with her, the idea of causing her pain disinclined him from entering further on the subject; added to which, he said he was already well aware of the falseness of the character of the emperor Alexander. He therefore merely observed in reply that as he was living on the best possible terms with Josephine, he had never even thought of an arrangement of the nature mentioned by his imperial majesty. However, some time after, when at Paris, being strongly urged by his own friends on the same point, and Josephine having herself assented, he sent to Russia to acquaint Alexander of his wish and readiness to espouse the Russian princess who had been proffered him when at Erfurth. This intimation, he said, the Russian Government received with every outward mark of satisfaction, professing its readiness to accede to the match, but at the same time starting difficulties upon various points, and most particularly with regard to securing the princess the right of exercising her own religion, to which end it was demanded that a Greek chapel might be established for her in the Tuileries. This, Bonaparte said, he did not care about himself; but being a thing so uncustomary, added to other points requested by Russia, much discussion and many difficulties arose with regard to the Russian alliance, when some of his ministers, with Beauharnais, his son-in-law [*sic*], waited on him and pressed the advantage which might result should he consent to ask in marriage an Austrian princess, adding that the Austrian ambassador would readily engage for his court coming into any arrangement he (Bonaparte) might wish for this object. To which he replied, if such was the case, and the affair could be concluded at once, he should not on his part make objections to this new plan, and would give up the idea of forming a Russian alliance. This being the case, it was instantly agreed upon to take the contract of marriage of Louis XIV. for a guide in arranging his with the Austrian princess; and such was the expedition used that the necessary documents were prepared, signed, and sent off for the approbation of the Emperor of Austria before twelve o'clock that night. The latter acceded without hesitation

to everything, and by his manner of forwarding it gave all reason to believe he was not only satisfied, but most highly pleased with the arrangement; and thus Bonaparte said he became the emperor's son-in-law without any other solicitation or intrigue on his part, and without having even once seen Maria Louise until she arrived in France as his wife. He therefore thought the emperor's conduct toward him since his reverses began was not in unison with his conduct or profession toward him in prosperity, or such as he had a right to expect from the father of his wife; and consequently he said he would rather have gone anywhere in his distress, or have done anything, than have placed himself in a situation to have been obliged to ask protection *as a favor* from a prince who he thought had behaved toward him so unjustly. He finished by saying he had been deceived by the English, but, harshly and unfairly as he considered himself treated by them, yet he found comfort from feeling that he was under the protection of British laws, which he could not have felt had he gone elsewhere, where his fate might have depended on the whim of the individual. He scarcely said anything as to his wish to have escaped to America, although in different conversations with his followers they have implied he was very anxious to get there and to live as a private individual without meddling with politics. He played his game of vingt-un as usual, and went to bed about ten o'clock. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $42^{\circ} 59' N.$ and $10^{\circ} 42' W.$

•August 17.—Light winds and pleasant weather. This day the *Peruvian* rejoined us from Guernsey, where she had been sent for French wines. Captain White having brought some French newspapers, they were read with avidity by our guests. At dinner Bonaparte remarked that the *presidents des départements et des arrondissements* appointed by Louis were with very few exceptions the same persons that he (Bonaparte) should have appointed had he continued in power. In the evening, when talking of himself, he told the admiral that he had been placed in chief command as a general officer at the age of 24; that he made the conquest of Italy when he was 25; that he had risen from nothing to be sovereign of his country (as consul) at 30, and that if chance had caused him to be killed the day after he entered Moscow, that his would have been a career of advancement and uninterrupted success without parallel; and he said the very misfortunes which afterward befell the French army would in such case most probably have tended rather to the advantage than disadvantage of his fame, as, however inevitable they were, they would have been attributed to his loss, rather than to their true cause.

We played our usual game of vingt-un, and Bonaparte quitted the table abruptly, and went to bed earlier than usual. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $41^{\circ} 57' N.$ and $11^{\circ} 11' W.$

August 18.—Moderate weather. Bonaparte renewed his questions to-day relative to the Cape, and asked particularly whether any caravans went from thence to Egypt, and whether any person had ever penetrated across the country. In the evening he talked much with the admiral about the Queen of Naples, saying he had had much correspondence with her, as well while she was in Sicily as in Naples; that his general advice to her was to remain quiet, and not interfere with the arrangements of the greater powers of Europe. By letters received from his wife he learned that after the Queen of Naples had returned to Vienna, she had taken great notice of, and had been very kind to, his son; and that in a conversation she had with his wife, she had asked her why she did not follow him (Bonaparte) to Elba. Maria Louise answered that she wished to do so, but that her father and mother would not allow her. The Queen of Naples interrogated her as to whether she really liked him, when, being answered in the affirmative, and Maria Louise speaking further in his favor, the queen said to her, "My child, when one has the happiness to be married to such a man, papas and mamas should not keep one away from him whilst there are windows and sheets by which an escape to him might be effected."

In the course of the evening he told the admiral he considered the Russians and Poles to be decidedly a braver race of people than all the rest of Europe, except the French and English, and in particular very far superior to the Austrians. He said the Emperor of Austria possessed neither firmness nor stability of character; that the King of Prussia was *un pauvre bête*; that the emperor Alexander was a more active and clever man than any of the other sovereigns of Europe, but that he was extremely false. He asked the admiral if he was aware that, when in friendship with him at Erfurth, he had signed with him a joint letter to the King of England to require the relinquishing of the right of maritime visitation of neutrals. He said that Russia was much to be feared if Poland was not preserved in an independent state, to be a barrier between Russia and the rest of Europe. He added, however, that whatever might be decided on this subject at the congress, he did not think that Russia would succeed in making Poland an appendage to that empire, the Poles being too brave and too determined ever to be brought to submit quietly to what they considered as disgrace and national degradation. Bonaparte spoke in high

terms of the King of Saxony, and said he was the only sovereign who had kept faith with him to the last. In the course of conversation he mentioned that the Bourbons were most cordially hated in France, and that nothing but the allied forces could keep them on the throne; that the nation might be quiet for a short time, but that in a few years there would, in his opinion, be a general insurrection. We played as usual at vingt-un until near ten, when Bonaparte retired. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $48^{\circ} 50' N.$ and $11^{\circ} 20' W.$

August 19.—We had light airs and pleasant weather. Our guests were all in good humor. General Gourgaud, who was one of Bonaparte's aides-de-camp at the battle of Waterloo, persisted that, whatever Bonaparte might say to the contrary, he did mistake the Prussian army for General Grouchy's division, and he attributed their disasters in a great measure to that mistake. He boasted much of the exploits of that day; amongst other vauntings he declared that at one time he might have taken the Duke of Wellington a prisoner, but he *desisted* from it, knowing the effusion of blood it would have occasioned.

Bonaparte to-day gave the admiral an amusing account of his being admitted a Mussulman when in Egypt. He said the sheiks and other chiefs there had many consultations on the subject, but at last they admitted him and his followers among the faithful, and with express permission to drink wine, provided that on opening every bottle they would determine to do some good action. Bonaparte requiring an explanation of what was intended by the term good action, the head sheik informed him such as giving charity to people in distress, digging a well in a desert, building a mosque, and such like. He said that had he continued in Egypt, things would not have taken the turn they did; that Kleber was an excellent man and good soldier, but that he did not understand or try to manage the people of the country, and that his assassination was caused by his having beaten one of the principal sheiks, which was considered an indignity to the whole. Bonaparte said that General Menou, who succeeded Kleber, was a brave man, but without abilities. He also stated that the Turks have at different times sent persons to murder him (Bonaparte), but that the people of the country, from his having humored them, invariably gave him sufficient warning, and prevented the assassins getting near him; whereas he said the man who killed Kleber (who did not attempt to gain the good opinion of the country) was suffered to hide himself in Kleber's garden, and when the general was walking there alone, the assassin sprang upon him unawares, and stabbed him, after which, instead of attempting to escape, he sat down at one

end of the garden until he was taken by the general's guard, which was almost immediately after he had perpetrated the deed. However, Maréchal Bertrand, who relates this event in a very similar manner, affirms that the assassin did attempt to escape, and that after a strict search he was found concealed in a well in the garden. Bonaparte, in answer to some questions put to him by the admiral, said that if everything had even turned out in Egypt equal to the most sanguine hopes and wishes he entertained on sailing for that country, yet that nevertheless he should have returned as he did, in consequence of the information he received from France.

Bonaparte played at vingt-un as usual, and was in uncommon high spirits. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $39^{\circ} 9' N.$ and $11^{\circ} 26' W.$

August 20.—The weather continued fine, but we had much swell, to which I attributed Bonaparte's not walking before dinner. Divine service was performed, but not one of our guests had the curiosity to witness the ceremony. At dinner Bonaparte asked the clergyman many questions relative to the Protestant religion, and in what it differed from the Roman Catholic. He walked after dinner, and then went direct to his sleeping-cabin without playing at cards. Our latitude and longitude to-day were $37^{\circ} 19' N.$ and $12^{\circ} 14' W.$

August 21.—Our weather continued much the same. Captain Hamilton of the *Havannah*, and Captain Mansel of the 53d, dined with us, and Bonaparte, who was in very good spirits, conversed more than usual, asking numerous questions on various trifling subjects. We assembled at the card-table earlier than usual, and the game was changed from vingt-un to lottery, and we became as noisy a group as ever assembled on such an occasion. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $35^{\circ} 56' N.$ and $13^{\circ} 16' W.$

August 22.—We got the northeast wind which usually prevails in these latitudes, with fine weather. Bonaparte requested the admiral to write for some books for him from Madeira. At dinner he asked many questions about the different islands in the Atlantic, particularly to what nations they belonged, on which points his ignorance was most glaring. Talking of the West Indies, he said that had he continued at the head of the French Government, he never would have attempted the reoccupation of St. Domingo; that the most he would have established with regard to that island would have been to keep frigates and sloops stationed around it to force the blacks to receive everything they wanted from, and to export all their produce exclusively to, France; for, he added, he considered the inde-

pendence of the blacks there to be more likely to prove detrimental to England than to France. This latter remark is a reiteration of his feelings with respect to England, as in all the calculations he makes, the proportion of evil which may accrue to our nation seems to bear in his mind the first consideration. In the evening we played at vingt-un, and he retired about his usual hour. Our latitude and longitude to-day were at noon $34^{\circ} 58' N.$ and $13^{\circ} 31' W.$

August 23.—Our northeast wind veered to the east, freshened, and the weather became hot, hazy, and unpleasant. About two o'clock we made Porto Santo, and afterward Madeira. Bonaparte did not walk before dinner; at the meal he appeared pensive and out of spirits. He asked the admiral some questions relative to Madeira, as to its extent, how long it had been discovered, and by whom. Immediately after dinner he went on the poop, and observed the island very particularly as we ran along it until we brought to off Funchal after dark, when he went to the after cabin; and after playing a few games at piquet with Madame Montholon, he retired to his own cabin, evidently out of sorts. This day at noon we were about nine leagues E. S. E. of Porto Santo.

