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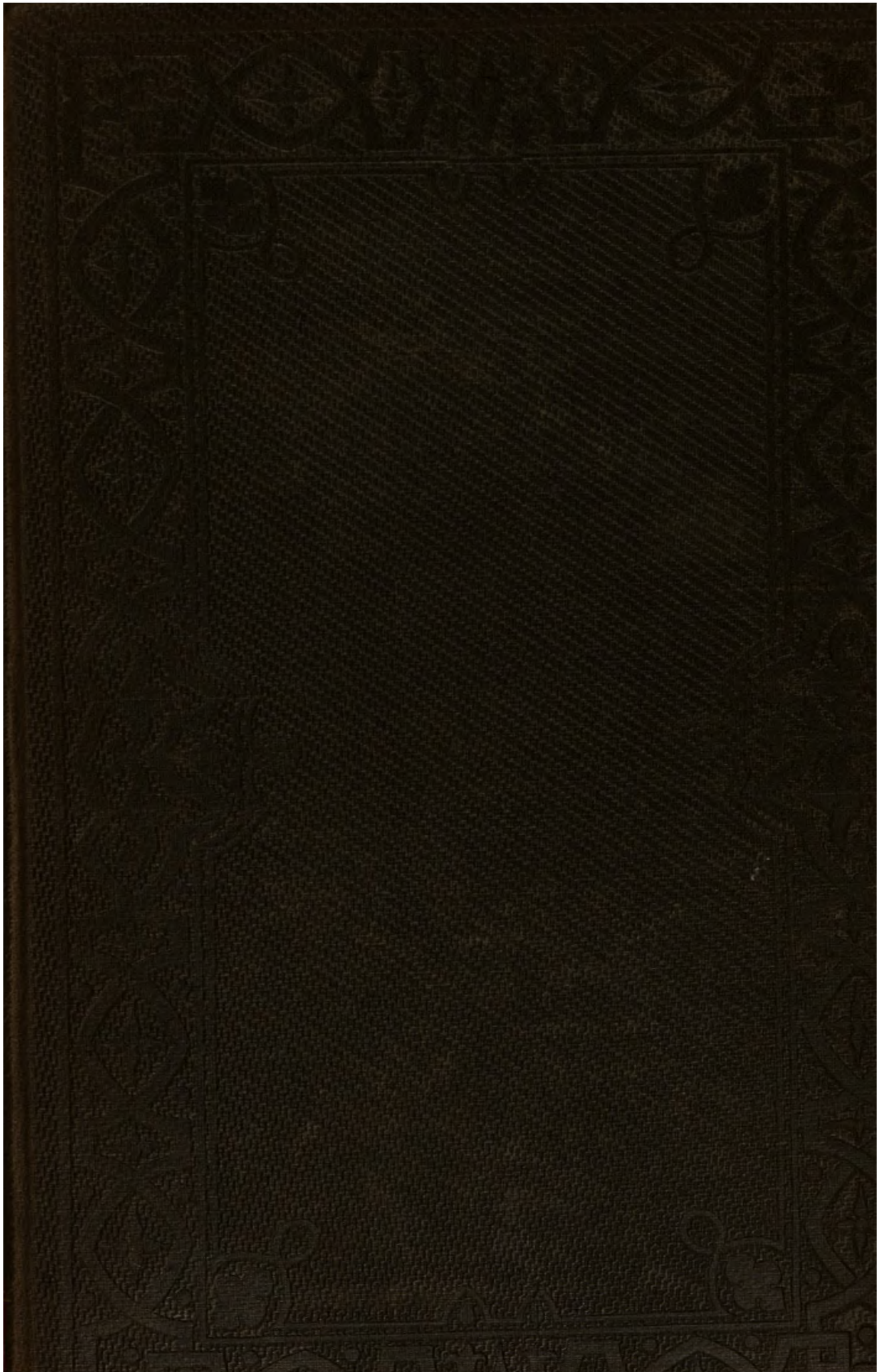
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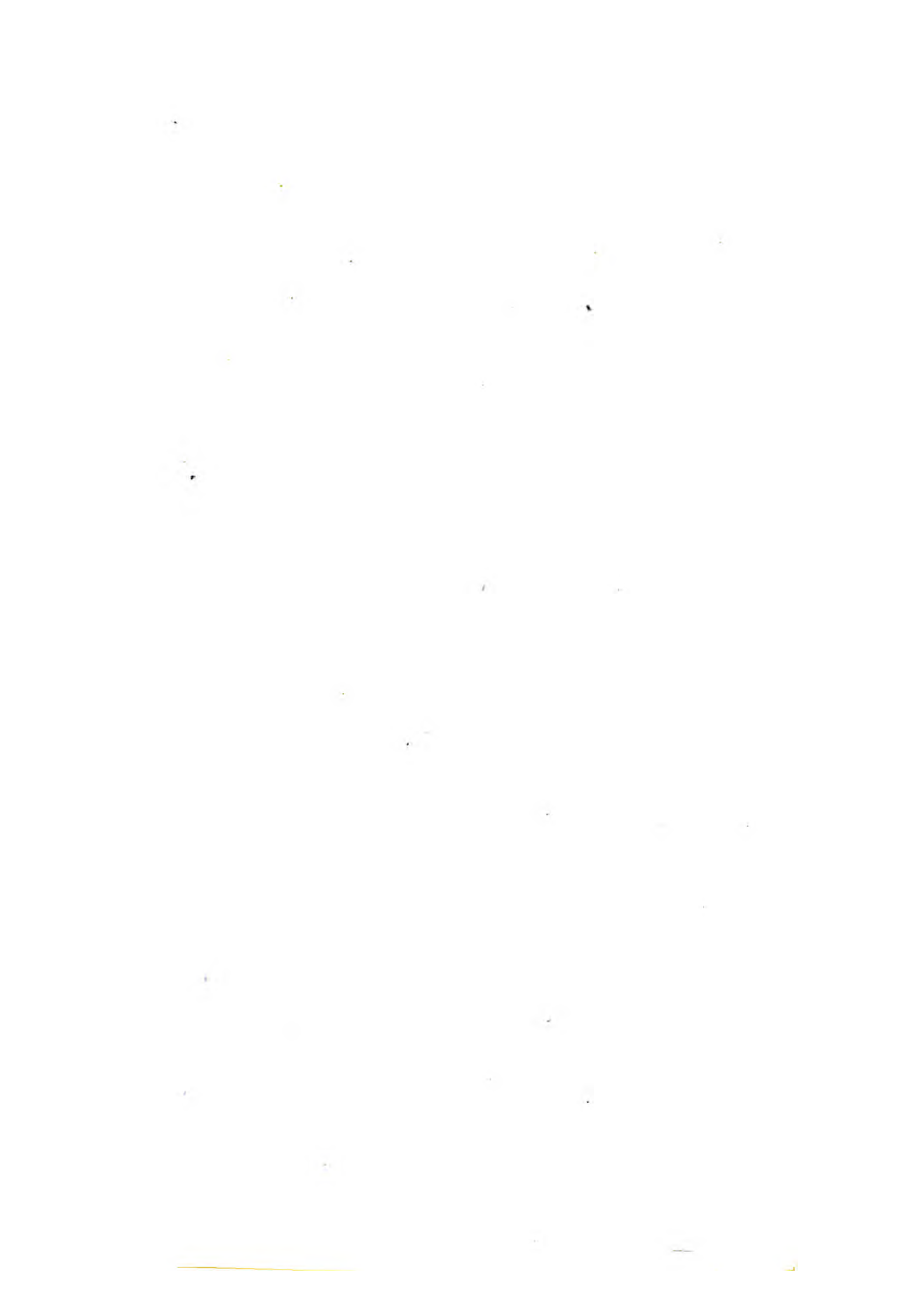




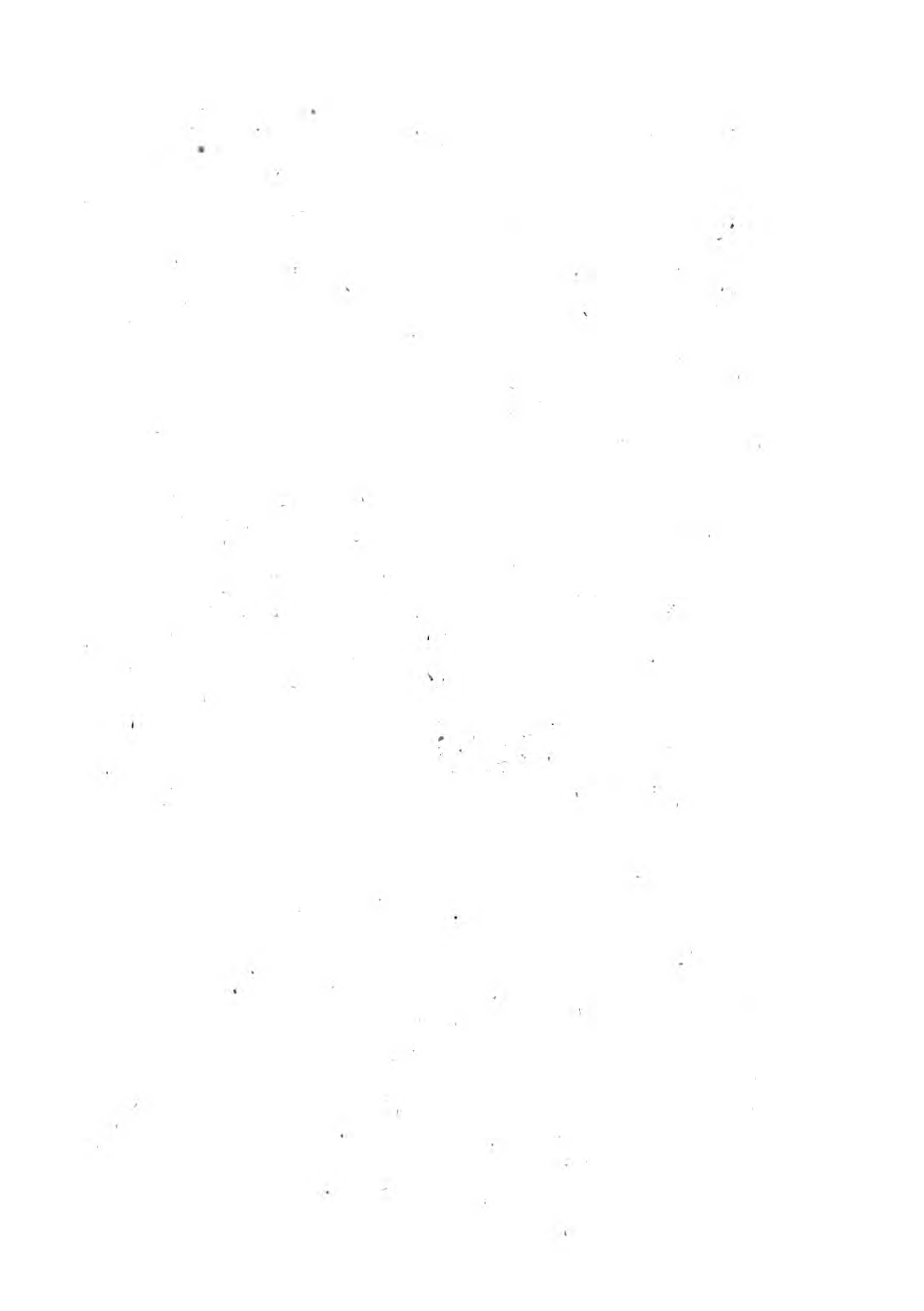


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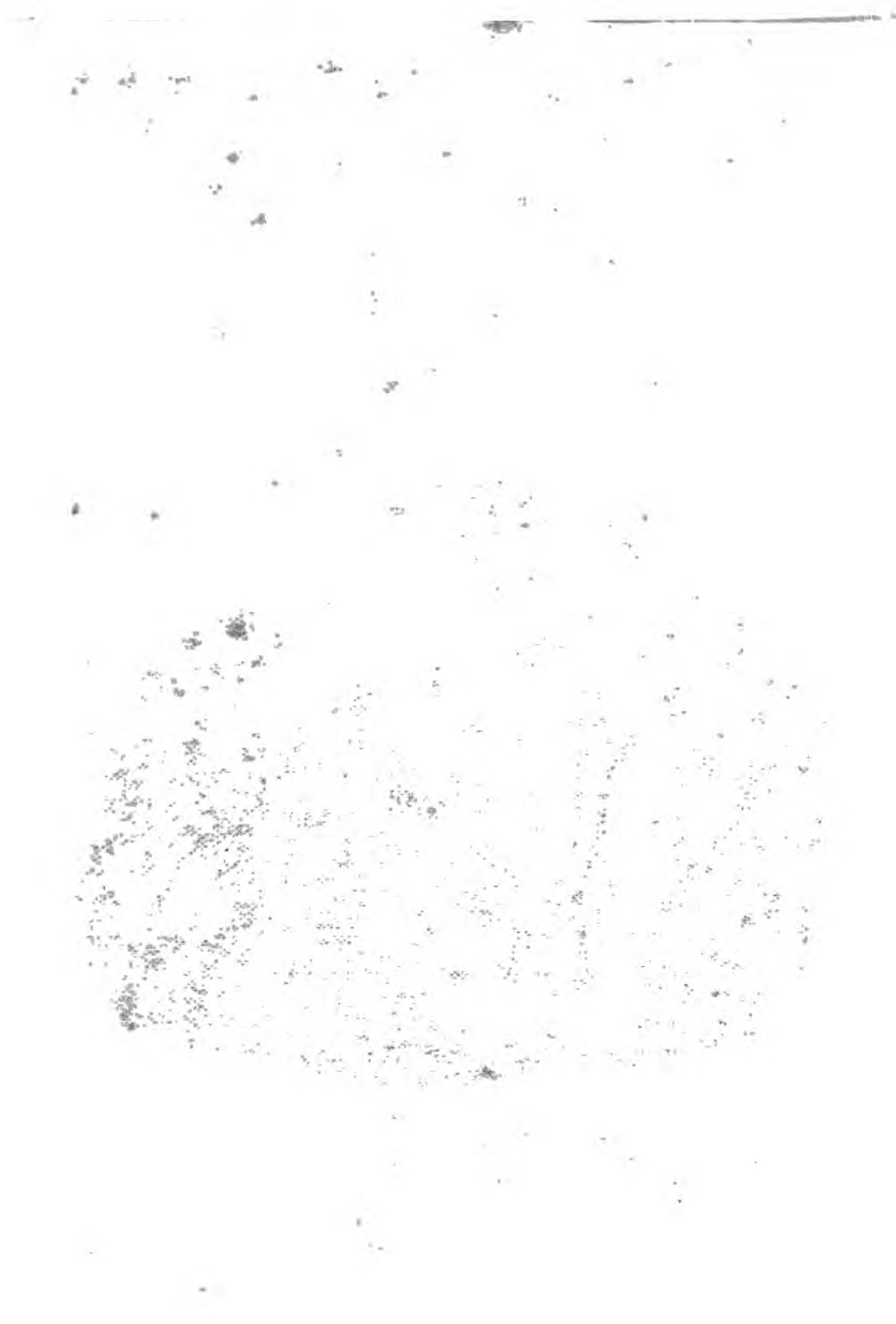




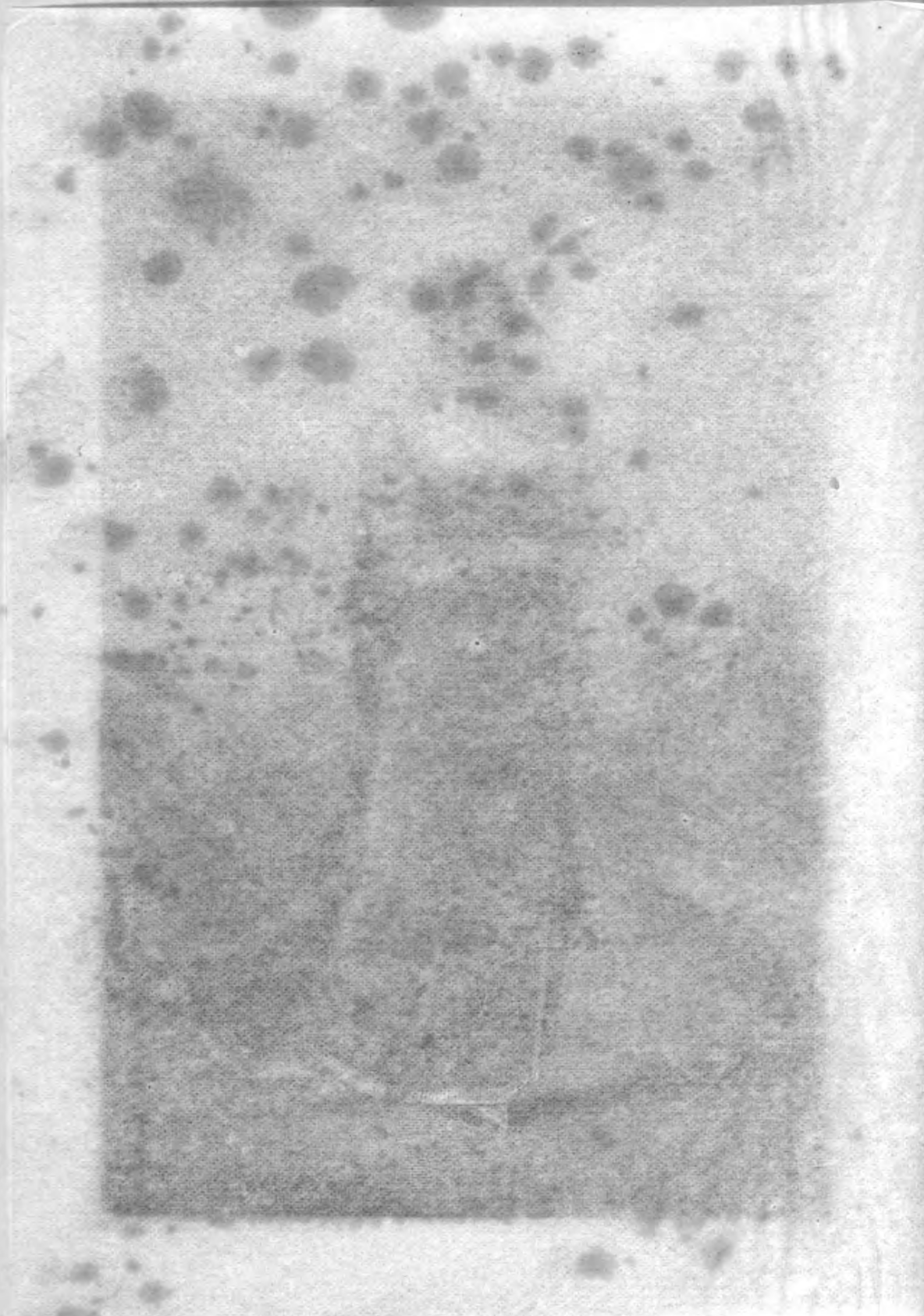




Marie Louise.







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THE HISTORY  
OF  
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

BY  
W. HAZLITT.

VOL. IV.



*Battle of Austerlitz.*

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1852





THE LIFE  
OF  
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

BY  
WILLIAM HAZLITT.

*Second Edition,*  
REVISED BY HIS SON.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

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THE  
LIFE OF NAPOLEON.

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CHAPTER LI.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814.

Spirit and principles of legitimacy; Napoleon's first words to the senate; extraordinary preparations for defence; peace offered by the allies; differences between Napoleon and the legislative body and senate on the subject; opening of the campaign of 1814; Ferdinand and the Pope released; the French territory entered by the allies; Napoleon appoints a regency, and hastens to join his army; battle of Brienne: is defeated at Bar-sur-Aube; retreats on Troyes; takes the road to Paris; Belgium lost, conditions proffered by the allies; Napoleon rejects, the privy council approve them; Napoleon goes to meet the Prussians; defeats them at Champaubert, and Chateau Thierry; Napoleon refuses an armistice; retreat of the allies; the Austrians offer peace; Napoleon grants an armistice; determination to restore the Bourbons; Soissons taken by the Prussians; Blucher wounded; retreat of the Prussians; action at Bar-sur-Aube; Wittgenstein and Schwartzenberg wounded; narrow escape of Blucher and his corps.

“LETTER FROM HAMBURGH, FEB. 26, 1665-6. *The last week, several waggoners coming from Breslau in Silesia, upon their way in the Duke of Saxony's country, perceived a stag with a man upon his back, running with all his might. Coming near the waggons, he suddenly fell down. The waggoners drawing nigh him, the poor man, sitting upon his back, made a pitiful complaint, how that the day before he was by the Duke of Saxony, for killing a deer, condemned to be bound with chains upon that stag, his feet bound fast under the stag's belly, with an iron chain soldered, and his hands so chained to the horns. The miserable man begged earnestly that they would shoot him to put him out of his pain; but they durst not, fearing the duke. Whilst they were talking with him, the stag got up again, and ran away with all his might. The waggoners computed that he had run in*

*sixteen hours twenty-six Dutch miles at the least, which makes near a hundred of your English miles.*"—NOTE TO THE DIARY OF THOMAS BURTON, ESQ.