August 24.—We remained lying to off Funchal, the *Havannah* and troop-ships anchored in the roads to procure water and some cattle, and I went on shore to procure some wine and fruit. Mr. Veitch, his Majesty's consul, visited the ship, of whom Bonaparte asked numerous questions with respect to the island, its produce, the height above the level of the sea, its population, etc. Mr. Veitch dined on board, and after dinner Bonaparte walked with him and the admiral a considerable time, conversing on general topics, when he retired at once to his bedroom without joining the card-table. This day at noon we lay to off the town of Funchal, Madeira.

August 25.—We had a continuation of the violent and most disagreeable siroc wind, which commenced on our first making the island; and such was the superstition of the inhabitants, that they attributed this destructive siroc to Bonaparte being off the island, and were extremely apprehensive that their crops, which were nearly ripe, would be more than half destroyed. The frigate and troop-ships did not join until about three o'clock, having been much retarded by the violence of the weather in procuring supplies, which supplies, owing to the same cause, took us until dark in receiving, after which we made sail to the southward. The heat of the siroc, and the disagreeable nature of the wind, added to the motion of the ship, which was very considerable, evidently affected General Bonaparte. At dinner he ate very little, and was out of spirits; this evening

he played at vingt-un for about half an hour only, and then retired to his bedroom. During the day, at the recommendation of the admiral, he had his standing bed-place removed, taking a large cot in its stead. This day at noon we were about seven leagues S. W. of Madeira.

August 26.—Though the wind continued from the east, its siroc qualities had left it, to our great relief, and this proved a cool, pleasant day, with little or no motion. This change brought General Bonaparte out of his cabin earlier than usual, and he appeared in better health than he had been for some days. Having been on shore, he asked me what number of priests and churches there were at Funchal, and if there was any theater. After dinner he walked a considerable time with the admiral, talking generally of the affairs of Europe, and, among other things, he told the admiral he had observed in some of the French papers brought from Guernsey that the King of Prussia was about to change the nature of his government, and to admit a national representation in it, which he foretold would produce the greatest difficulties both to the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria. He said he knew there were many revolutionary spirits in both those countries, and that the nations of the Continent were not adapted for a representative government like England. On the admiral's remarking that he had, however, adopted it in the constitution which he had himself established in France, he acknowledged he had done so, but added that it was not because he considered it a wise measure for the nation, but because his situation at the moment required him to yield this point to the popular feeling, and it being, he said, at the time his particular interest to substantiate any innovations, and, in short, whatever differed essentially from the old system of government, thereby to render more difficult the restoration of the former order of things, and therewith the dynasty of the Bourbons. He went again over the old ground of the military bias of the French nation, and the impolicy of exasperating the French people. He spoke much of their determined aversion to the Bourbons, which he said could not but be materially increased by the idea of that family being again put in possession of the government by means of foreign troops, who had carried ruin and devastation into the greater part of the country. Therefore he was quite sure the troubles of France were by no means at an end; they might be said to be smothered for the moment by terror, and by the presence of the allied troops, but if these forces withdrew from the country whilst the recollection of recent events remained fresh in the minds of the people, he averred that a general insurrection in France

would take place immediately, and it would cause much difficulty and bloodshed ere it could be again suppressed. In the course of conversation he mentioned that he had left his brother Jerome at Paris, who had determined to remain there in disguise for some time until he saw the turn affairs were likely to take; he added that he did not know what had become of him (Jerome) afterward, as of course he had not been able to hear from him since. After his walk with the admiral he went into the after cabin, and before we had formed our card-party he retired to his sleeping-cabin. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $30^{\circ} 53' N.$ and $17^{\circ} 22' W.$

August 27.—General Bonaparte walked some time with the admiral, during which he mentioned his having expended £3,000,000 sterling in the improvements at Cherbourg; that he had constructed there a basin, or rather a kind of inner harbor (as it was without gates), which would contain thirty sail of the line, and had fifty feet of depth at low water. The outer road, which he said was now perfectly safe in all winds, would also contain thirty sail of the line more. He had arranged everything for building ships there, and, in short, for making it a naval port of the first rank, and he added that he conceived such an establishment so situated would have caused us much difficulty with regard to our possessions of Jersey and Guernsey. The only thing he dreaded relative to this establishment, and which he was therefore taking every precaution to avert, was our getting momentary possession of the place by a *coup de main* at any favorable juncture, in which case he was aware that a few barrels of gunpowder scientifically placed might destroy in an instant what had cost so much time, expense, and labor to complete. This evening he played until about nine, and then retired to his cabin. To-day at noon we were about four leagues west of Gomera, with a fresh breeze from the northeast, running between the islands at the rate of about eleven miles an hour.

August 28.—Our northeast wind continued, but not so fresh as yesterday. The weather became hot, the thermometer being from 78° to 80° . General Bonaparte was particularly serious the whole of the day, and General Bertrand was very much out of sorts, in consequence of the admiral having refused to allow lights to be burnt in the sleeping-cabins all night. In the evening Bonaparte played at whist for a short time, and that very badly, and then retired to his sleeping-cabin. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $24^{\circ} 23' N.$ and $20^{\circ} 23' W.$

August 29.—We had moderate weather, with much swell. General Bonaparte complained much of the heat, and sat in his sleep-

ing-cabin *en chemise* with the door open reading till about two o'clock, when he made his toilet, and then came into the after cabin, where he played at chess until dinner-time. Of late he has taken no exercise excepting a short walk after dinner, and even during this walk he generally leans half his time against one or other of the guns. In the evening he did not join the card-party, but played at chess with General Montholon. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $24^{\circ} 23' N.$ and $20^{\circ} 23' W.$

August 30.—We had a fresh trade-wind, with disagreeable weather and heavy swell, which caused the ship to roll considerably. General Bonaparte seemed to suffer much from these causes; he ate very little, seemed disinclined to enter into conversation, and, after being a short time on deck after dinner, he retired to his own cabin without playing either at cards or chess. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $22^{\circ} 27' N.$ and $22^{\circ} 12' W.$

August 31.—The fresh trade-wind and swell continued. The general, however, appeared better, though the rolling of the ship seemed still to affect him. In conversation with the admiral he mentioned that when his army in Egypt was seriously visited by the plague, the soldiers, and indeed the officers, became so disheartened that as general-in-chief he found it an absolutely necessary part of his duty to endeavor to give them confidence and reanimate them by visiting frequently the hospitals, and talking to and cheering the different patients. He said he caught the disorder himself, but recovered again quickly. This evening Bonaparte played chess, and was in very good spirits. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $19^{\circ} 55' N.$ and $25^{\circ} 43' W.$

September 1.—We had a fresh trade-wind, accompanied with uncommonly thick weather, which prevented our making the island of St. Antonio as soon as was expected; but just as the sun set we found ourselves close to the southwest end of it, not having been able previously to discern any part. We brought to, with the intention of communicating with the islands in the morning, and of waiting for the *Peruvian* and *Zenobia*, which had been sent ahead to reconnoiter, and to search for a convenient watering-place. During this forenoon Bonaparte asked many questions relative to the Cape de Verde Islands. He also made some minute inquiries at dinner relative to the nature and cause of the Gulf Stream. This evening he played a rubber at whist, and then retired to his sleeping-cabin. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $17^{\circ} 45' N.$ and $25^{\circ} 4' W.$

September 2.—During the night it blew a heavy gale of wind, and our party were much alarmed. Soon after daylight the wind veered from northeast to east and from east to south-

east and south, still blowing so hard as to render it impracticable to communicate with the islands. About noon the two brigs rejoined without having been able to procure anything whatever, and giving an unfavorable report as to any chance of procuring water. We made sail to the southward and westward, the squadron being put to short allowance of water. General Bonaparte, in spite of the weather, made his appearance at dinner; but owing to the motion, he did not seem to enjoy himself, entering very little into conversation. This evening we played a short time at piquet. This day at noon we were about seven leagues off the southwest end of St. Antonio. Our latitude was $17^{\circ} 6' N.$

September 3.—The wind continued to the northeast, and became light, baffling, and calm, with very hot weather, the thermometer being from 82° to 83° throughout the day. Bonaparte complained much of the heat. To-day, in talking over the affairs of France, amongst other things he said that after his arrival at Paris from Elba he had received assurances from the King of Spain, and from the Portuguese, that whatever appearances they might be forced to make, he might depend on their not taking any active offensive part against him. Bonaparte played cards this evening for about an hour, and then retired to his cabin. Latitude and longitude this day at noon, $16^{\circ} 15' N.$ and $20^{\circ} 30' W.$

September 4.—Fine weather, with a moderate breeze from the northeast. General Bonaparte made his appearance in the after cabin earlier than usual, where he amused himself at chess until dinner-time. He was very cheerful at dinner, and after it he walked for a considerable time with the admiral, during which he related the Jaffa poisoning story, his statement of which was that, finding himself compelled to evacuate Jaffa, and leave it to be taken possession of by the troops of Djezza Pacha (whose cruelty of character was well known, and who invariably mutilated in the most barbarous manner such prisoners as fell into their hands), he ordered off before him all the sick of the army which could be moved, to facilitate which he even lent his own horses. When the chief surgeon represented to him that there were a few Frenchmen in such an advanced state of the plague that there did not remain even a probability of their recovering, and that the attempting to move them with the rest would endanger the whole army, Bonaparte, well knowing that if these unfortunate wretches fell into the hands of Djezza Pacha every possible cruelty would be practised on them in their last moments, asked the physician whether under the existing circumstances it would not be an act of charity to accelerate their death by opium; and on the physician declaring he did

not feel himself justified in adopting this proposed measure, he (General Bonaparte) ordered a council of all the medical men in the army to be assembled, to ascertain, in the first place, whether the removal of these people or of any of them might be effected without endangering in an unwarrantable degree the remainder of the army, and whether there existed any chance of adequate benefit accruing to them if their removal should be attempted. In the next place, if the council agreed on the absolute necessity of leaving some behind, then to consider whether it would not be better for the individuals themselves to relieve them of their sufferings by administering opium, rather than to leave them in the state they were to be tormented in their last moments by the cruelty of their implacable enemies, into whose hands they would inevitably be doomed to fall. He said this council was public, everybody knew what passed in it, and he therefore had been surprised at the many contradictory and ridiculous stories which he knew had got abroad respecting this transaction. He added that after this medical council had finished their deliberations, they reported to him it was their decided and unanimous opinion that these people ought not on any account to be removed, and that although they were of opinion there did not exist a possibility of their recovery, yet the majority of the council could not bear the idea of adopting such a measure as accelerating the death of an individual under their charge, however desperate his case might be; but they further stated that they had every reason to believe all difficulties on this head would cease by the natural consequences of the disease under which these poor fellows labored, if the general could so arrange as to retain the place