I have quoted the above passage as a motto to the present chapter, because I think it a tolerable illustration of the spirit and principles of that doctrine of legitimacy which the campaign of 1814 terminated in re-establishing, and to which I am unhappily no convert. Such was in fact the state of manners and the generally admitted principle of government before the period of the French Revolution, which it was the object of that Revolution to proscribe and sweep for ever from the earth, where the prince not only has the power (for that is little) but is also supposed to have the right to inflict all the evil he pleases on every other member of the community, without any provision in the law, in public opinion, or in the spirit of man to resist him—which it was the object of all the wars and bloodshed for the last twenty years to restore, or prevent the infection and spread of the contrary system—and it was the repeated, ignominious, and deserved failure of the allies to re-establish at the point of the sword this relation between the prince and the subject, as being of course and in all cases that of the lawless tyrant and the lawful vassal, that raised such a loud and universal clamour against the ambition and conquests of France; as their triumph was instantly to be signalled (returning to the point from which they set out) by resorting to this very system of hereditary slavery under the name of liberty and independence. That nations who had in the first instance been tamely led on to invade the territories and trample on the rising liberties of a neighbouring state, without the shadow of an excuse or any other warrant than their sovereign's nod, should after a long series of defeat and disaster be brought back to the charge, inflamed with the desire of avenging supposed wrongs and vindicating the national honour, is easily understood. But that France that had abjured and triumphed over this principle of legitimacy should receive it as a gracious

boon or as a "coy, reluctant" pledge and guarantee for the independence and safety of other states, when she had so often been threatened with it as a scourge and under pain of utter extermination and subjection; that she should plead guilty to the charges brought against her as if she had forfeited her existence by her ambition and conquests when nothing else (as was now made manifest) could secure it, and echo the hollow professions of moderation and justice made by her enemies who had given no proofs of their love of independence and freedom but by their hatred of *her* freedom and independence from first to last, I own surprises me, though perhaps it ought not. These things happen; and earth does not roll its billows to swallow up at once the oppressor and the hypocrite, the foul wrong and the fouler pretext! Nor if it excites my contempt that the French submitted to the degrading yoke, does it less excite my grief and anger that it was imposed by a people (taking pride in decking it with *fleur-de-lis* and white ribbons—the colours of base fear) whose hands had been used to other work; a people who had set the primary and (but for themselves) the indestructible example of liberty, and that had shown its spirit and its manhood by choosing a king of its own to protect its rights; but that, like the fabled monster of antiquity with animal head placed on a human form, turned with rage and loathing from the rational and the free, and greedily sought to find out and link itself to the blind and brutal prejudices of ignorance and slavery!

Napoleon had returned to Paris on the 7th of November, 1813; when he immediately set about applying his remaining resources to the best account. Few they were indeed, compared with what they had been; still fewer compared with what they ought to have been (for all France should have risen up as one man on this occasion in defence not merely of her own honour and independence, but of insulted liberty and human nature)—but what he had, he made the

best use of. He did not make a secret of the slenderness of these resources, but did all he could to increase or find substitutes for them by art and management—he did not deny the greatness of the danger or the extent of the sacrifices necessary to avert it, openly insisting on these the more to rouse the spirit and indignation of the country; but his manly and noble appeals were coldly answered by a people (or those who represented them) in whom the love of principle is constantly superseded by the itch of change: who after the first flush of enthusiasm or the intoxication of success is over, think it easiest and safest when the tide turns against them, to turn against themselves: and who bear a charm against the disgrace of this (which would make all other nations hang the head in grief and silence) in that eternal principle of self-complacency, that “sunshine of the breast,” which has broken up its favourite abode with them, and which nothing can disturb or abash. It is not (it should seem) becoming in so accomplished a people to brood over an old and odious grudge—instead of fixing the blame on their adversaries, it appeared more candid and courteous to affect to take shame to themselves for all the provocations they had received; and to pacify the wrath of the offended masters of the species by throwing themselves like beaten spaniels into an abject and fawning attitude and licking the feet of those who trod upon them. What all Europe had not done, they did by being wanting to themselves at this great juncture; thus “blotting France out of the map of Europe.” That France, whose name had sounded like a trumpet to the friends and to the enemies of the human race, has sunk into a cypher and a bye-word, for lack of a little of the same fortitude in a just cause which those opposed to it had manifested in a most unjust one. Still it must be allowed that the French are an amiable and polished people:—and the women are even more so than the men!

The first words Buonaparte addressed to the Senate



were "A year ago all Europe was marching with us : now all Europe is marching against us." The practical inference from this was not what he wished. They did not make answer like the Russians in a similar situation—"Sire, ask all, we give all, accept all."\* The style of patriotism is different in different

\* The Emperor caused a state council to be convened on the 11th, prior to which, and at the sitting, the following is a real portrait of the manner in which he conducted himself, and his singular address to that assembly :

Having opened the sitting, and after some immaterial business had been transacted, a proposition of the *senatus consultus* was read, for the purpose of placing three hundred thousand men at the disposal of the war minister, who were to be drawn from the old conscriptions, solemnly liberated or exhausted. At this a profound silence reigned throughout the assembly ; when at length a member, in a solemn tone, exclaimed, "Sire, the safety of the empire ! the expression, frontiers invaded !—" Well ! and why not be explicit ?" said the Emperor. "Is it not better to speak the truth here ? Is not Wellington in the south ? Russia in the north ! are not the Austrians and Bavarians advancing in the east ?—Wellington in France ! What a scandal—what a disgrace !—and the population has not risen in mass to repulse him ?—how the English will laugh at the obsequious civility of our country people. But the English have no vessels there. This has nothing to do with maritime manœuvres—they are upon our soil ; they must be beaten and driven out !

"All my allies have abandoned me—the Bavarians have proved traitors—cowardly wretches ! They came and stationed themselves in my rear. They thought to cut off my retreat—but they were nicely handled ! how they were cut to pieces ! I killed Wrede, and with him all his relatives. No : let there be no peace until I have burned Munich ! A triumvirate is formed in the north—the same that divided Poland ; no peace until it is broken. Let the ensuing year arrive, and then we shall see ! I ask three hundred thousand men ; I will form a camp of one hundred thousand at Bordeaux ; another at Lyons and at Metz ; with the preceding levy and what remains, I shall have a million of men under arms ; that is enough for the present. I demand three hundred thousand men ; but they must be 'men' in every respect formed. What are these young conscripts good for ?—to fill up hospitals ; or die upon the roads. Frenchmen are always brave ; the Piedmontese and the Italians are always brave, and fight well : but for all those of the north (the Germans), they are good for nothing—there is no blood—nothing but water runs in their veins. I can really depend on nothing but the old inhabitants of France."

"Sire," said a member, "it is necessary that ancient France should remain to us,"—"And Holland ?" resumed the Emperor—"if I was forced to abandon Holland ! rather give it to the sea. As for Italy, if not subjected to France, she must be independent.

"Gentlemen, a mighty effort is required—well, well ! it is necessary all should march—it shall not come to that : but, in short, suppose



countries. A decree was however immediately issued for levying three hundred thousand men. Engineers were ordered to proceed to the north to restore the old walls, which had formerly been the ramparts of France; to raise redoubts on the heights, as rallying-points in case of retreat; to fortify the defiles, and make preparations for destroying the bridges, if necessary. Orders were also issued to the cavalry depôts, the cannon-foundries, &c. But money was wanting to defray these extraordinary expenses; and Napoleon had recourse to his old remedy, his private funds; and at once and in spite of remonstrances to the contrary, transferred thirty millions in crowns from his own treasury to the public use. Councils of administration, of war, and of finance succeeded each other hourly at the Tuilleries. As the days were too short, Napoleon availed himself of the night, and employed the hours of rest in reading over papers, in signing documents, and in digesting his plans. The army of Germany had just returned to France. It was too feeble and too much impaired in numbers to occupy the whole left bank of the Rhine from Huningen to Holland; and in a military point of view, many persons wished to have it concentrated at once: but the Emperor thought it right to keep up appearances as long as he could. Though but the shadow of what it was, its aspect was still formidable to the enemy; and the negotiations would not go on the worse with the French eagles floating at distant intervals along the opposite bank of the Rhine.

Overtures for peace had just been made. On the 14th of November, the Baron de St. Aignan, the French envoy to the court of Weimar, and who had lately

it were necessary, M. Cambaceres, and you also, you would march; you should be nominated chiefs of legions. Counsellors of state!—ye are fathers of families, chiefs of the nation, with you it remains to inspire with the requisite energy. I know it—ye are soft—ye are pusillanimous. Peace is spoken of—Peace! Peace! I know not the meaning of this word 'Peace!' at a period when nothing should resound but the cry of 'War!' Talk of 'peace' when Wellington is in France!"

been taken prisoner, arrived at Paris, charged by the allied powers to make a formal communication of their views and intentions. The allies offered peace on condition that France should abandon Germany, Spain, Holland, and Italy, and retire within her natural boundaries of the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine. Thus to give up "at one fell swoop" not only what he had lost, but what he still possessed, the price of so many victories so justly and so dearly earned, must have cost Napoleon an effort of considerable resolution; but he would gladly have consented, had it been to purchase a solid and cordial peace and the security of France from invasion. But he was to grant all this not in return for peace, but for being allowed permission to treat; hostilities were not to cease, because negotiations had commenced: that is, he was to tie himself beforehand to the utmost concessions the allies could pretend to demand on any general ground, in case they failed in their final attempt to subjugate France by force of arms, and in the teeth of their theophilanthropic professions; while, in case they succeeded, they might spurn the bases they had before agreed to, and dictate what terms they chose in the plenitude of their insolence and power. Buonaparte, however, to please and to give no handle to those who were determined to find fault, acquiesced in these terms, through his new minister (Caulaincourt) on the 2nd of December; but no sooner had he done so, than he was told that the allies had thought proper to consult England, which was as much as to say they had a farther game to play. Buonaparte had indeed let fall some hints of maritime rights and independence, which England affected to consider ironical and insulting, flew off at a tangent, and determined to establish the independence of the continent with a still higher hand, *by restoring the Bourbons*. With this view Lord Castlereagh was soon after appointed ambassador to the Congress at Frankfort; a man who, under handsome features and a plausible manner, concealed a mean capacity and a cold heart, and

whose only title to distinction consisted in his desire of and resolution to attain it by an unlimited subserviency to power. From this time the negotiations went backward, and peace was another name for slavery. All this while it was pretended to "require from France no sacrifice inconsistent with her honour or just pretensions as a nation ;"\* as if to overrun a country with foreign bayonets, in order to impose upon her an hereditary yoke, was consistent with either of these, or as if England, "who now sat squat like a toad at the ear" of the allies, would have thought so sixty years since. There is a degree of assurance which, rising with the dignity of the persons, braves the judgment of posterity, and cancels by a breath of its nostrils the records of the past.†

The Legislative Body was convoked for the 2nd of December, but it adjourned to the 19th, in the hope that by that period all the preliminary delays would be at an end, and that the Congress, which was to meet at Manheim, would be opened. But the time elapsed, and nothing was done. The allies had indeed published a proclamation, in which Napoleon was seriously reproached with the levy of new troops, as a proof of inordinate ambition and bad faith. It was a sure sign of the modesty of their pretensions, when even to resist them was considered as the height of presumption. In the mean time, Schwartzenberg had entered Switzerland with a large army (in the train of which moved the Allied Sovereigns) in violation of the neutrality of a country which they had so long affected to hold sacred ; but what in others was impiety, was in them religion. Blucher with the

\* Speech from the throne.

† Buonaparte accepted the bases proposed by the allies on the 2nd of December. On the 10th they wrote to say they must consult England. On the 6th Lord Castlereagh arrived at the Hague, and proceeded directly to the head-quarters of the allies. On the 11th of January no answer was returned ; and on the 6th Caulaincourt had presented himself at the outposts, but was not suffered to pass ; nor was any answer given up to the 18th of January.

army of Silesia threatened to pass the Rhine at Mannheim ; and the Crown-prince of Sweden, with others of the allies, was advancing through Hanover and Holland. The Duke of Wellington had passed the Pyrenees, and a royalist conspiracy was forming at Bordeaux and in the south of France. In this state of things the Legislative Body met ; and Buonaparte expected from them zeal and encouragement ; he only received advice and demands for security against himself. He laid the documents relating to the negotiation before them to prove that if he had not been able to procure peace, he had done all he could to procure it with honour ; but they were not satisfied, and wished to throw themselves into the arms of the allies ; and should they not repay this confidence with moderation and good faith, then to resist afterwards, when, having flung away their weapons, no great harm could ensue. Buonaparte soon determined to dismiss a body which was so little in accord with its head ; and on this occasion a scene of violent altercation took place, which went out of the ordinary rules of etiquette, but which was no less called for by the circumstances of the time and the situation of the parties. “ I called you together for the purpose of assisting me, but you came to say and do all that was necessary to assist the enemy. Instead of uniting, you divide us. Is it when the enemy are on the frontiers, that you demand an alteration of the Constitution? Rather follow the example of Alsace and Franche-Compté, where the inhabitants ask for leaders and arms to drive the invaders back. You seek in your address to draw a distinction between the sovereign and the people. I am the only real representative of the people. Which of you could support such a burden? The throne is merely a piece of wood covered with velvet. I alone hold the place of the people. I am the state. If France desires another species of constitution, let her seek another monarch. It is at me the enemy aims more than at France :



but are we therefore to sacrifice a part of France? Do I not sacrifice my self-love and my feelings of superiority to obtain peace? Think you I speak proudly? If I do, I am proud because I have courage; and because France owes her grandeur to me. Yes, your address is unworthy of the legislative body and of me. Begone to your homes. I will cause your address to be published in the *Moniteur* with such notes as I shall furnish. Even if I had done wrong, you ought not have reproached me with it thus publicly. People do not wash their dirty linen before the world. To conclude, France has more need of me than I have of France. If abuses exist, is it a time for remonstrance when two hundred thousand Cossacks are passing your frontiers? Your visionaries are for guarantees against power; at this moment all France demands only guarantees against the enemy. You have been misled by people devoted to the interests of England; and M. Lainé, your reporter, is a bad man.”\*

Buonaparte had no better success with the senate, who only echoed back the word *peace* in answer to his call to arms; and when he proved to them that he had tried to make peace and that the allies had refused or evaded it on the bases proposed by themselves, they only said, “Try again, offer them *carte blanche*, any terms they will condescend to accept.” This was the interpretation. Mr. Burke has said, that “in a contest between equal states, that power must in the end succeed which sets no limits to its exertions but with its existence.” The French (to whom however he applied the remark) are the last people in the world to persevere in such a losing game. They saw that the allies were determined to carry on the war, and therefore they were determined to give it up, now that it was brought home to themselves. The majority of them remained passive; the worst

\* True enough; this M. Lainé was in correspondence with the English and with Lynch, the mayor of Bordeaux, to restore Louis XVIII.

turned traitors : and it must be confessed that this is a bait which it requires great virtue in so light a people to resist, the temptation at once of breaking their engagements and of making themselves of consequence to the opposite party by doing so. Thus then, instead of a union of zeal and devotedness against the common enemy, Napoleon was assailed by murmurs and reproof. It was well known that England had agents and correspondents in different parts of France, and particularly at Bordeaux ; and that she was everywhere endeavouring to revive the hopes of the old partisans of the house of Bourbon. This well became her who had beheaded and exiled her own sovereigns, and whose government existed in contempt of hereditary right. But she thought perhaps to efface or weaken the recollection of the principle at home by stifling it abroad. Besides, she had caroused a drunken pledge—to say nothing of that venomous hate of liberty coiled round the hearts of the possessors of supreme power, ever ready to spring into act and infix its deadly sting, when once the pressure of fear and necessity is taken off.

Some of the usual orators endeavoured to second Buonaparte's spirit and sterling good sense, by contending that the illusions of peace having vanished, the country had but one alternative left—energy or submission. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, in his speech to the legislative body, said, "Surrounded by ruins, France raises her threatening head. She was less powerful, less rich, and less fertile in resources in 1792, when her levies in mass delivered Champagne—in the year seven, when the battle of Zurich stopped a new invasion by all Europe—in the year eight, when the battle of Marengo finally saved the country." Napoleon had in his hands the same springs ; "but" (it is added on his own authority) "they had lost the republican spirit which once tempered them. Most of the chiefs were worn out in the service of their country ; but the sacred fire animated the youth of



France, and beamed on a few aged heads devoted to glory : this was the last ray of hope !” If the republican spirit was worn out, the anti-republican spirit at least remained in full force : but the spirit of liberty is short-lived, that of slavery immortal. Had the French been a nation composed of wretched serfs and their half-savage proprietors, they would have defended their soil to the uttermost ; for slavery is implicit and not sceptical, and barbarism boggles at no difficulties. Were it not for this, the faint ray of hope that gleamed from the aged and the young would have been one consuming and unquenchable flame, withering the hopes that began to swell and riot in the breasts of princes ; and liberty would have roused herself once more like a lioness in her old haunts of the passes of the Ardennes and of the field of Valmy, and not have had a deer’s heart given her to be always the destined prey of the inevitable, venal pack behind her. But since that was not to be, mankind have become no better than cattle in the market-place !

The year 1814 opened with these frail hopes and gloomy presages. The Emperor neglected no means of intimidating and checking the enemy in his advance. He knew the circumspection and irresolution of the generals opposed to him ; and he strove to avail himself of it. He sent orders to the Duke of Belluno to dispute the passage of the Vosges, foot to foot, with Schwartzenberg, and to the Duke of Ragusa to maintain himself as long as possible in the numerous fortresses of Lorraine. By a general instruction issued to all the marshals, they were enjoined, as they retreated, to leave behind them in the fortresses, and in the rear of the allies, their fatigued troops and those who were not yet inured to the service. Extraordinary commissaries were dispatched to the departments, for the purpose of superintending the levies of men and the measures of defence. In reading their names, one would suppose that some of them were chosen for the purpose of hindering rather than

helping forward these objects. Frequent military reviews took place in the court of the Tuileries ; and the numbers assembled were often doubled by a stroke of the pen in the columns of the *Moniteur*. Some critics who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel, have grudged Buonaparte these troops upon paper, complaining that they made the allies afraid of advancing, and apprehensive of having to encounter a national war. Notwithstanding all the activity which he manifested in re-embodiment of the army, he could not hope to open the campaign before the end of January ; nor could he reckon on being able to raise more than one hundred thousand men. The enemy spread round him a circle of six hundred thousand troops. The allied forces were in *echelon* on the three principal lines of communication, leading from Berlin, Warsaw, and Vienna to the Rhine. Napoleon calculated that the enemy, who in three months might have five hundred thousand men in the centre of France, could at most have only two hundred and fifty thousand for commencing the operations of the campaign. Besides, even these forces were diminished by various blockades, and were scattered over different roads. The Emperor therefore had reason to believe, that by manœuvring skilfully in the centre of their march, he might fall in with and defeat the enemy's detached corps. He intended to combine his forces in the plains of Chalons-sur-Marne, before the invading armies should be enabled to effect a junction ; and he hoped to make amends for the extreme disproportion of numbers by striking some decisive blow, which would be doubly advantageous in his own territory. He had (beside fifty thousand men on the Elbe, either in garrisons, or detained as prisoners of war, contrary to the faith of treaties, by those who thought more of the inviolability of their persons than of their promises) one hundred thousand on the Pyrenees, opposed to the English and Spaniards ; and fifty thousand in Italy under Prince Eugene, who kept

eighty thousand Austrians in check on the Adige ; and who, if Murat had not proved as great a poltroon as he was a braggart, might have operated in conjunction with him a powerful diversion on the side of Vienna and the Julian Alps. Prince Eugene was also tampered with as Murat had been, but to no purpose. There was something at this time fulsome in the overtures of the allies to the near friends and relatives of Buonaparte : it seems, that if he had had a son or daughter grown up, it would have given these sleek and pampered moralists peculiar satisfaction to have induced them to betray him. I wish I had the power to mark the spirit of the period with the reprobation it deserves.

“ Nothing was sacred then but perfidy.”

It was too late to think of evacuating the fortresses on the Elbe ; for all communication had been cut off for a couple of months. There was still time, however, to evacuate Italy, abandon the fortresses on the Rhine, and direct all his forces upon Paris ; but Napoleon was averse to the project, probably still clinging in imagination to a more extended scale of operations, though only the confined arena of France “ was left for him to bustle in,” and contented himself with demanding divisions of infantry from Marshal Soult and Prince Eugene, which it was thought might join in the second month of the campaign. He at the same time released the Pope, with a view to throw oil on the troubled waters of the church ; and sent Ferdinand back to Spain, in order to lessen the influence of the English at Madrid. He would thus also have two subjects of complaint and odium the less.

The allies, when they determined on invading France, had conceived that their immense superiority of numbers would sufficiently enable them to encounter the wrecks of the French armies ; but from the fury with which the peasantry of Alsace and the

Vosges opposed the advance of their detachments in every village, they began to fear the danger of a general rising in France ;\* they therefore endeavoured to conciliate public opinion. The Emperor of Russia published a proclamation, the Prince of Schwartzberg another, Blucher a third, and so on. A higher compliment cannot be paid to these effusions than by saying that every word and sentiment they contained was belied by the actions and purposes of those who issued them. But while the generals were making their homilies, the soldiers were pillaging and slaying without mercy. Their atrocities (as was but natural) roused the utmost degree of indignation on the part of the country-people. Prince Schwartzberg found that it was no less necessary to intimidate than to proselytise. He threatened to hang every French peasant who should be taken with arms in his hands, and announced his intention of burning every village that should offer resistance to the invaders. And this threat was to have been carried into execution, no doubt, by those soldiers who had shouted with so much joy when they saw the natural boundary of their own country, the Rhine !

That which the enemy feared and forbade was precisely what was necessary to be done. Napoleon gave orders for the levy in mass of the eastern departments. General Berckheim was appointed to command his countrymen, the Alsacians. The people of Lorraine and the Franche-Comté evinced the same devotedness as the inhabitants of Alsace. Corps of partisans were organized in the Vosges ; on the banks of the Saône the people of Burgundy manifested as much courage as though they had been supported by armies in their rear. The inhabitants of Chalons cut their bridge, and compelled the Austrians to halt. Mean-

\* This may serve to show that the apathy of the senate and leading people in France was affected and wilful, and that a different impulse (with what different results !) might have been given to the nation.



while, General Bubna had intercepted the road of the Simplon and seized on the Valais. The Duke of Castiglione, charged with defensive measures in that quarter, repaired to Lyons, whither the troops hastily detached from the army of Catalonia and the *depôts* of the Alps were proceeding. The enemy had made such progress that it was deemed requisite for Napoleon to oppose them in person. Schwartzenberg had, with some difficulty, forced the passes of the Vosges; Blucher was in Lorraine, Yorck before Metz, and Sacken had arrived at Nancy. The Allied Sovereigns had been on the French territory since the 13th of January, following the route of the Austrian army. The Duke of Ragusa had retired from before Metz, leaving it to be defended by General Rogniat. On the 14th of January, Ney evacuated Nancy, Mortier Langres on the 16th, and on the 19th Marmont was retreating upon Verdun. The defence of Belgium was entrusted to General Maisons, who had to make head against the Prussians under Bulow, the English under Graham, and the Russians under Woronzoff and Winzingerode. General Carnot was appointed to the command of Antwerp. The Duke of Tarentum, after garrisoning the fortresses of the Lower Meuse, fell back on the Ardennes; and on the 19th was at Namur, where Napoleon dispatched messengers to him to hasten his march upon Chalons.