(To be concluded next month.)

forty-eight hours longer, at the expiration of which time they considered it scarcely possible that one of them could remain alive. On receiving this report, Bonaparte instantly determined on retaining Jaffa the time specified by the council, and he continued in it himself with the whole army twenty-four hours, and then left a strong rear-guard to hold it the other twenty-four hours, at the expiration of which time, he said, the prediction of the council was pretty well verified by the death of almost every one of the patients in question, and that the two or three who were left were in the very last possible stage. (This latter part of the statement was corroborated by Captain Beattie of the marines, serving on board the *Northumberland*, who at that time belonged to the *Theseus*, and who was one of the first who entered Jaffa after the French had quit it, and even before the troops of Djezza Pacha. He states there were only three or four Frenchmen found alive in Jaffa, and those in the last stage of the plague. Captain Beattie also states that he heard nothing of the Jaffa poisoning story until he returned to England.) Bonaparte further stated that he considered the measure he wished to have adopted as being more worthy of praise than the contrary, and said that had he been one of those afflicted, he should have considered it the greatest act of kindness to be so dealt with, rather than to be left to be tormented by the wanton savages of Djezza Pacha's army. Such is the statement from this man of the Jaffa story, which has caused so much talk. Bonaparte walked this evening much later than usual, and retired at once to his own cabin. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $15^{\circ} 34' N.$ and $26^{\circ} 36' W.$

John R. Glover.

LIFE.

BEFORE we knew thee thou wert with us; ay,
 In that far time forgotten and obscure
 When, doubtful of ourselves, of naught secure,
 We feebly uttered first our human cry.
 We had not murmured hadst thou passed us by,
 And now, with all our vaunted knowledge sure,
 We know not from what source of bounty pure
 Thou camest, our dull clay to glorify.
 Yet—for thou didst awake us when but dust,
 Careless of thee—one tender hope redeems
 Each loss by the dark river: more and more
 We feel that we who long for thee may trust
 To wake again, as children do from dreams,
 And find thee waiting on the farther shore.

Florence Earle Coates.

TAKING NAPOLEON TO ST. HELENA.¹

FROM A MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF THE TRIP, WRITTEN BY
THE ADMIRAL'S SECRETARY.

PART II.

September 5, 1815.—We had light winds, with exceeding hot weather. Among other conversation to-day, Bonaparte recounted to the admiral the following particulars of what passed between him and the Queen of Prussia at Tilsit, when (to solicit that Magdebourg might be left to Prussia) she joined the royal party there. He stated that had she arrived sooner, it is probable she would have gained her point in this particular, not only by reason of the great advantage an extremely clever and fine woman of high rank must always have when personally urging any suit she has much at heart, but also from the inclination he (Bonaparte) then had to meet as far as he conveniently could the wishes of the Emperor Alexander, who, he did not hesitate in affirming, was at the time a strongly attached and much-favored admirer of her Prussian Majesty. It was, he said, owing to the King of Prussia being apprized of this latter circumstance, and consequently being extremely jealous of the Emperor of Russia, that the former prevented the queen from coming sooner to Tilsit; and not until the Prussian ministers, toward the closing of the arrangements, urged him in the strongest manner to send for her, that they might have the benefit of her abilities and influence to second their endeavors to obtain better terms for Prussia, to which the king at last consented. When she arrived, the whole party being to dine with him (Bonaparte), she was introduced before dinner, and entered with great vivacity and ability on the subject of the approaching treaty, and strongly solicited as a personal favor to herself that he would consent to leaving Magdebourg to Prussia, which she said would bind her family to him by the strongest ties of gratitude and respect. Bonaparte said her Majesty pressed her suit warmly and cleverly, but he merely replied to all she said in general terms of civility, and avoided giving her any decided answer, or entering at all with her into the merits of the question, notwithstanding which it was evident by her behavior at dinner that she entertained sanguine hopes of succeeding. He said she sat between the Emperor of Russia and himself, and although most elegant and amiable in her manners, she did not for a moment lose sight

of the object she had in view. At the dessert, on his offering her a rose he took out of a vase near him, she on taking it asked if she might consider it as a token of friendship and of his having acceded to her request. Being, however, he said, upon his guard, and resolved not to be thus caught by surprise, he parried this attack with some general remarks respecting the light in which alone civilities of this description should be regarded, and then he turned the conversation.

Notwithstanding this, however, and his having been extremely cautious throughout the evening not to allow anything to escape which might in the slightest degree authorize the queen to believe him inclined to yield to her solicitation, yet when she went away she appeared to be well satisfied and to have persuaded herself that her endeavors were not to prove unsuccessful. Bonaparte said that, thinking it would be therefore impolitic to leave the question any longer open for discussion, he caused the treaty to be signed at once on the next morning, and, of course, without any alterations in it in favor of Prussia. When the queen came the next day to dinner, he said she evidently showed herself piqued and much hurt, but she behaved with great dignity, and did not once allude to the treaty, nor to anything which had passed respecting it, until going away, when, as Bonaparte was handing her to her carriage, she mentioned to him how much he had disappointed her by the refusal of her request, and that had he complied, it would have attached the whole family to him forever, and so forth; to which he only answered that he should ever consider it as one of the greatest misfortunes of his life that it had not been within his power to obey her Majesty's commands in this affair, begging her, however, to believe it would always afford him the highest gratification to be able to meet any wish of hers, and adding more civil speeches of this kind (saying, with a self-applauding smile, "Mais tout cela n'était pas Magdebourg"); and having reached the carriage, he put her into it, bid her good-night, and left her. He added that previous, however, to her driving off, she sent for Duroc (the grand maréchal of the palace) to her carriage, when,

¹ The first part of this unique narrative will be found in the October number of THE CENTURY. Except
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for a few slight changes, the text of the copy of the original MS. has here been closely followed.—EDITOR.

giving vent to her feelings, which she had till then stifled, she could not refrain from tears whilst complaining to him of her great disappointment, saying how much she had been deceived in Bonaparte's character, and hurt by what had passed. Early the next morning he said he received a message from her to say that, being taken suddenly ill, she had been compelled to quit Tilsit and return home; and thus, he said, Magdebourg was retained, though perhaps he had suffered somewhat by it in the good graces of her Prussian Majesty. He said he thought her a most elegant, engaging woman, and as handsome as could be expected for thirty-five years of age. He spoke, however, very badly of her character as a wife, and particularly with reference to the Emperor Alexander, to oblige whom he mentioned (laughing heartily as he did so) that he detained the King of Prussia a whole day by announcing an intention of paying him a formal visit, of which the Emperor Alexander took a premeditated advantage by setting off to obtain thereby an uninterrupted tête-à-tête with the queen. Bonaparte played cards this evening for about an hour, and retired to his own cabin. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $13^{\circ} 58'$ N. and $25^{\circ} 30'$ W.

September 6.—The trade-wind continued until about four in the afternoon, when we had excessive heavy rain. Bonaparte, who was in very good spirits, had no sooner eaten his dinner than, to the surprise of all, he got up to take his usual walk on deck, notwithstanding it was still pouring with rain; and on the admiral remarking to him the same, and advising him not to go out, he treated it lightly, and said the rain would not hurt him more than the sailors whom he saw on deck catching the rain and running about in it. The admiral no longer opposed him, and out he went, accompanied by Bertrand and Las Cases, who, though obliged to attend him, seemed by no means to enjoy the idea of the wetting they were doomed to undergo. It required but a short time to obtain a complete soaking, which the trio did, and Bonaparte then retired to his own cabin, from which he did not make his appearance during the evening. Our latitude and longitude at noon were $12^{\circ} 41'$ N. and $23^{\circ} 55'$ W.

September 7 and 8.—We had moderate weather, with occasional showers, which kept the air cool. Nothing occurred worthy of remark. Our latitude and longitude at noon on the seventh were $12^{\circ} 2'$ N. and $22^{\circ} 59'$ W. Fine weather with south-southwest winds. Bonaparte, in conversing with the admiral to-day, mentioned many of the leading characters in England. He stated particularly the high respect he entertained for the character of the late Lord Cornwallis, whose manners and be-

havior at Amiens he spoke of as being most noble and honorable to himself and the country. He spoke in equal terms of panegyric of Mr. Fox, with whom he said he had had much conversation when he was in France. He said he had formed a great friendship for Captain Ussher, who had conveyed him to Elba,¹ and added that he had hoped to have seen him at Paris; that he had confidently looked for a visit from him there, and was much disappointed at his not coming to see him in his prosperity, as he had commenced an acquaintance with him in his adversity. He spoke of many others, but not by any means in a flattering strain. This evening he amused himself by playing at whist, and retired at his usual hour. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $11^{\circ} 43'$ N. and $22^{\circ} 47'$ W.

September 9.—The south-southwest wind continued, with moderate and cool weather. Bonaparte spent his forenoon in playing at chess. In the evening he told the admiral that whilst he was at Paris he gained possession of a correspondence for a foreign royal personage of high consideration in England, which spoke in very disrespectful terms of different branches of our royal family; that he (Bonaparte) had been on the point of publishing these letters in the "Moniteur," but had desisted, or rather recalled them from the publisher, at the earnest intercession of, and from consideration, of the person by whose means he obtained them. Bonaparte played this evening again at whist, and seems to have neglected his favorite game of *vingt-un*. Our latitude and longitude at noon were $11^{\circ} 24'$ N. and $21^{\circ} 37'$ W.

September 10 and 11.—We had continued fine pleasant weather. Bonaparte to-day in his conversation merely asked general questions as to the progress we had made in our voyage, and the probable time of the duration of it, the distance we were from the coast of Africa, and what was the nearest part. In the evening he played at cards, and retired at his usual hour. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $10^{\circ} 11'$ N. and $20^{\circ} 56'$ W.