Matters being thus prepared, on the 20th of January Napoleon sent forward the Prince of Neufchatel to announce to the army his intention of immediately joining it. On the 23rd he signed the letter-patent by which the Empress was appointed Regent of France; and the next day, his brother Joseph was included in the Regency under the title of Lieutenant-General of the Empire. That night the Emperor committed all his most private papers to the flames; embraced his wife and son for the last time; and at three o'clock in the morning of the 25th got into his carriage to proceed to the army. It is remarkable that just before he set

out he had a long and confidential conversation with one of his ministers,\* in which he demonstrated the impossibility of his overcoming the allies from the want of physical means (except by some miraculous chance), said he should try to do his best as much as if he was certain of success; and either overpowered by fatigue or from habitual temperament, fell asleep in the midst of it. Those who were near enough to observe Napoleon since his last return to Paris, found him grave and thoughtful, his not receiving from the legislative body the support he expected having hurt him a good deal; but he had lost none of his firmness or self-possession.

General Bertrand took his seat in the carriage with Napoleon, in the absence of the Duke of Vicenza, who was gone on a sleeveless errand to the allies. On the morning of his departure he breakfasted at Chateau-Thierry, and in the evening reached Chalons to dinner. On the road leading to Chalons, the approach of the enemy had produced a kind of stupor which immediately vanished as Napoleon drove along. In the hour of danger his arrival to join the army presented the only chance of deliverance to which the people could look forward. At every relay, crowds of women and children collected round the carriage; and the men who had been formed into national guards, discovered, both by their looks and words, the extreme alarm that prevailed. But dismay soon gave place to confidence; and the peasantry of Dormans, Chateau-Thierry, and Epernay joined to their repeated shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* the cry of *A bas les droits reunis!* thus affording a clue to their secret sentiments. This was recurring to the root of the matter, and touching the right string; which, properly sounded, might have waked in thunder, and shattered one more coalition. Kings and the people, it seems, remembered what the quarrel was about, the difference on which they had originally split:

\* Count Molé.



while the politicians and philosophers in the multiplicity of their refinements had entirely lost sight of the main question.

On alighting from his carriage at the house of the prefect, Napoleon sent for Berthier, the dukes of Valmy, of Reggio, &c. Twenty years before the Duke of Valmy had gained the title of his dukedom in those very plains where the national battalions were now again preparing to make a stand against those very Prussians, coming with a different plea in their mouths, but with the same malice in their hearts. "Oh! and was all forgot?" And had this no power to "stir a flame of sacred vehemence" in a whole people to repel the final insult, and the last consummation of the long-intended injury? And how had the interval been filled up? With fiend-like acts and saint-like professions, to crush the principles of liberty and restore the ancient despotism under the penalty of endless war to France and Europe; yet now all this was to be submitted to without a blow, and in the prostituted names of religion and humanity! That should be last of all. Really, one would rather "change one's humanity with a baboon" than not "mow and jabber" defiance in such a case. But the motto of this people is "*bien complaisant*" whether in their public or private transactions. To pass on from this sore subject—Napoleon was employed during the greater part of the evening in collecting information from those about him. He learned that Schwarzenberg had nearly reached Troyes, driving before him the Duke of Treviso and the old guard; that Blucher had entered St. Dizier; that Ney and Victor had retired on Vitry-le-Français; and that Marmont was behind the Meuse, between St. Michael and Vitry. The Duke of Vicenza, after being bandied about at the advanced-posts, had at length been permitted to repair to the Congress at Chatillon-sur-Seine. Parties of fugitives, in the direction of Vitry, already began to appear in the streets of Chalons, mingled with the

corps just arrived from Paris. The troops that had lately been dispersed along the Rhine, from Huningen to Cologne, after a retreat of twenty days upon so many different roads, now all met together in the same plain to rally round Napoleon and form a single army. The retrograde movement immediately ceased, and order was restored in the ranks.

Napoleon determined to march against that portion of the enemy's force that lay nearest to him. During the night he gave orders for the advance of the whole army on the road to Vitry. He left Marshal Kellermann to receive the Duke of Tarento, who had been delayed in the Ardennes. He halted only twelve hours at Chalons; and early on the following day (the 26th) the head-quarters were established at Vitry. As soon as he arrived there, anxious to gain information of the enemy's movements, he sent for the sub-prefect, the mayor, the engineer, and the principal inhabitants of the place. Bacler d'Alb and Athalin took notes of every report; and Cassini's map was covered with pins, to mark the different points of the horizon where the enemy's scouts had been seen. Messengers were dispatched to the Duke of Treviso to apprise him of Napoleon's route. The troops which had marched during the night at day-break fell in with some of the enemy's columns between Vitry and St. Dizier. The Emperor hastened forward; and at ten in the morning entered St. Dizier at the head of the foremost corps. The allies had occupied St. Dizier only a few days; though their loud boasting had forcibly impressed the inhabitants with the dangers that threatened France. But these troops now commenced a precipitate retreat at the Emperor's approach. His presence roused the inhabitants of St. Dizier, who gathered round him, endeavouring to touch him, and escorted him in crowds to the mayor's house. "*All were now eager to pursue the enemy, who was no longer to be feared.*" Enthusiasm spread from place to place, until it reached the villages of

Barrois and the forest of Der. The peasantry took arms, pursued the enemy, and brought prisoners to St. Dizier."\* This is too faithful a picture of natural French courage, which shrinks from danger, but takes heart and is ready to gather laurels when the alarm is over. The reports of the prisoners confirmed the statements of the town's-people. Blucher and the corps of Sacken were marching on Troyes by Brienne to join the Austrians: while Yorck's troops had remained behind at Metz, and were expected to follow Lanskoi's corps (with which the French had just had an encounter) to St. Dizier. Napoleon by this first movement had therefore surprised Blucher's army as it was proceeding from Lorraine to Champagne, and had separated it into two parts. Should he now continue his march on Lorraine, to assail the Prussian rear-guard? Or advance directly upon Chaumont and Langres to intercept Schwartzenberg? Or descend towards Troyes, in pursuit of Marshal Blucher? Napoleon decided on this last course, to prevent (if he could) the junction of the Prussian and the Austrian armies; to save Troyes, and to aim the first blow at his most redoubted antagonist.

The shortest road from St. Dizier to Troyes lies through the forest of Der; and on this account Napoleon gave it the preference, though difficult at all times, and reckoned almost impracticable in the month of January. At Brienne, however, only two marches off, the army would again enter the high-road. In the evening of the 27th, the army threw itself to the right into the forest of Der; a small rear-guard was left behind; and orders were sent to Mortier to fall back upon Troyes with the old guard, so as to be ready to assist the Emperor's movement. On the 28th, it rained heavily; and the army proceeded with difficulty. But the joy testified by the country-people at seeing them was considered as a good omen, and

\* Baron Fain's account.

chased away the thought of fatigue. Napoleon halted at the village of Eclaron, while the bridge was repairing. The peasants, who had taken some Cossacks prisoners during the night, kindled fires for the soldiers, and presented them with their whole stock of provisions. Napoleon, when he took leave of the good people of Eclaron, granted them money for rebuilding their church, and the cross of the legion of honour to the surgeon of the village, who had served in Egypt. The troops arrived late (from the badness of the roads) at Montier-en-Der, where the head-quarters were fixed at the house of General Vincent, who had resided in the place for several years.

News came in from every quarter. One of the inhabitants of Chavange manifested so much zeal and intelligence, that Buonaparte determined to make him a notary. Blucher had been stopped at Brienne by the destruction of the bridge of Lesmont. His rear-guard was only three leagues off; and at eight, the next morning, General Milhaud's cavalry fell in with them in the wood of Maizieres. The Prussians being driven from the village, the curate came and presented himself to Napoleon, who recollected him as having been one of his old masters at the college of Brienne. The Emperor appointed him his guide; and Roustan, the Mameluke, alighted and gave him his horse to ride. Blucher, in spite of the speed exerted by the French, was already in communication with the Austrians by Bar-sur-Aube; and he wished to maintain his position at Brienne till their arrival. He occupied with a strong force the hill on which part of the town stands: some picked troops were ranged on the terraces of the castle. The Russian General Alsufieff defended the lower town. The most determined attack was directed against the terraces of the park by General Chateau, son-in-law of the Duke of Belluno, who carried the position with such promptitude, that Marshal Blucher and his staff had hardly time to escape. Rear-Admiral Basti lost



his life in forcing the entrance of the lower town ; but his troops, as they ascended the street leading to the castle, fell in with a party of Prussian officers, several of whom were made prisoners, and among others, young Hardenberg, nephew of the Chancellor of Prussia. He stated, that when taken he was surrounded by the officers of the Prussian staff, and that Blucher himself was by his side. This was not the only escape of the kind he had during the campaign. The Prussians attempted to retake the castle ; and while the position was thus disputed, the main-body of the French army took up their quarters for the night between Brienne and the wood of Maizieres. As Buonaparte was returning by a bye-path to his head-quarters at Maizieres, he was himself surprised and near being taken by a party of Cossacks. At day-break on the 30th, the French were masters of Brienne ; and the Prussians were in full retreat on Bar-sur-Aube. The Duke of Treviso, who had returned to Troyes, had orders to cover that city, as well as to advance on the road to Vandœuvres.

The Duke of Bassano, who left Paris some days after Napoleon, now arrived at the Imperial head-quarters. The Emperor was lodged in the castle of Brienne : this beautiful edifice had been plundered by the Prussians, and the windows were shattered by the firing. Napoleon, who had been educated at Brienne, could not suppress the recollections which now crowded on his mind. The evening before, when returning from the battle, he had passed by a tree in the park, under which he remembered having sat and read Tasso when a boy. The injury done to the castle and the burning of the town distressed him greatly. At night, when he withdrew to his apartment, he formed the design of rebuilding the town and purchasing the castle, with a view to converting it either into an Imperial residence or a military school. Sleep overtook him amidst these various musings on the past and the future.

As soon as Schwartzenberg heard of the battle of Brienne, he marched hastily with his whole army upon Bar-sur-Aube, and effected his junction with Blucher. At the same time, Yorck had repaired promptly to St. Dizier, to keep up his communication with his general-in-chief. Thus the allies seemed to display the alertness and importunity of thriving wooers of fortune. On the 31st of January, Prince Schwartzenberg and Marshal Blucher advanced with their whole forces, and offered battle on the plain between Bar-sur-Aube and Brienne. It was not in the Emperor's power to decline the engagement if he would, the cutting off the bridge of Lesmont (which could not be repaired under twenty-four hours) preventing his retreat, as it had delayed Blucher's advance. The remainder of the 31st was spent in preparations for battle. The commencement of the campaign thus far was not what Napoleon had anticipated. Just when he thought he had surprised Blucher, who was cut off from his rear-guard and reduced to half his force, he had escaped; joined the Austrians; and now challenged him to an engagement, in which he had only fifty thousand men to oppose to at least one hundred thousand. The battle which took place on the 1st of February did not tend to improve the aspect of his affairs. The Duke of Ragusa, stationed on the left at Morvilliers, had the Bavarians in front of him: the Duke of Belluno, at Chaumeuil and Giberie, was opposed to the Wurtemberg troops and Sacken's corps: the young guard was in the centre at La Rothière, to oppose Blucher's picked troops, together with the Russian guard; and on the right, towards the river, General Gerard defended the village of Dienville against the attacks of the Austrian corps of Giulay. The French army was composed chiefly of new-raised levies commanded by veterans; but throughout the whole day they displayed the utmost intrepidity. In the centre, where the conflict raged with the greatest violence, Napoleon commanded in person; and there

also were the allied sovereigns. Night put an end to the contest; but the advantage was on the side of the enemy, who only wanted a little more confidence to have become completely masters of the field. At eight in the evening, Napoleon returned to the Castle of Brienne, where he gave orders for the retreat upon Troyes by the bridge of Lesmont, which was hardly finished. While the army effected this movement, favoured by the darkness of the night, the Emperor was not without fear that the enemy might intercept their passage. He every moment made the most anxious inquiries; and stationed himself at a window where he had a view of the whole line of bivouacs. The firing of musketry had entirely ceased; the French fires were burning just as they had left them at the close of evening; the enemy made no movement; nor was it discovered till daybreak that the French had abandoned their lines. Napoleon left the castle of Brienne at four in the morning.

On the 2nd of February, the French army recrossed the Aube at Lesmont, and cut the bridge a second time to keep off the enemy; but this placed the Duke of Ragusa in a critical situation, who found his old enemy, Wrede, ready to dispute his passage over the Voire at the village of Rosnay. Here, as at Hanau, where he had encountered the same opposition, the Duke of Ragusa drew his sword, and himself gave the word of command; his troops charged with the bayonet, and twenty-five thousand Bavarians were put to the rout. That exploit alone seemed to justify the confidence which Napoleon afterwards placed in the intrepidity of Marmont; but true intrepidity is proved not in facing an enemy or meeting death, but in maintaining a principle. While the Duke of Ragusa was effecting his retreat towards Arcis on the left bank of the Aube, the main body of the army was retiring by the left bank on Troyes, where it arrived on the morning of the 3rd. The old guard came out to meet them, formed the rear-guard, and checked the enemy who thought to enter Troyes behind them.

Since the departure from Paris, no bulletins had been sent from the army. It was hoped to commence with a victory; it was now necessary to begin with an account of the lost battle of Brienne. Intelligence at the same time arrived from the Duke of Vicenza. The congress was to meet on the 4th. Count Stadion was to represent Austria: Count Razumowski, Russia; Baron Humboldt, Prussia; and Lord Castlereagh, England. Napoleon dreaded the delays which this mode of treating might occasion; and with a view to shorten them, as well as influenced by the late reverses, dispatched a courier on the 5th with *carte blanche* to the Duke of Vicenza, giving him full power to bring the negotiation to a satisfactory issue, to save the capital, and to avoid a battle, on which the last hopes of the nation rested.

The most favourable news came from the banks of the Saone. The people of Lyons had made a firm stand against General Bubna; so that the troops in Dauphiny having had time to come up, the Austrians fell back on Bresse. Napoleon might have defended Troyes longer; but in the meantime the allies might turn him and advance on Paris. He therefore determined to continue his retreat, more particularly as at Provins he expected to meet the first division of the reinforcements from the Pyrenees under General Leval. In the skirmishes before Troyes, the advantage was so much on the side of the French, that the allies, thinking Napoleon meditated resuming the offensive, fell back a day's march from Lusigny to Bar-sur-Aube. On the 6th the army quitted Troyes and took the road to Paris. Napoleon slept that night at the village of Gres, half-way between Troyes and Nogent; and the next day reached Nogent, where he halted to dispute the passage of the Seine with Prince Schwartzberg. The evacuation of Troyes and their prolonged retreat gave the finishing blow to the hopes of the army, who were dispirited to an indescribable degree. "*Where shall we halt?*" was the question repeated from mouth to mouth. Yet no



fault is to be found with the courage of the French army. On the contrary, honour is due to them and eternal praise—they always did their duty, and remained true to glory, their country, and to a cause far above both these names. That stern discipline of humanity seemed necessary to steel the national character (otherwise too light and flexible) to the proper tone of manhood. If I draw a distinction between the French army and the French people, it is to be remembered that the French themselves were the first to disclaim the common link that bound them; and history will scarce see cause to reverse the judgment. The couriers that arrived at Nogent still brought unsatisfactory news. In the north the enemy had occupied Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle. The Anglo-Prussian army was blockading Antwerp, which Carnot had arrived only just in time to defend; Bulow had entered Brussels, and Belgium was lost. Blucher was marching on Paris by the great road of Chalons, where General Yorck had appeared on the 5th of February; and the Duke of Tarentum unable to oppose him, had retired on Epernay without knowing where he should be able to halt, and whence he now wrote for orders and reinforcements. Even Napoleon seemed to lose spirit at this news. He just then too received from Chatillon the conditions which the allies wished to offer him, and which savoured of late events—and of Lord Castlereagh's influence. He was now told: "The allies dissent from the bases proposed at Frankfort. To obtain peace, France must retire within her old limits." There is a figure in diplomacy, which may be called *encroachment*, and of which the allies (for persons who stood so much upon punctillio) were tolerable masters. First, it was necessary for France to retire within *her natural limits*; then she was to have *her old limits*; next it would be *her old government*. That would indeed be coming to the desired conclusion; she could sink no lower! Having read the despatches, Napoleon shut himself

up in his chamber, and observed a mournful silence. The allies demanded a prompt and categorical reply. The Prince of Neufchatel and the Duke of Bassano went to him, and with painful emotions hinted at the necessity of yielding. "How!" he at length exclaimed, "can you wish me to sign this treaty, and thereby violate my solemn oath? Unexampled misfortunes have torn from me the promise of renouncing the conquests that I have myself made: but shall I relinquish those that were made before me? Shall I violate the trust that was so confidently reposed in me? After the blood that has been shed, and the victories that have been gained, shall I leave France less than I found her? Never! Can I do so without deserving to be branded as a traitor and a coward? You are alarmed at the continuance of the war; but I am fearful of more certain dangers which you do not see. If we renounce the boundary of the Rhine, France not only recedes, but Austria and Prussia advance. France stands in need of peace; but the peace which the allies wish to impose on her would subject her to greater evils than the most sanguinary war. What would the French people think of me, were I to sign their humiliation? What could I say to the republicans of the senate when they demanded their barriers of the Rhine! Heaven preserve me from such degradation! Dispatch an answer to Caulaincourt, if you will: but tell him that I reject the treaty. I would rather incur the risks of the most terrible war."

Having thus given vent to his feelings, Napoleon threw himself on his camp-bed. The duke of Bassano spent the rest of the night beside his couch; and profiting of the first moment of subsiding passion, he obtained permission to write to the duke of Vicenza in such terms as authorised him to continue the negotiation. Napoleon gave orders for the enemy's conditions to be transmitted to Paris for the members of the privy council to give their opinions upon

them. All, except one (Count Lacuée de Cessac), were unanimous for accepting them.

Blucher had entered the Brie-Champenoise, and was advancing by forced marches. The duke of Tarentum had retired upon Ferté-sous-Jarre, and the fugitives were entering Meaux. This bold incursion of the enemy roused Napoleon. He resolved to make the Prussians pay for their temerity; and he formed the design of unexpectedly falling on their flank. Napoleon was poring over his maps, with his compasses in his hand, when the duke of Bassano came in with his dispatches. "Oh! here you are," said the Emperor: "but I am now thinking of something very different. I am beating Blucher on the map. He is advancing by the road of Montmirail; I will set out and beat him to-morrow. I shall beat him again the day after to-morrow. Should this movement prove as successful as I expect it will, the state of affairs will be entirely changed, and we shall then see what can be done."

There was no post-road between Troyes and Chalons; and the road from Nogent to Montmirail, by way of Sezanne, a distance of twelve leagues, was accounted by the country-people hardly passable. But this did not alter Napoleon's design. He left General Bourmont and the Duke of Reggio behind him, to keep the Austrians in check, and set forward on his second expedition against the Prussian army. On the evening of the 8th, the Imperial Guard proceeded to Ville-noxe; and on the 9th, Napoleon with the main body of his force reached Sezanne. Some Prussian cavalry were seen between Sezanne and Champaubert, and the enemy were marching in perfect security beyond La-Ferté. A deep valley, the marsh of St. Gond, and a number of woods and defiles interposed between the French and the enemy, and made it difficult to bring up the artillery. The Duke of Ragusa, who led the vanguard, turned back, but Napoleon ordered him to resume his march, and applying double means to

overcome double obstacles, that is by employing double the number of horses, every thing succeeded to his wish. On the morning of the 10th the Duke of Ragusa, under Napoleon's eye, drove the Prussians from the village of Baye; and in the afternoon the rest of the army arriving at Champaubert, completely routed the columns of General Alsufieff; driving one part of them in the direction of Montmirail, and the other on Etoges and Chalons. Napoleon took up his abode in a cottage at the corner of the village of Champaubert, where he had the enemy's generals who were taken prisoners to dine with him, and sent off an express to Caulaincourt that things were going on better, and that France might assume a less humble attitude at the Congress.

The Duke of Ragusa was left to keep Blucher in check, who had not got beyond Vertus, while Napoleon advanced in pursuit of generals Yorck and Sacken who were between him and the capital. The troops of Blucher and Schwartzenberg were running a race to Paris: to be the first to enter the capital was the great object of their endeavours, as it had been the sole thought and desire of their employers for the last twenty years. It is no wonder they were eager to get there, and set the seal of the most unlooked-for success on the most odious, bare-faced, and persevering attempt that had ever been made against the rights and happiness of mankind. Then so many wars would not have been undertaken in vain, so many defeats rashly incurred, so many mortifications submitted to unrevenged, to prove that kings were all-in-all, and the people nothing. There must be the place of meeting and of the grand gaol-delivery of crowned heads. There must be scared away the apparition of the Revolution that like an incubus had so long haunted the dreams of monarchs. There must be blotted out the maxim that "for a nation to be free, it has only to will to be free." There monarchs might once more show their heads and be hailed as gods of



the earth, on the very spot where one of them had fallen down dead like a common traitor and felon; and sycophants and slaves thenceforth laugh loud when the name of liberty was mentioned!—The Prussians contrived to keep the start in this praiseworthy competition. General Yorck was already within sight of the spires of Meaux; the Russian general Sacken was at La-Ferté. Two marches more, and they would bivouack at the foot of Montmartre! But the Prussians suddenly halted at a summons from the Russians, who had learnt the news of the battle of Champaubert. Their columns fell hastily back, and the French army came up with them on the 11th. The advanced guard which issued from Montmirail, stopped the Russians and Prussians returning along the Paris road, and a sanguinary conflict immediately began. At three in the afternoon the Duke of Treviso rejoined the army with the old guard by the direct road from Sezanne. Then Napoleon gave the orders for a general and decisive attack. On the right of the road, looking towards Paris, Ney and Mortier placed themselves at the head of the Guard, and carried the Ferme-de-Grenaux, round which the enemy had strongly posted himself; on the left, General Bertrand and the Duke of Dantzic came to the assistance of General Ricard who had been fighting hard since the commencement of the battle in the village of Marchais. The Russians and Prussians then gave up the attempt to force a passage by Montmirail, and retired across the fields to Chateau-Thierry, in the hope of regaining a communication with Blucher that way along the banks of the Marne. Napoleon slept that night at the Ferme-de-Grenaux, where, the dead bodies having been removed, the head-quarters were established.