We advanced pleasantly on our voyage. Bonaparte, in conversation to-day with the admiral respecting England, said that had he succeeded in his attempt of invasion, and had reached London, his chief object and first endeavor would have been to have there concluded a peace, which he said should have immediately been offered on "moderate terms"; but what under those circumstances he would have considered moderate terms, the admiral could not draw from him. He, however, stated the relinquishment of the right of maritime visitation of neutrals as one of the points he

¹ For Captain Ussher's account of this voyage, see THE CENTURY for March, 1893.

would have insisted on. In the evening, when we had assembled at the card-table, he took up a small book of Persian tales, with which he amused himself in reading aloud to the company, making his comments on these tales, and laughing heartily at many parts of them. He reads very distinctly, much slower than he speaks, and with good emphasis; but in conversation at times it is difficult to follow him, from the quick manner in which he utters with a peculiar pronunciation. After reading for about two hours, and some commonplace conversation, he retired to his own cabin. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $8^{\circ} 48' N.$ and $19^{\circ} 39' W.$

September 12.—We had a continuation of fine and pleasant weather. Having caught a shark to-day, Bonaparte, with the eagerness of a school-boy, scrambled on the poop to see it. It was not a large one, not being more than twelve feet long; it, however, was sufficiently so to astonish our French party. Our catching this shark was the subject of conversation at dinner, when Bonaparte asked what was the size of sharks in general, as also that of whales, the nature of them, the method of catching them, and other similar questions. In the evening we played at vingt-un for about an hour, and Bonaparte retired about his usual time. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $8^{\circ} 2' N.$ and $18^{\circ} 1' W.$

September 13.—We had moderate weather, with south-southwest winds. Bonaparte made his appearance in the after cabin and played at piquet until dinner-time, during which he conversed relative to the Russian campaign, principally as to the force employed. After dinner he walked a considerable time with the admiral, conversing on the same subject, whom he assured in the strongest manner that the only objects he had when he undertook the Russian expedition, and all he should have asked had he been successful, was the independence of Poland (to which nation he intended leaving the free choice of their own king, only recommending to them Poniatowski as worthy of such distinction), and to make the Emperor of Russia engage to join firmly in the Continental system against commercial intercourse of any sort with England, until its Government should be brought to agree to what he termed the "independence of the seas." Bonaparte, however, subsequently, when talking of Moscow, let escape that he had procured there emissaries to disperse throughout the country amongst the Russian peasantry to bias them in his favor and against their own Government, to explain to them the miseries they suffered from the unjust state of slavery in which they were kept, and to offer them freedom and protection if they would seek it

through his means. He said he had received many applications from different bodies of them; and had he been able to have maintained himself in the country, he was quite certain he should have had the mass of the population in his favor. He walked a considerable time this evening, and then adjourned to the after cabin, where he amused himself by playing at cards until near ten o'clock, when he retired. Latitude and longitude this day at noon were $7^{\circ} 33' N.$ and $17^{\circ} 15' W.$

September 14.—We had moderate, pleasant weather. Bonaparte passed this forenoon as usual. In the evening, talking with the admiral relative to Russia, he said that prior to the death of the Emperor Paul he (Bonaparte), while he was first consul, had received seven or eight letters written in his imperial Majesty's own hand, pressing him to enter into close and intimate alliance for the express purpose of exerting the united efforts of the two countries to humble Great Britain; and the emperor proposed, if Bonaparte approved of it, to send off at once a large Russian army to act against the English interest in India. Bonaparte said he was about to despatch a confidential ambassador with full powers to make the necessary arrangements, and to communicate to the emperor his sentiments on these points, when he received the unwelcome intelligence of the emperor's assassination. He added that from the opinion the Emperor Paul seemed by his letters to entertain of him (Bonaparte), and from the great confidence he appeared to place in him, he had no doubt, if their negotiation had gone on, he would shortly have attained sufficient ascendancy with the emperor to have induced him to change the foolish and impolitic course he was then pursuing in his own country, in which case his life would probably have been saved, and he might have become an ally of great importance to the French; and therefore Bonaparte said he considered Paul's death at the moment it took place as a particularly untoward circumstance. This evening we played at whist until Bonaparte retired. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $7^{\circ} 2' N.$ and $17^{\circ} 10' W.$

September 15.—Fine weather, with westerly winds. This day was passed as usual, with nothing particular worthy of remark. The whole of the squadron which left England, viz., *Northumberland* of 74 guns (Captain Ross), *Havannah* of 36 guns (Captain George Hamilton), *Redpole* of 10 guns (Captain Denman), *Peruvian* of 18 guns (Captain White), *Zenobia* of 18 guns (Captain Dobbree), *Zephyr* of 14 guns (Captain Rich), *Icarus* of 10 guns (Captain Devon), *Ferret* of 10 guns (Captain Stirling), troop-ship *Ceylon* (Captain Hamilton), troop-ship *Bucephalus* (Captain Westropp),

were in company, and all perfectly healthy. Latitude and longitude at noon, $6^{\circ} 7' N.$ and $16^{\circ} 26' W.$

September 16.—Fine weather. Bonaparte to-day asked numerous questions relative to the coast of Africa, and our distance from it. He amused himself before dinner by playing chess. In the evening, when talking with the admiral on the propriety of the different capitals of Europe being sufficiently fortified to enable them to withstand for a short time a sudden advance and attack of an enemy's army, he said he had long foreseen the propriety of having works of this kind around Paris, but he had been restrained from ordering them by his dread of the effect it might have on the public opinion; in concert with which he had considered it a requisite policy always to act, and which even in the zenith of his power he had never felt himself strong enough to disregard. He added that he knew full well the French character to be such that until the danger was at their gates they could not have borne the idea of such a precaution being for a moment necessary. This evening we changed the game of cards from vingt-un to "speculation," which became very noisy, and Bonaparte retired earlier than usual. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $5^{\circ} 6' N.$ and $15^{\circ} 29' W.$

September 17.—Pleasant weather, with southwest winds. To-day at dinner Bonaparte was extremely chatty, and talked on the subject of his meditated invasion of England. The admiral asked him if he had procured any plans of our fortifications at Chatham, when he replied he had not, but that he had a general idea of the lines there, and that he had no doubt of procuring in time such further information on the subject as was necessary for him; he said he had obtained his intelligence very regularly from England by means of our smuggling boats, and that amongst others Mr. Goldsmith (the editor) had conveyed him much useful information. He said he had a personal interview with Goldsmith at Boulogne, at one of the periods he (Goldsmith) came over in one of those smuggling boats. He added that considerable sums of money had been paid to him by the police at different times, for services of this nature. He further observed that he believed Goldsmith to possess talent, although a most consummate rogue. (This was uttered with such an apparent malicious cunning as to make those at table particularly notice it.) This evening after his usual walk he joined the party in the after cabin, but instead of playing at cards he amused himself at chess until about ten, and then retired. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $4^{\circ} 32' N.$ and $14^{\circ} 26' W.$

September 18.—We had light winds. From

the dullness of the sailing of the troop-ships we have daily been compelled to shorten sail, with which Bonaparte has invariably found fault, showing an apparent desire for the voyage to end. His first question on making his appearance is, "What is the latitude and longitude?" then, "What progress have we made since yesterday? What distance are we from the coast of Africa? What port are we nearest to? How far are we from the line?" and so forth. No particular conversation occurred to-day either at dinner or in the evening. Our latitude and longitude at noon were $3^{\circ} 55' N.$ and $12^{\circ} 56' W.$

September 19.—Moderate weather. Bonaparte to-day, in conversing again on his former meditated invasions, speaking of Ireland, said he had arranged everything with that country; and if he could have got safely over to it the force he intended sending, the party there was so strong in his favor that he had every reason to suppose they would have succeeded in possessing themselves of the whole island. He said he had kept up constant communication with the disaffected party, which he averred was by no means confined to the Roman Catholics, but had also a very large proportion of Protestants. He said he invariably acquiesced in everything they wished for, leaving all arrangements respecting the country, religion, etc., entirely to themselves, his grand and only object being to gain the advantageous point for him of separating Ireland from England. He said those who came to him from Ireland generally came and returned through London, by which means he obtained from them information respecting both countries; and they crossed the Channel backward and forward with little risk or difficulty by means of his friends the smugglers. But he added that notwithstanding the great advantages he thus derived from these smugglers, he found out at last they played a similar game backward and forward, and carried as much intelligence to England as they brought to him from it, and he was therefore obliged to forbid their being any longer admitted at Dunkirk, or indeed anywhere but at Gravelines, where he established particular regulations respecting them, and did not allow them to pass a barrier which he caused to be fixed for the purpose, and where he placed a guard to watch them, and to prevent their having unnecessary communication with the country. He ordered the goods and other articles they wished to have to be brought for them to this barrier, for which they paid a small additional impost. We played our usual game at vingt-un this evening. Latitude and longitude at noon were $3^{\circ} 17' N.$ and $11^{\circ} 18' W.$

September 20.—We had southwest winds and cool weather. Bonaparte made many in-

quiries as to our progress, and our other French passengers showed much impatience at the length of the voyage. Bonaparte neither walked nor talked much to-day, and nothing occurred worthy of particular remark. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $2^{\circ} 39' N.$ and $9^{\circ} 29' W.$

September 21. — Cool and pleasant weather. To-day we had very little of General Bonaparte's company, as he was occupied all the forenoon learning English from Count Las Cases; but as yet he has never attempted to utter a word of English; and although he has been now six weeks on board, he cannot pronounce one of our names at all correctly. In the evening he played at whist, and retired early. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $1^{\circ} 55' N.$ and $7^{\circ} 16' W.$

September 22. — Southwest winds and cool weather. Bonaparte's conversation to-day was confined to the ceremony of crossing the line. He inquired of the admiral the nature of the ceremony, and how it originated. His health appears good, and he certainly looks better than when he embarked on board the *North-umberland*; his spirits are even, and he appears perfectly unconcerned about his fate. This evening he again played at whist. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $0^{\circ} 54' N.$ and $5^{\circ} 22' W.$

September 23. — We had a fine steady breeze, and crossed the line a little before noon; and it is an occurrence worthy of remark that this day we have passed zero of latitude and zero of longitude, and the sun the zero of its declination. This morning, soon after breakfast, as it was known we should cross the equator this forenoon, Maréchal Bertrand came and asked if it was not customary for passengers of note to make a handsome present to the sailors; and on my replying it was customary to make presents, but not to any amount, he said the emperor was no ordinary person, and therefore the present ought to be no ordinary one; and he immediately went to the admiral and asked if he had any objection to Bonaparte's sending one or two hundred napoleons as a present to the seamen, to which the admiral without hesitation refused his consent, and indeed pointedly prohibited it, saying it was the custom in a manner to give a mere trifle, but if Bonaparte was particularly anxious to make a present, he would allow five napoleons to be given, which sum was the utmost he would allow. Maréchal Bertrand argued for some time, saying one hundred napoleons was the least such a person as the emperor could offer on so extraordinary an event as his crossing the line. However, his rhetoric had no avail in altering the admiral's determination, and it ended by nothing being given in the name of Bonaparte.

His suite all made their appearance at Neptune's bar, and each made a present of a napoleon. Bonaparte did not make his appearance until almost dinner-time. During the dinner he was cheerful, talked over the ceremony of shaving, and he did not by his manner show that he was at all piqued by the refusal Maréchal Bertrand met with. In the evening we played at vingt-un, and the general retired at his usual hour. This day at noon latitude $0^{\circ} 9' S.$, and $3^{\circ} 36'$ [*sic*] $W.$ longitude.

September 24 and 25. — We had the wind from the southwest, with a steady breeze, and the weather remarkably cool. Nothing worthy of remark occurred. Our French party show much impatience at the confinement on board ship. At noon, latitude $0^{\circ} 40' S.$, longitude $2^{\circ} 22' W.$

We had a heavy swell from the westward, with cloudy, cool weather. To-day, in conversation with the admiral, Bonaparte mentioned that a short time back he caused a survey to be taken of the grown oak throughout France fit for ship-building — the report made to him on which stated that there was actually sufficient for building a thousand sail of the line; but he said France had failed altogether in trees fit for masts, and these therefore they were obliged to get from the Baltic. He said that understanding the Corsican firs were strong and tough enough to serve for masts during the two years immediately after their being cut down (after which time they lost their elasticity and became brittle), and as plenty of them could be conveyed to France at as little expense as from the Baltic, he had endeavored to bring them into use for the French navy, authorizing their being sawed into plank after having served two years as topmasts; but this plan was not approved of by the Marine Department, as there existed extraordinary prejudice throughout the French navy against masts made from any spars except those brought from the Baltic. He said there was a large quantity of masts belonging to the French government at Copenhagen when Lord Nelson made the attack and consequent convention there, and that at the time he was alarmed for the safety of them; but the Danes kept their faith with him, and he afterward got them all safe to France, although he was compelled to have them brought almost the whole of the way by inland navigation, being much in want of them, and the coast being too closely watched by our cruisers to allow him to trust them by sea. At noon this day, latitude $1^{\circ} 20' S.$, and longitude $1^{\circ} 16' W.$

September 26 and 27. — We had south-southwest winds and pleasant, cool weather. Nothing material occurred; the troop-ships retard us considerably, and their so doing is a great subject of complaint with our French passengers. At

noon this day, latitude $2^{\circ} 4' S.$, and longitude $0^{\circ} 20' W.$

The cool, pleasant weather still continues, and the troop-ships drop more and more astern. Bonaparte for these last two days has been less communicative, and has kept his cabin more than usual; he seems to have entirely given up *vingt-un* of an evening, playing either chess or piquet in lieu. His health appears very good, and he says much of his time is occupied in learning English; however, it does not appear that he makes any very great progress. This day at noon we were in latitude $3^{\circ} 12' S.$, and longitude $0^{\circ} 57' E.$

September 28.—Our pleasant weather still continues, with the wind from the southwest. Bonaparte walked a short time both before and after dinner; nothing in his conversation was worthy of any particular remark, as he confined it to commonplace questions. In the evening we played at *vingt-un* as usual, while Bonaparte played at chess. At noon this day, Latitude $4^{\circ} 68'$ [*sic*], and longitude $2^{\circ} 25' E.$

September 29.—We had moderate and fine weather. Bonaparte appeared in very good spirits to-day, and asked various questions relative to the navy. After dinner he walked a length of time with the admiral; and speaking of the navy of France, he said he believed some of the superior officers were tolerable good seamen, but that none of them were good officers; that the best of them had been taken during the Revolution from the India and other merchant vessels; and as the French navy was so little employed, the officers were unaccustomed to command in any difficult or trying circumstances, and therefore when they had accidentally fallen into such situations they always appeared to have lost their heads, became quite confused, and whatever they did was precisely what they ought not. He said Admiral Ganteaume did very well whilst with him (Bonaparte) at his elbow when coming from Egypt; but he added, if Admiral Ganteaume had been left to himself, he would have been taken twenty times over, for he constantly wanted to change the ship's course to avoid one enemy or other, and by such over-precautions he would have lost as much by night as he gained by day. Bonaparte said he therefore obliged the admiral always to explain to him upon paper the exact situation of the ship, and the apprehended danger, after which it almost always occurred that he took upon himself to desire the admiral to continue in a straight course for Fréjus, and to this alone he attributed their having got safe. Bonaparte also said it was a curious fact that Admiral Bruix, on their way up to Alexandria, had actually explained to him very minutely the decided disadvantage a fleet must

labor under by receiving at anchor an attack from an hostile fleet under sail; and yet from the want of recollection and presence of mind upon emergencies which the general had alluded to, their admiral a few weeks after received at anchor Lord Nelson's attacks, losing his own life, and nearly his whole fleet, to exemplify the correctness of his ideas and the impropriety of his conduct, but which Bonaparte said he was positive would not have been the case (inasmuch as relates to the fighting at anchor) had he himself been on the spot. Bonaparte added, on the same subject, that it struck him the French admirals had generally on coming to action lost too much time in making manœuvres about forming the line, which had ultimately proved of no adequate advantage. He had therefore desired they might be instructed for the future, on approaching an enemy, that a signal to form the line as convenient for mutual support, and afterward a signal to engage, would be always deemed fully sufficient to make to those under their orders; and after this the captain of every ship in the fleet was to be held individually responsible to the Government for getting the ship he commanded quickly into close battle, and doing his best toward the destroying of some one of the enemy, which would at all events prevent the captains from covering their own neglect, as Dumanoir had done, by attributing "errors to their chief." Bonaparte said he had, however, latterly resolved (unless some extraordinary emergency made it necessary) not to venture any more line-of-battle ships to sea until he should have had it in his power to have sent from the different ports 150 sail of the line at once, for the making up of which number he had laid all his plans. He affirmed that, from the efforts he intended to have made for this object, he believed very much time would not have elapsed before he would have completed them; in the mean time, he said, whatever it might have cost him, he had determined on always keeping ten sail of frigates at sea, for the purpose of making and improving his officers. He added that when his frigates had been sent on distant voyages or cruises, they were apt to consider their danger pretty well over when once safely through our line of cruisers on the French coast, after which they generally relaxed in their vigilance and precautions. He had therefore decided to order these ten frigates in future to cruise only in the neighborhood of England or Ireland, where they would be certain to have enemies, bad weather, and dangerous coasts to keep them always on the alert; and those which managed to escape being wrecked or captured, must of course in such situations do much more mischief to our commerce than had ever

been done by the French frigates before in the open seas and southern latitudes. To the commanders of those who returned safe from such service, he said he would have given great promotion and rewards, and as fast as he heard of any being taken or lost, he should supply their place by fresh ones. On the admiral's remarking to him the difficulty he conceived he would have found in obtaining seamen to have followed up this plan, he replied that by the conscription for the marines, which he had lately established in all the maritime departments of France, he would have had as many seamen as he pleased; its customary production without vexation would have given him 20,000 men a year, and already, for want of ships to put these seamen in, he had been obliged to form them into regiments for the protection of the coast. Admitting this, these men would only have been seamen because he chose to call them such. Bonaparte having walked this evening longer than usual, he did not join the *vingt-un* party, but retired early. Latitude $4^{\circ} 52' S.$, longitude $3^{\circ} 50' E.$, this day at noon.

September 30. — We had light airs and fine weather, with the wind to southwest. Bonaparte amused himself this morning by having the life of Lord Nelson read to him, and he seemed to take particular interest in that part relating to his trip to Egypt, and subsequent battle of Aboukir Bay, the account of which he has requested to have translated. This day at noon we were in latitude $5^{\circ} 7' S.$, and longitude $5^{\circ} 6' E.$

October 1. — Our fine weather continued, with southwest winds. Bonaparte was again occupied the whole of the forenoon in listening to Bertrand reading the life of Lord Nelson. At the table he was cheerful, but confined his conversation to merely asking questions. At noon, latitude $5^{\circ} 39' S.$, and $6^{\circ} 26' E.$ longitude.

October 2. — The southwest winds still continued, and the troop-ships dropped further and further astern; nothing worthy of remark occurred. Bonaparte seemed to have quite given up the *vingt-un* party for chess, at which game he does not appear to make much progress. At noon this day our latitude $6^{\circ} 0' S.$, longitude $5^{\circ} 50' E.$

October 3. — Fine weather. Bonaparte walked for a short time before dinner, asking the distance now remaining to St. Helena, and the probable time of reaching it. At dinner he conversed freely; and speaking of his campaigns, he told the admiral that at the battle of Wagram he had under his command in the field, actually engaged, a greater number of men than in any of his other battles; they amounted, he said, to about 180,000 bayonets,

and at the same time he had in the field 1000 pieces of cannon. At Moscow, he said, though not much short of that number, he certainly had not so many; and at the battle of Leipsic he did not think he had more than 140,000. In answer to a question put to him by the admiral, he said he considered General Clausel to be decidedly the most able military officer now in France. *Maréchal Soult* and other of the *maréchals* were, he said, brave and able men for carrying into execution operations previously planned; but to plan and execute with large armies, in his opinion none of them were by any means equal to General Clausel. Bonaparte asked who were considered our best generals, when Sir George Bingham having mentioned Lord Lynedoch, Lord Niddry, Lord Combermere, Lord Uxbridge, and others, Bonaparte replied, "But I believe you think Lord Wellington the best." Our evening was spent similarly to the former ones. At noon this day we were in latitude $6^{\circ} 53' S.$, longitude $6^{\circ} 40' E.$

October 4. — Fine weather, with south-southwest winds. The conversation of our passengers was confined to the fine weather we have had, and the probable speedy termination of the voyage. Every one has hitherto enjoyed good health except Madame Bertrand, whose complaints have been more mental than bodily; she has, however, suffered of late so much as not to be able to quit her cabin. The children are remarkably healthy, and certainly much improved by the voyage. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $7^{\circ} 50' S.$ and $7^{\circ} 8' E.$