On the 12th the enemy were hotly pursued, and sabred in the very streets of Chateau-Thierry. Their projected retreat on Chalons was cut off, and they were obliged to pursue their way through the town,

northward to Soissons. Napoleon arrived on the heights which command the valley, while the engagement was going on, and passed the night in a little detached country-house near the village of Nesle. In the morning he proceeded to the town, and fixed his residence at the Post Inn. Several Prussians were found concealed in the house. The allies had behaved most shamefully at Chateau-Thierry: and *on their retreat* the inhabitants vented the utmost indignation against them. The women laughed and wept by turns; and it is said, were seen wreaking their revenge by throwing the wounded Prussians, who were lying on the bridge, into the river. Like enough. They wanted another Danton, a second 1st and 2nd of September to "screw their courage to the sticking place." What was become of the so famous *Tricôteuses*? Were they metamorphosed into so many marshals' ladies, who were only afraid that their husbands might be worn out in the wars? Or that, having been now so long deprived of the daily processions of the *Guillotine*, they might also by all this tiresome marching and counter-marching be defrauded of the sight of the entrance of the allies into Paris? Alas! the bad passions work out their own ends by their proper energy: the good only succeed by borrowing the aid of the worst? Napoleon, in constant pursuit of the enemy, was struck on all sides with scenes of devastation and misery. He filled the columns of the *Moniteur* with the complaints and lamentations of the wretched inhabitants of Montmirail, of Troyes, of La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, and Meaux. In vain! The examples he held out to them of resistance to a foreign foe, whether in antiquity, the recent ones of their enemies, or their own in 1792, instead of stirring up the spirit of emulation, served only to deter an effeminate and thoughtless people: they recoiled from the picture of the horrors of war, shut their eyes to it, and only held out their hands more eagerly and wildly in token of peace with



those who had committed them. Napoleon published two decrees, authorising the inhabitants to take up arms and join the troops at their approach, and denouncing the punishment of traitors against the mayors or public functionaries who attempted to repress this general movement. But without effect. The inhabitants of the places which the allies had passed through came indeed to Napoleon and said, "You were right, sire, in recommending us to rise in mass; death is a thousand times preferable to the insults, the hardships, and the cruelties, to be endured by those who submit to a foreign yoke." But there was no fellow-feeling throughout the country, nor any deep and burning sense of shame or of revenge. Thus neither fear, nor hatred, nor glory, nor liberty, had any influence on a people wrapped up in ease and self-opinion; and who, incapable of feeling any intolerable pang from the thought of being conquered, had neither pride nor fortitude to meet the danger, and only sought to avoid the immediate evil in the shortest and cheapest way possible. They had one man capable (and alone capable) of defending them; but him, for that reason, they regarded with jealousy and dread, as timid persons do not like to have a sword put into their hands.

Being for the present rid of one portion of the Prussian army, Napoleon, on the 13th, retraced his steps to go in quest of the other half, which he had left between Chalons and Champaubert. He gave his last orders to the Duke of Treviso, who was pursuing the fugitive corps of Sacken and Yorck in the direction of Soissons; and stopped to arm the national guards of La Vallée with the muskets of the Prussians, with which the roads were covered. He then mounted his horse at midnight to overtake his guard and rejoin the Duke of Ragusa, who was retreating from Champaubert, followed by Blucher, who had summoned to his aid the corps of Kleist and Langeron. On the 14th, Marshal Blucher was on the point of entering

Montmirail, when Marmont suddenly faced about in the plain of Vauchamps; and the troops from Chateau-Thierry being now arrived, the enemy perceived the whole French army drawn up behind the Duke of Ragusa and ready to give battle. At eight in the morning, the shouting of the soldiers announced the presence of the Emperor, and the battle commenced.

Marshal Blucher at first would have declined the engagement, but it was out of his power. He covered his retreat by manœuvring his infantry, but the charges of French cavalry broke all the squares that were opposed to them; and, after a great deal of hard fighting, his retreat became a flight. Several times in the course of the evening Marshal Blucher, surrounded by his staff, defended himself with his sabre, and he owed his escape principally to the darkness, which prevented his being recognised. From the field of Vauchamps Napoleon returned to pass the night at the castle of Montmirail.

Six days had scarcely elapsed since the Emperor quitted Nogent; but Prince Schwartzenberg having succeeded in passing the Seine in the interim, his presence was again demanded in that quarter; and consigning the Prussians to the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, he set out, followed by his indefatigable guard and the corps of the Duke of Tarentum. While search was making for a paved road, he sent word to the Dukes of Belluno and Reggio that on the following day he should debouch in their rear by Guignes. The imperial head-quarters arrived late at Meaux on the 15th, and on the same night bulletins were forwarded to Paris with an account of the news of the week, which were soon followed by a column of eight thousand Russian and Prussian prisoners, who defiled on the Boulevards before the eyes of the wondering inhabitants of Paris. But neither battles gained nor convoys of prisoners could restore the confidence of the Parisians. They had been accustomed to sit, as in

a theatre, and enjoy the roar of victory at a safe distance ; but when this grand drama of war was turned to serious earnest and brought home to themselves, they did not at all know what to make of it. It was no part of the agreement that they were to be exposed to its vicissitudes. They had bargained for a war on paper, of bulletins or telegraphs : the whizzing of bullets was quite a different thing. When, therefore, reverses came, they thought it a breach of compact, and wished to shift a responsibility which they had never contemplated from themselves to their leaders. They were naturally almost beside themselves, when they found Schwartzenberg at Nangis, Wrede and Wittgenstein entering La Brie, that Sens had been forced, that Bianchi's Austrian corps were marching on Fontainebleau, and Platoff's Cossacks spreading desolation between the Yonne and the Loire.

Early on the 16th Napoleon quitted Meaux to proceed to Guignes, crossing by Crecy and Fontenay. The inhabitants lined the road with carts, by the help of which the soldiers doubled their distances ; and the firing of cannon being heard, the artillery drove on at full speed. An engagement had been obstinately maintained since noon by the Dukes of Belluno and Reggio, in the hope to keep possession of the road by which Napoleon was expected : an hour later the junction of the forces would have been difficult. The arrival of the Emperor restored full confidence to the army of the Seine. That evening he contented himself with checking the allies before Guignes ; and the next morning the troops were seasonably reinforced by General Treillard's dragoons, who had been detached from the army in Spain. Couriers dispatched to Paris entered the suburbs escorted by crowds of people who had anxiously assembled at Charenton. On the 17th the troops quitted Guignes and marched forward. The allies instantly knew that Napoleon was returned. General Gerard's infantry, General Drouet's artillery, and the cavalry of the army of

Spain did wonders. The enemy's columns were driven back in every direction, and left the road between Mormars and Provins covered with the slain. The Duke of Belluno had orders to carry the bridge of Montereau that same evening; and the imperial guard bivouacked round Nangis, the Emperor sleeping at the castle.

In the course of the evening one of those indecent lures by which he was too often inveigled arrived in the shape of a demand for a suspension of hostilities, brought by Count Parr from the Austrians. He availed himself of this opportunity of transmitting a letter from the Empress to her father and of writing one himself. It is strange that Napoleon ever trusted in the least to this forced connexion to screen him: it was rather an aggravation and consummation of his demerits. Not ten daughters would have interposed between Francis and that Imperial diadem which a soldier of fortune had plucked from his brow, and which fate seemed now inclined to restore to him. The father would not even plead to the monarch; but rather seek the reparation of both their wrongs. Napoleon at the same time, however, had spirit to write to Caulaincourt to revoke his *carte blanche*, saying it was to save the capital, but the capital was now saved; that it was to avoid a battle, but that the battle had been fought, and that the negotiations must return to the ordinary course. The Allies had the assurance to reproach Buonaparte with this, as a receding from his word according to circumstances, when they themselves encroached upon him with every new advantage and every hour, as fast as the drawing aside the huge veil of hypocrisy would let them.

On the 18th Napoleon was vexed to find that the Duke of Belluno was not yet in possession of the bridge of Montereau, on which so much depended. He presented himself before it in the morning, but the Wurtemberg troops had established themselves there during the night. Napoleon ordered forward



the Bretagne national guard and General Pajol's cavalry. General Gerard came up in time to support the attack, and Napoleon himself arrived to decide the victory. The troops took possession of the heights of Surville, which command the confluence of the Seine and the Yonne; and batteries were mounted which dealt destruction on the Wurtemberg force in Montereau. Napoleon himself pointed the guns. The enemy's balls hissed like the wind over the heights of Surville. The troops were fearful lest Napoleon, giving way to the habits of his early life, should expose himself to danger: but he only said, "Come on, my brave fellows, fear nothing, the ball that is to kill me is not yet cast." The firing redoubled; and under its shelter the Bretagne guards established themselves in the suburbs, while General Pajol carried the bridge by so vigorous a charge of cavalry, that there was not time to blow up a single arch. The Wurtemberg troops, enclosed and cut to pieces in Montereau, vainly summoned the Austrians to their aid. This engagement was one of the most brilliant of the campaign. Their success encouraged the troops, roused the country-people, and stimulated the ardour of the young officers; but nothing could revive the spirits of the veteran chiefs. Hope does not return twice to the human breast. Several of the most distinguished officers (perhaps from contrasting their present successes with their past exploits) were most depressed.

Napoleon could no longer repress his dissatisfaction. He reproached General Guyot in the presence of the troops, with having suffered the enemy to surprise some pieces of artillery the preceding evening. He ordered General Digeon to be tried by a council of war for a failure of ammunition on the batteries: but afterwards tore the order. He sent the Duke of Belluno, who had suffered the Wurtembergers to surprise the bridge of Montereau before him, permission to retire; and gave the command of his corps to General Gerard, who had greatly exerted himself during the



campaign. The Duke repaired to Surville to appeal against this decision : but Napoleon overwhelmed him with reproaches for neglect and reluctance in the discharge of his duties. The conduct of the Duchess was also made a subject of complaint : she was lady of the palace, and yet had withdrawn herself from the Empress, who, indeed, seemed to be quite forsaken by the new court. The Duke could not for some time obtain a hearing : the recollections of Italy were appealed to in vain ; but, mentioning the fatal wound which his son-in-law had received in consequence of his delay, the Emperor was deeply affected at hearing the name of General Chateau, and sympathised sincerely in the grief of the Marshal. The Duke of Belluno resuming confidence, again protested that he would never quit the army: "I can shoulder a musquet," said he: "I have not forgotten the business of a soldier. Victor will range himself in the ranks of the guard." These last words completely subdued Napoleon. "Well, Victor," he said, stretching out his hand to him, "remain with me. I cannot restore the command of your corps, because I have appointed General Gerard to succeed you ; but I give you the command of two divisions of the Guard ; and now let every thing be forgotten between us."