October 5. — Our fine weather still continues, and as our voyage shortens our squadron diminishes, having now only the *Peruvian*, *Zenobia*, and *Bucephalus* in company, the latter scarcely in sight. Nothing particular occurred to-day. Bonaparte played at piquet before dinner, and chess after. This day at noon our latitude $8^{\circ} 50' S.$, longitude $8^{\circ} 52' E.$

October 6 and 7. — This day passed in the same unvaried routine, as to wind, weather, conversation, and passing our time, as many other previous days. Our latitude and longitude this day were $9^{\circ} 35' S.$ and $9^{\circ} 32' E.$

The wind still continues to the south-southwest. The *Bucephalus* is no longer in sight, and the admiral seems determined not to be further delayed, therefore we may expect to reach St. Helena in another week, which I hope may be the case, as our passengers are becoming daily more and more impatient. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $9^{\circ} 30' S.$ and $9^{\circ} 50' E.$

October 8. — We have been anxiously expecting the southeast trade-wind, but hitherto without avail. Bonaparte to-day walked and talked a very considerable time with the admiral, giving him a succinct account of his rise to the

eminence from which he is now fallen. Bonaparte said it was owing to the want of officers at the beginning of the revolutionary war that he was sent for (although then but a young captain of artillery) from the northern frontier, where he was serving, to take the command of the artillery before Toulon; that almost immediately after his arrival at this station, he had pointed out to General Carteaux the necessity of making a great effort to get possession of the place, which was called Fort Mulgrave by us, which he (Bonaparte) engaged to do if General Carteaux would allow him, and foretold that that place once taken would oblige the English immediately to entirely evacuate Toulon. This proposal, however, General Carteaux would not listen to, and they therefore went on sometime longer according to their former plan of attack, without materially advancing in the siege or doing any real good, until one of the representatives of the people coming to the army to overlook what they were about (as was customary at that time), Bonaparte directly laid before him his plans, and obtaining his approval, Carteaux was overruled and obliged to adopt the measures which Bonaparte had before proposed to him, which succeeding precisely according to his predictions, he was in reward promoted to the rank of general of brigade. He said he afterward went with a part of the same army into Savoy, where he rendered some further services; but it having been just then determined, in consequence of the scarcity of officers for the infantry, to draft into it some of the officers of artillery, and it falling to his (General Bonaparte's) lot to be of these, he quitted the army and went to Paris to remonstrate, and to endeavor to avoid being so exchanged, but meeting with an unfavorable reception from a general of artillery, who was a representative of the people, and who had the chief management of these arrangements. After some high words passing between them, he (Bonaparte) retired in disgust, and, putting on the dress of the Institute of Paris, to which he then belonged (having been elected to it in consequence of his proficiency in mathematics), he continued in Paris, endeavoring to keep quiet and from the armies, which he said, however, he should at last have been obliged to have joined, perhaps in a subordinate capacity, had not the advance of the Austrian general De Vins into Italy, and the retreat and alarm of the French army opposed to him, spread considerable consternation at Paris, which induced the Committee of Public Safety (who knew General Bonaparte was well acquainted with the locality of that country) to send for him to consult with him on the best measures to be adopted; and they were so satisfied with

what he laid before them on the subject, that they immediately caused him to draw instructions for their general in Italy, upon his (Bonaparte's) advice and the committee then directed that General Bonaparte might remain near them in Paris to assist them on such military points as they might wish to consult him upon. The advice he gave, as before mentioned, Bonaparte said proved efficacious; their Italian army took up the position he had pointed out, and thereby was enabled to stand its ground, without falling any farther back, in spite of every effort of the Austrian general to force it, until it became strong enough to attack in its turn, which it ultimately did, and then defeated General De Vins, and was most completely successful. Bonaparte said he gained considerable credit on this account, and he remained at Paris attached to the Committee of Public Safety until the 13 Vendémiaire, the day on which the Convention was attacked by the revolted sections of Paris, which last having gained considerable advantage over the troops of the Convention, then under the command of General Menou, Bonaparte was sent for by the Convention, and placed in the command of the troops in lieu of Menou; and succeeding in defeating the revolted sections, and in restoring order, he was immediately made commandant of Paris, which situation he said gave him considerable consequence, and in which he remained until he was made commander-in-chief of the army of Italy. He said it was not until after the battle of Lodi that he entertained an idea of ever being sufficiently in consequence to authorize his some day or other interfering with the government of France; but then, finding all his plans to succeed so very far beyond his own expectations, he began to look forward (though without any decided plan) to such events as afterward took place, and he said the quantity of money which he sent from Italy to France with these views very considerably increased his popularity. After his campaign of Italy, and the consequent suspension of hostilities with Austria, he said the Directory became very jealous of his popularity, and were therefore anxious to get him into some scrape, to avoid which it required his utmost caution and *finesse*; and this induced him not only to refuse an appointment offered him to conduct the diplomatic discussions then going on with Austria, but also the appointment (which was soon afterward offered him) to command the army for the invasion of England. But when the command of the Egyptian expedition was proposed to him, he immediately saw the advantages it offered him for getting out of the way of a jealous, arbitrary Government (by its measures running itself to ruin), and by placing himself at the head of an army for an expedition

almost certain of success, leaving it open to him to return with increased popularity whenever he might judge the crisis favorable. Therefore, he said, the Directory being anxious to get him out of France, and he being equally anxious to get away from them, this Egyptian expedition did not fail to please both parties, and he warmly entered into it the moment it was proposed; but he declared the proposition of this expedition did not originate with himself. Having thus left France, Bonaparte said he anxiously looked for the events which brought him back to France; and on his return there, he was soon well assured that there no longer existed in it a party strong enough to oppose him, and he immediately planned the revolution of the 18th Brumaire.

He said that although he might on that day have run some personal risk, owing to the confusion which was general, yet everything was so arranged that it could not possibly have failed, and that the government of France from that day became inevitably and irretrievably in his hands and of those of his adherents. He said, therefore, that all the stories and reports which might have been circulated of any intentions of arresting him, and of opposing his intentions, were all nonsense, and without any foundation in truth; for his plans had been too long and too well laid to admit of being so counteracted. He said that after he became first consul, plots and conspiracies against his life were very frequent, but by vigilance and good fortune they had all been discovered and frustrated. He said that one which was the nearest proving fatal to him was that in which Pichegru, Georges, and Moreau were concerned,—thirty-six of this party had been actually in Paris six weeks without the police knowing anything of it,—and which was at last discovered by an emigrant apothecary, who, being informed against, and secured after landing from an English man-of-war, and the police having entertained some suspicions in consequence of the numbers which had been reported to have landed clandestinely about this time, it was judged this apothecary would be a likely person to bring to confession, if properly managed. Therefore, being condemned to death, and every preparation made for his execution, his life was offered him if he would give any intelligence sufficiently important to merit such indulgence, when the apothecary immediately caught at the offer, and gave the names of the thirty-six persons before alluded to, every one of whom, with Pichegru and Georges, were, by the vigorous measures adopted, found and secured in Paris within a fortnight. Bonaparte said (from what he afterward learnt) that previous to this plot being discovered it would probably have proved

fatal to him, had not Georges insisted upon being appointed a consul, which Moreau and Pichegru would not hear of, and therefore Georges and his party could not be brought to act. He said also that it was to be at hand for the purpose of aiding in this conspiracy, and to take advantage of any confusion that might arise, that the Duke D'Enghien took up his residence in the neighborhood of Strasburg, in which city Bonaparte said he had certain information of the duke's having been in disguise several times. On the admiral asking Bonaparte if the report of his having sent an order for the duke's reprieve, which unfortunately arrived too late, was true, he replied it certainly was not true; that the duke was condemned for having conspired against France, and he (Bonaparte) was determined from the first moment to let the law take its course respecting him, to endeavor if possible to check the frequent conspiracies. On the admiral's mentioning that the Duke D'Enghien was taken from the territory of the Duke of Baden, Bonaparte replied that did not in his opinion alter the case of the Duke D'Enghien. He said the Duke of Baden might have reason to complain of the violation of his territory, but that was an affair to be settled between him and the Duke of Baden, and not with the Duke D'Enghien, whom, when he had got him within the territory of France (no matter how), they had full right to try and punish for any act committed by him in France against the existing Government. Having walked very late this evening, we played a game of chess and retired. At noon our latitude was $9^{\circ} 55' S.$, longitude $8^{\circ} 56' E.$

October 9-14.—Moderate weather, with a continuation of southwest winds; nothing worth mentioning occurred to-day. Our latitude and longitude at noon were $10^{\circ} 23' S.$ and $7^{\circ} 21' E.$ Weather the same as heretofore; the *Redpole* in sight at a great distance. Our latitude and longitude this day at noon were $10^{\circ} 59' S.$ and $5^{\circ} 41' E.$

The wind southerly. Our conversation was confined to the approaching termination of our voyage. Our latitude and longitude at noon were $12^{\circ} 2' S.$ and $4^{\circ} 11' E.$

We have at length got the southeast trade-wind, and are making rapid strides toward St. Helena. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $14^{\circ} 8' S.$ and $4^{\circ} 29' E.$

We had a steady southeast trade, and cool, pleasant weather. Bonaparte for some days past has been less communicative than usual, and our days have passed in one continued sameness. Our latitude and longitude to-day at noon were $15^{\circ} 23' S.$ and $4^{\circ} 54' E.$

Pleasant weather. Numerous were the conjectures whether or not we should see the land.

The admiral decided we should see it at six o'clock, and so correct was he in his calculations that the time we saw it did not differ a *minute*, at which Bonaparte and all the French party seemed much astonished. The *Zenobia* was despatched to apprise the governor of our approach, and we lay to for the night. Our latitude and longitude at noon were $16^{\circ} 8' S.$ and $5^{\circ} 57' E.$

October 15.—We anchored about half-past ten, and found here the *Havannah*, *Icarus*, and *Ferret*, which had got the start of us. The governor came on board, and the admiral returned with him to determine on the spot for Bonaparte's future abode. We amused ourselves in surveying the stupendous barren cliffs of St. Helena, whose terrific appearance seemed to but ill accord with the feelings of our guests. In the evening the admiral returned, having taken a house in the town as a temporary residence for Bonaparte and his followers.

October 16.—The admiral went on shore early for the purpose of visiting Longwood House, to see how far it would be able to accommodate our guests. He returned early to dinner, and made a favorable report of the situation of Longwood. Maréchal Bertrand went on shore in the afternoon to arrange the lodging, but Bonaparte, at his own particular request, delayed disembarking until it was dark, to avoid the gaze of the inhabitants, who were crowded on the wharf to see a person who had heretofore kept nations in a state of warfare and dread for nearly twenty years. We landed about seven o'clock, and all the French party were lodged at the boarding-house taken for them at the lower end of the town. [We are informed that in the original manuscript the next entry is not dated, but was evidently written in by the same hand some months later, from notes taken at various times.—EDITOR.]

The next morning at six o'clock Bonaparte mounted on horseback, and, in company with the admiral, visited Longwood House (the residence of the lieutenant-governor, and belonging to the Company), which had been previously fixed on by the admiral and governor as the future residence of Bonaparte and his suite. Bonaparte seemed very well satisfied with the situation, and expressed a desire to occupy it as soon as possible. This house; however, requiring not only repairing but considerable enlarging, which would occupy much time, and the general mentioning his dislike to return to the town, the admiral proposed his visiting the "Briars," a small cottage (the residence of Mr. Balcombe), which was near the Longwood Road, and about a mile and a quarter from the town.

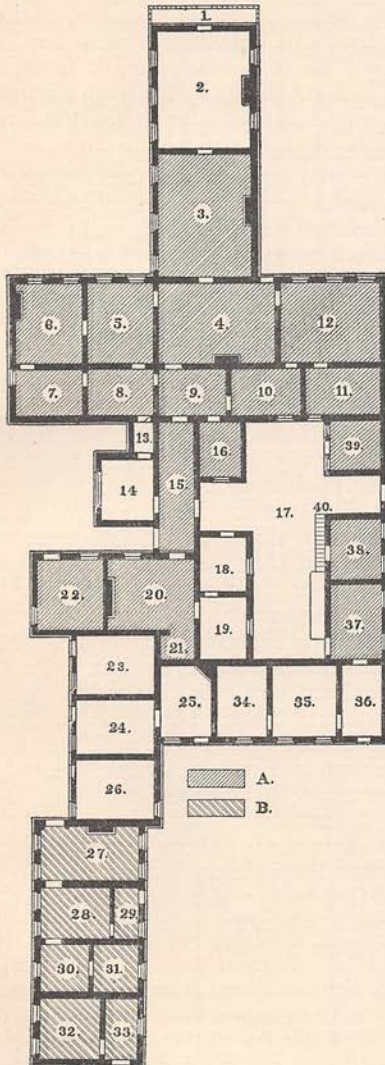
This proposition was immediately acquiesced in by Bonaparte, and on reaching this cottage

he instantly expressed a wish to be allowed to occupy a small detached building on an eminence close to the cottage (built by Mr. Balcombe as a dining-room), of about twenty-two feet by sixteen, with a very small ante-room, and two garrets overhead, until Longwood House might be ready, stating there was quite room enough for him. This request was immediately complied with, and the admiral returned to the town by himself, leaving Bonaparte in charge of Mr. Balcombe's family. Bonaparte's camp-bed was put up in this room without delay; Count Las Cases and his son occupied the two garrets over it. After a few days a marquee was attached to the front of this building and fitted up as a dining-room; and here Bonaparte passed the first two months of his detention, without going out of the grounds, except in one or two instances. He seldom came out of his room until the afternoon, when he amused himself by walking in the garden, (a very productive and perfectly secluded spot, abounding with various fruits, such as mangoes, apples, guavas, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, grapes, figs, peaches, etc.), or reading in a small bower of vines, which was lined for him with canvas to keep out the rain, of which there was daily more or less. In the evening he generally invited himself into the cottage, and played cards with the family for two or three hours. Mr. Balcombe's family consists of himself (a truly good-natured and most hospitable, liberal man of plain manners), Mrs. Balcombe, two Miss Balcombes (women grown, although the one is but fifteen and the other between thirteen and fourteen), and two boys, the one about seven and the other five years old. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Balcombe understands French, but both the Miss Balcombes speak it tolerably well, and Bonaparte appeared much delighted in their society. These young ladies in a few days became perfectly familiar, and the general seemed highly pleased with their naïveté, particularly that of the younger (a pretty girl, and a most complete romp when out of sight of her father). He occasionally so completely laid aside his imperial dignity as to romp with these young ladies, who during such diversions as "Blind-man's Buff," etc., called him by the familiar appellation of "Boney"; indeed the younger, who appeared his favorite, said anything and everything to him her lively imagination dictated, asking every possible question, and he answering without the slightest apparent reserve. About the middle of December, after very great exertions of the admiral, with the aid of the crew of the *Northumberland*, Longwood House was sufficiently repaired, augmented, and furnished for Bonaparte and all his followers, with the exception of Maréchal Bertrand, for whom a small cottage near Longwood has been hired, until

some detached apartments are erected within the grounds of Longwood as a residence for him and Madame Bertrand. Longwood House, of which a plan is annexed, is nearly five miles from James Town. The first three miles of the road are up-hill and zigzag; the other part is level,

round a very deep and dreary looking ravine, which, contrasted with the entrance of the grounds, adds much to their appearance, which is really that of an English gentleman's country-seat. It is built on the most level spot on the island, in a park of about four miles in circumference. The house is now made commodious and comfortable; the rooms are not large, but, including the servants' rooms, there are more than forty in number, as described in the accompanying plan, and tolerably well furnished. The air at Longwood is cooler than any other part of the island, the thermometer seldom rising above 65° . It is about 1750 feet above the level of the sea, and is surrounded by a very extensive plain, on which the 53d Regiment are encamped. The grounds of Longwood are thickly planted with an indigenous tree called gum-wood, which at a distance has a pleasing appearance, but when in the park the one continued sameness of a stunted tree with dark-green foliage is tiresome to the eye. From the house you have a commanding view to the eastward of the sea and the shipping, and to the northward the camp of the 53d forms a pleasing object in the foreground to any one except Bonaparte, who seems to loathe the sight of a British soldier, and at whose particular request great pains were taken to place the camp out of his sight. But this could not be done without giving up the very best situation for a camp. Part of the park is cultivated as a farm by the Company, and forms an agreeable variation. The grounds of Longwood are entirely private to Bonaparte (with the exception of the farmer and his laborers, who are confined to the cultivated part).

Sentries are placed around the park to prevent all intruders, and no one can enter without a pass from the governor, the admiral, or the commandant of the forces. Some distance without the park there is a second cordon of pickets and sentinels forming an *enceinte* of about twelve miles, within any part of which Bonaparte or any of his followers can amuse themselves by either walking or riding, unaccompanied by any one, but they cannot extend their excursions beyond this boundary without being accompanied by an English officer—if Bonaparte himself, by a captain, for which purpose, and to superintend the guard at Longwood Gate, and the sentries placed around the house after dark, a captain of the 53d has constantly lived in a room attached to the house. A carriage, a phaeton, and twelve horses have been furnished for Bonaparte's use, and he frequently amuses himself both on horseback and in his carriage, but he has declared he will not go without the boundary, so long as he is restricted to be accompanied by an English officer, to do away which he has used



A PLAN OF LONGWOOD HOUSE.

The rooms marked A formed the original house, as occupied by the lieutenant-governor, and those marked B were the stables; all the other rooms have been added by Sir George Cockburn, who also built stabling for twelve horses, and coach-house for three carriages, with two servants' rooms attached to it. A small detached house at the extremity of the garden is also nearly completed for Count Bertrand's family.

1, Veranda; 2, Dining-room; 3, Drawing-room; 4, 5, 6, Bonaparte's private rooms; 7, Bath-room; 8, Valet's; 9, Lobby from which a staircase leads to seven servants' rooms over 4, 5, 6, and 12, added by Sir George Cockburn; 10, 11, 12, Occupied by General Montholon until his apartments, 27 to 33 inclusive, are completed; 13, Ante-room to valet's room; 14, Servants' hall; 15, Passage; 16, Pantry; 17, Yard; 18, Larder; 19, Scullery; 20, Kitchen; 21, Staircase leading to four servants' rooms over 20 and 22; 22, Captain Piotkowski's; 23, Captain of guard; 24, 25, General Gourgaud's; 26, Surgeon's; 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, General Montholon and family; 34, 35, 36, 37, Count Las Cases and son; 38, Plate-room; 39, Store-room; 40, Staircase leading to four servants' rooms over 37 and 38, added by Sir George Cockburn.

every possible argument and endeavor with the admiral, but to no avail. Bonaparte, on first taking up his abode at Longwood, expressed a great dislike to see soldiers near him, and carried his weakness so far as to request that if it was necessary to keep constant watch over him, the sentries might not wear their uniforms; but in this request he of course did not succeed. However, to humor him, the admiral allowed the officer of the guard, who lived in the house, to wear plain clothes.

Bonaparte leads a secluded life, few or none ever going near him, although no person of respectability has been refused a pass when asked for, but so little is he now thought of, that his name is seldom or never mentioned except on the arrival of a ship; indeed, the inhabitants express so little curiosity that two thirds of them have not yet seen him (although he has been at St. Helena eight months), nor do they ever seem inclined to go a hundred yards out of their way for that purpose. Even Mrs. Wilkes, the wife of the late governor, although she was six months in the island after he arrived, went away without seeing him, whereas the curiosity of the passengers going home from India has almost exceeded credibility.

He spends most of the forenoon in the house, and gives out that he is occupied in writing his life; he breakfasts at eleven, and dines at seven. At first he seemed determined to lead the life of a gentleman and encourage society, for which purpose he invited different people to dinner, and attempted to imitate English manners, but after the first fortnight he suddenly relinquished this system, and ever since he has confined himself to his abject followers, whom I may say he tyrannizes over, and whose servility is more abject than an Englishman who has not witnessed it can possibly conceive.

The rough sketch here placed of his person¹ will give an idea of it. He is portrayed leaning against one of the guns on the quarter-deck of the *Northumberland* speaking earnestly to Maréchal Bertrand. His countenance has something in it very remarkable, but nothing peculiarly commanding, and this sketch flatters him both as to age and appearance. He is 5 feet 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, stout made, and rather corpulent; he has a full, round, fattish face; darkish-brown cropped hair, thin on the forepart of the head, and always disheveled; small eyebrows, very light gray round eyes, rather large than otherwise; a nose moderately long, inclined to aquiline; mouth small, with good small teeth; chin rather fat, turning upward, which gives a peculiar cast of countenance; sallow complexion, without whiskers; very short neck; stout shoulders inclined to be round; corpulent body, large hips and thighs, with a

¹ This sketch does not accompany the manuscript.

well-formed leg and foot. His age was forty-seven on the fifteenth of August last. His health is perfectly good, although he takes but very moderate exercise; indeed it was a subject of surprise during the passage out, as it is now, that from the life of inactivity he led, and the quantity and description of food he ate (and does eat), that his health should continue so good as never to appear to suffer the least inconvenience, or his vigor to be the least impaired.

During the passage he constantly wore a low cocked hat, with a small tricolored cockade, a green uniform coat trimmed with red, a pair of large gold epaulets, the facing of the coat cut away from the breast, and tapering to a point behind; the collar buttoned close round the throat, so as not to allow even the neck handkerchief to be seen. On the left breast he wore a large silver star of the order of the Legion of Honor, and from the button-hole the order of the Iron Crown, and a Dutch order; under the coat a broad red ribbon similar to the order of the Bath; white kerseymere breeches, silk stockings, shoes and buckles.

He generally walks with one hand in his breeches-pocket and the other in his coat-pocket. He occasionally takes snuff in moderation from an oblong box of dark-green stone, lined with gold, and set with four antique silver medals on the top, and a small gold one in front. These medals, Madame Bertrand told me, Bonaparte himself found at Rome; the silver ones bear the heads of Agrippa, Sylla, Pompey the Great, and Julius Cæsar, the gold that of Timoleon. Since he has been on shore he has substituted a plain coat, with the star, for the uniform one, and he wears military boots of a morning; in other respects his dress continues the same.

His character is difficult to be defined, but from what I have seen, learned, and heard, I think Miot, in his "*Mémoires de l'Expedition en Egypte*," gives a very accurate description of him when he says:

He understands enough of mankind to dazzle the weak, to dupe the vain, overawe the timid, and to make the wicked his instruments, but of all beyond this Bonaparte is grossly and totally ignorant.

Greatness of mind or character in my opinion he possesses not, very frequently acting the part of a spoiled child. Feeling I consider him devoid of. Every religion is alike to him, and did I believe there existed such a being as an atheist, I should say Bonaparte is that being. Of those about him he seems neither to care nor feel for the privations they undergo from their blind and infatuated attachment to him, which many of his actions prove, and

which the following circumstance, which occurred during the passage out, will show. Madame Bertrand had been confined to her cabin by serious illness for ten days or a fortnight. On her appearing in the cabin, we all congratulated her on her recovery. This was in the forenoon, and about two o'clock Bonaparte came into the cabin, and sat down to play at chess with General Montholon. At this time Madame Bertrand was below, but soon after made her appearance, seemingly to pay her devoirs to this once great man. Putting on one of her best smiles, she approached the table where he was playing, and where she stood by his side silent for some time, no doubt in anxious expectation of receiving the emperor's congratulations, which would have amply repaid all sufferings she had undergone. But in this, disappointment alone was her portion, for he merely stared her steadfastly in the face, and then continued his game of chess without taking the slightest further notice. She, evidently piqued, quitted the table and came over to the other side of the cabin, where she sat by me on the sofa until dinner was announced, when the admiral, as he usually did, handed her to her seat. Even sitting down at table he took not the slightest notice of her, but began eating his dinner. During the dinner, missing the bottle of claret which usually stood before him, and Madame Bertrand, ever watchful of his motions, having handed him one which was near her, he very condescendingly exclaimed, "Ah! comment se porte Madame?" and then very deliberately continued his meal. This, and this alone, was all the notice the long and serious illness of his favorite drew forth.

April 15, 1816.—Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe arrived in the *Phaeton*, and took the command as governor of St. Helena, to whom Sir George Cockburn made over his charge of Napoleon Bonaparte and all his followers, and who immediately adopted every measure which had been taken by Sir George Cockburn for the safe custody of this personage, and which are such as to render his escape next to an impossibility. Sir H. Lowe brought out permission for such of Bonaparte's followers to return to Europe as might wish so to do, but after some little hesitation they all signed a paper declaring their determination to remain, Maréchal Bertrand inserting a saving clause for himself and Madame Bertrand, expressing their wish to remain only a twelvemonth.

June 17-19.—Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm arrived in the *Newcastle* as Sir George Cockburn's successor, and all the necessary documents having been made over to him as naval commander-in-chief, on the afternoon of the 19th we quitted St. Helena, after a resi-

dence there of rather more than eight months, the latter two of which were spent in anxious expectation of our relief. St. Helena, from its situation, composition, and picturesque appearance, is perhaps a place the most singular which navigation has presented to the curious observation of man. It is situated between the two tropics, in latitude $15^{\circ} 53'$ S. and longitude $5^{\circ} 43'$ W. The atmosphere is temperate, with a continued southerly breeze. The thermometer in the country seldom exceeds 75° , or is seldom below 60° Fahrenheit; in the valley it is generally from 70 to 80. During our eight months' residence we experienced very little variation, and had continued rains. The climate is by no means so healthy as it is generally described to be, the children being sickly, and the adults suffering from the liver, of which complaint many of our men died.

Nothing can possibly be less prepossessing, nay, more horribly forbidding, than the first appearance of this isolated and apparently burnt up barren rock, which promises neither refreshment nor pleasure. To this terrific and disgusting external appearance (causing a wonderful contrast) I attribute in a great measure the many flattering and flowery descriptions which have been published of the interior beauties of this island, none of which was realized in my ideas, and it is contrast alone which in my opinion makes the scenery agreeable, the whole of which (having visited every part of the island) is far too highly colored in every publication I have read. Some of the scenes I admit to be picturesquely grand, and some spots to be highly verdant, and to those who have spent the better part of their lives in India a sojourn here for a fortnight is certainly a relief. These may view the scenery with rapture and delight, but the residence of a month at St. Helena would be tediously long to any one who has been accustomed to live in Europe. This island is about twenty-eight miles in circumference. James Town (the only one in the island) is situated in a deep valley of about a mile in length, the houses are commodious, and have a clean appearance. From Ladder Hill, which is about nine hundred feet perpendicular, to the eastward the *coup d'œil* of the town and anchorage is not only unique, but to some terrific, as the immense over-hanging rocks seem ready to escape from each other, and crush everything below. The town, and indeed most part of the island, is well supplied with good spring water, one of the principal sources of which is Diana's Peak, the highest spot on the island, and which is computed about two thousand six hundred feet above the level of the sea. The interior of the island abounds with vegetables of the best quality, and the poultry is superior in flavor to any I have ever

met with. The inhabitants are friendly, obliging, and much inclined to hospitality, but, owing to the generality of them marrying young, and having large families, they have not in their power to indulge therein. The ladies are lively, agreeable, and many of them pretty, and, although self-taught, are not devoid of accomplishments. They are extremely domesticated, and it requires a residence of some time to become intimately acquainted with the different families. The hospitality of Sir George Cockburn made him an universal favorite, and his departure caused a general regret, which was strongly testified on the crowded beach as we embarked.

June 23.—The *Bucephalus* accompanied us to Ascension, where we arrived on the morning of the 23d, having seen it the preceding evening. This island was hitherto uninhabited, but since the arrival of Bonaparte at St. Helena, it has been taken possession of and garrisoned, to prevent ships harboring there to assist the possible escape thereby of Bonaparte, for which it

is well adapted, being situated directly to leeward of St. Helena. Water has been found in the interior, and near the spring some land has been cultivated with success.

June 24—August 3.—The *Bucephalus* sailed for England, for which place we also sailed the following morning. We made the Cape de Verde Islands on July 6, on the 20th the Western Islands, and on the 3d of August we arrived at Spithead, thus completing twelve months on a voyage which, from peculiarity of circumstances, was far more interesting than any ever likely again to occur, at least to

John R. Glover.

August 3, 1816. N. B.—As the foregoing narrative was kept for my own gratification, and that of my friends, and being particularly averse that any part of it should get into print, I most particularly request of those to whom I may lend it, that they will on no account copy any part of it, or allow any one so to do.

THE END.

BISMARCK AT FRIEDRICHSRUH.



ONE morning in the summer of 1892, in response to an invitation from the Prince and Princess Bismarck, I journeyed from Hamburg to Friedrichsruh. The distance is about a half-hour by rail, through an unmarked but well-wooded and well-farmed country.

Arrived at Friedrichsruh, I found a victoria with liveried coachman and footman awaiting me, which attracted the gaze of the little group of blue-bloused loungers at the station. The presence of the carriage suggested the necessity of a drive; but it proved to be only a gracious form of welcome, for the entrance to the Friedrichsruh estate is but a few hundred feet from the station, and the house only a few hundred feet more from the park entrance. All is concealed on both sides by dense shrubbery and trees.

The house, of light buff stucco, is large, square, and unpretentious, and presents, as do many German country houses, its least attractive side to the stranger at the front door. The effect of terraces, flower-gardens, and broad acres is always reserved until one has crossed the threshold and emerged on the other, the home-protected, side of the dwelling. Race characteristics are strongly indicated in the architecture of a country; and it seems strange, therefore, that the impression of a desire for seclusion and exclusion should be greater in the approach to a German than to an English home. But once within, the spirit that characterizes not

the hospitality of any one country, but *country* hospitality, warms and welcomes equally in both.

Upon this particular occasion, when the carriage drove up on the noisy gravel, the door was quickly opened by a pleasant-faced manservant. With a look of family pride and importance, he led me through a tiled hallway into a room furnished with umbrella- and clothes-racks, upon which were hanging a historic-looking military cloak and slouched hat, mackintoshes and wraps for male and female, suggestive of a family circle and country drives and walks. I was then ushered into a suite of large, simply furnished drawing-rooms with open folding-doors, in the second of which the Princess Bismarck received and welcomed me most cordially. Princess Bismarck is a vivacious lady, kindly and motherly in manner, with a feminine interest, in conversation, in the personal and the concrete. Her first question, "Do you speak German?" was answered in the affirmative, and seemed to afford satisfaction, for English, she said, was a difficult language, and one in which nowadays she had little practice, except in an occasional *rencontre* at Homburg. In a few minutes I heard a slight movement, and, looking up, saw before me, as if stepping out from a Lenbach canvas, the "great man Bismarck," his two huge Danish hounds at his side. Never shall I forget the picture. I had last seen Bismarck on May 10, 1871, when, with Jules Favre at his side, he had a few minutes before signed the treaty of peace be-