Napoleon slept on the 18th at the castle of Surville, where he passed the following day, when the magistrates of the neighbouring districts assembled at the head-quarters, and he found himself surrounded by as many tri-coloured scarfs as epaulets. He dispatched orders on the different roads for incessantly harassing the enemy's columns in their retreat, and pursuing them towards Troyes. The Emperor conceived that this was the favourable moment for bringing forward the army of Lyons, by the help of which he hoped to cut off the enemy's retreat, and render the late successes decisive. But this hope was extinguished by the treason of Murat, who had just then lifted the mask and joined the English and Austrians,

so that the Viceroy could not spare the promised reinforcements, and by the lukewarmness of Augereau in making use of the troops he had under his command. The cannonade of the 18th had been heard at Paris, and care was taken to satisfy the public mind, by sending the standards taken at Nangis and Montereau to be presented to the Empress. On the 20th, Napoleon, with the main body of his forces, proceeded along the left bank of the Seine to Nogent. He breakfasted at Bray, in the house which the Emperor of Russia had quitted the preceding day; and in the evening entered Nogent with the Duke of Reggio's corps, which had arrived from Provins. Nogent had suffered dreadfully in the obstinate attempt made by General Bourmont to resist Prince Schwarzenberg's passage of the Seine on the 10th, 11th, and 12th. During these disasters, the sisters of La Charité at Nogent had continued in their hospital to succour the wounded. Napoleon had them introduced to him, thanked them in the name of the country, and presented them with a hundred Napoleons from his private purse. On the morning of the 22nd he renewed his march in pursuit of the allies. As their columns entered the high-road, the accumulation of their forces, instead of increasing their strength, only added to their disorder. Alarm spread on all sides, and the passes of the Vosges were covered with waggons, wounded, and fugitives, as far back as the Rhine. A hundred thousand men were flying before Napoleon, who had not forty thousand to pursue them. Meanwhile, there was noticed on the left a corps of the enemy, which appeared not to move in the general retreat, and advanced up to the gates of the little town of Mery. General Boyer, who repaired thither with a division of the Guard, met with an unexpected resistance at the bridge; nor did the enemy abandon his position till the town was reduced to ashes. The French were at a loss to divine who this could be; they at first thought it was Wittgenstein; but it

turned out to be Blucher, who had made this bold reconnoissance to learn what had become of Schwarzenberg, and who soon after withdrew across the Aube at Beaudemont or Anglure. The army halted at the hamlet of Chartres, where Napoleon slept on the night of the 22nd in a labourer's hut.

On the morning of the 23rd, Prince Lichtenstein arrived (always a fatal omen to defeat the fruits of victory) with pacific overtures from the Austrian camp. He brought an answer to the letter which Napoleon had written to his father-in-law; and he acknowledged the weight of the blows which the French general had dealt the allies. The latter mentioned the reports in circulation respecting the new designs entertained against his person and government; and asked whether, conformably to the favourite plan of England, the idea of restoring the Bourbons was cherished? But why ask if they now entertained a design, which had never quitted them for twenty years? *There needed no ghost to tell him that*; particularly, when the Duke d'Angouleme was with the English in the south, the Duke de Berri at Jersey, and the Count d'Artois in Switzerland, close at the heels of the allies. But Napoleon unaccountably chose to trust to the Prince of Lichtenstein's assurances and to the Emperor of Austria's attachment to him, as if he did not love himself better than his daughter; or as if that very affection for her would not lead him to restore her, as far as it could be done, to her inborn dignity, and cancel her marriage as a *misalliance*, in itself both violent and void! The Emperor was lulled by these flattering appearances into the hope of peace, and prevailed on to grant an armistice. The Baron St. Aignan at the same time arrived from Paris, with an account that the citizens were more alarmed at his victories than his defeats, thinking it would but prolong the war, and all they wanted was to submit. "Sire!" said M. de St. Aignan, under the complete influence of this patriotic

contagion, and inspired with the boldness of cowardice, "the speediest peace will be best!" "It will be speedy enough, if it be dishonourable," replied Napoleon, whose countenance was clouded with displeasure. These words were soon repeated from mouth to mouth; he mounted his horse, and all pursued the road to Troyes.

The army arrived before Troyes in the afternoon of the 23rd; but did not enter it till the next day, the Russians retiring during the night after committing great excesses. Buonaparte was met with the most enthusiastic acclamations by the inhabitants, among whom there was a contention who should first touch his boots or kiss his hand; and also with complaints of those who, during the residence of the allies, had not shown the same zeal, and had even hoisted the white cockade. Napoleon had scarcely alighted when he threw his gloves on the table, and, with his whip still in his hand, called a council of war. Notwithstanding what had been said by the Austrian envoy, the restoration of the Bourbons had become a *sine qua non* with the allies; and the head of their house, Louis XVIII., had already contrived, from the bosom of his retreat at Hartwell, to get his addresses, his insinuations, his pardons, and his promises circulated in Paris. To be sure, without this climax the whole would have been the termination of a vulgar warfare, and they would have left off just where they began: empires would have been shaken and seas of blood have flowed to no purpose; but this was an object of a higher order, and to which still greater sacrifices would only add a loftier sanction and a more religious awe—not a question of the boundary of states by this or that river or mountain, but the grand distinction of the everlasting boundary and impassable line of demarcation between kings and the people, whether they should sit on thrones, linked to the skies and overshadowing the earth, or whether they should be supposed to reign not by divine right and by an inherent



majesty of nature, but solely for the good and by the consent of the people. This was indeed a question to stir all the pride and vengeance of monarchs, all the baseness and servility of slaves, all the spirit and resentment of the free ; and this alone could account for the lengthened convulsion, "the dread strife" that had already taken place, and that was now about to terminate in so happy a *euthanasia* ! Under these circumstances, it became necessary to repress the spirit of disaffection by making examples : two individuals were particularly named : one of them (Vidranges, an old royalist) escaped by flight ; and the other (Govant) would have escaped too, could the family have obtained access to the Emperor in time ; but the sentence of the law was already executed. So preposterously averse was Buonaparte to the shedding of blood (except in the field of battle) that he seemed to regard every other death as no better than a legal murder. The allies, by proposing the armistice at Lusigny, merely wished to shuffle and gain time : Napoleon, in consenting to it, was desirous of keeping Antwerp and the coasts of Belgium as the reward of his late successes. The French army had not, however, lost an instant in pressing hard upon the Austrians. The enemy's head-quarters had fallen back as far as Colombey ; the Russian guard had retreated on Langres, and Lichtenstein's corps on Dijon. The allied sovereigns had retired to Chaumont in Bassigny, and the French troops were taking possession of Lusigny at the very moment when the commissioners for the armistice assembled there. Difficulties arose respecting the line of the armistice ; which caused more delay. While these points were settling, the horizon was thickly overcast, and the critical period of the campaign approached.

The Prussian corps of Bulow and the Russian divisions of Winzingerode and Woronzoff, after having overrun Belgium, had pushed on their advanced-guard as far as the gates of Soissons. General



Rusca, who commanded there, was killed by one of the first shots that were fired ; and in consequence of his death the place speedily surrendered to General Winzingerode. The Russians entered it the 13th of February, precisely in time to rally the flying remains of Sacken and Yorck, escaped from the battle of Chateau-Thierry the preceding day. These troops shortly after effected their junction with Blucher by the way of Rheims. The Russians were still desirous to keep possession of Soissons, but that town was retaken by the Duke of Treviso on the 19th of February. On the 18th Marshal Blucher finding himself in a state to hasten in his turn to the assistance of Schwartzenburg, marched from the banks of the Marne, and encamped with fifty thousand men at the confluence of the Aube and the Seine. He had been strengthened on his route at Sommesons by reinforcements of nine thousand men of Langeron's corps ; and he trusted that a general junction of the allied forces before Troyes would stop Napoleon, and produce the same results as at Brienne. It was not consequently a single detachment of the army of Silesia which had appeared at Mery, but the vanguard of the whole of that army. Blucher had in person taken part in the action and was wounded. He did not determine on retreat till convinced with his own eyes of the impossibility of rallying Schwartzenburg's army before Troyes. He then repassed the Aube ; but his retreat concealed one of the boldest plans of the campaign. He resolved to advance again upon Paris, and attempt a grand diversion in favour of the Austrian army. Thus while the main body of the French army was in the vicinity of Troyes, occupied with the armistice and peace, the Prussian troops made a rapid descent along the two banks of the Marne. The dukes of Ragusa and Treviso, the one from Sezanne, the other after leaving a garrison in Soissons, both retreated on La Ferté-sous-Jouarre.

This intelligence did not reach Napoleon till the

night between the 26th and 27th : it changed all his plans in the course of a few hours. In the morning of the 27th, he marched hastily from Troyes in pursuit of the Prussian army, leaving two corps with the Dukes of Tarentum and Reggio, charged to limit their efforts to keeping Schwartzemberg in check ; and above all, to mask the movement which the army was making on Blucher. With that view, the Duke of Reggio and General Gerard, being engaged with the enemy, caused the acclamations to be raised along the line, which commonly signalized the arrival of Napoleon. These shouts were heard by the opposite line ; and while Buonaparte was retiring by forced marches from Troyes, Schwartzemberg believed that he had just joined the army. On the 27th, about noon, Napoleon arrived at Arcis-sur-Aube : he stopped a few hours at the seat of M. de la Briffe, to let the troops pass the Aube. They then turned by the cross-road to Sezanne, and at night bivouacked not far from La Fere Champenoise. Napoleon spent the night in the house of the curate of the little village of Her. Here French gaiety shed a momentary light on the gloom of the period ; and converted this evening-party into a scene of festivity and mirth. The curate engaged in a Latin dispute with Marshal Lefevre. The officers got round his niece, who entertained them with singing canticles. By this time the mule arrived with provisions. The curate was at a loss to comprehend how his guests were so well acquainted with the neighbouring country, till they showed him Cassini's map, which each of them had in his pocket. The repast being ended, every one shifted for himself in the adjacent barns. The next morning Napoleon was on horseback while the curate was still asleep : but when he awoke, to console him for not having taken leave, he was presented with a well-filled purse by order of the Grand-Marshal.

On the march Napoleon, with some light troops,

attacked a corps of the enemy under Tettenborn, that had been sent as scouts and had passed the night near the French bivouacks at La Fere Champenoise. The army halted about the middle of the day at Sezanne, where they learnt that Mortier and Marmont had joined forces on the 26th at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre ; but that being still weak, they had fallen back as far as Meaux, and that in order to save that suburb of the capital, there was not a moment to lose. The army immediately pushed forward half-way to La Ferté-Gaucher : the imperial head-quarters were at the castle of Estrenay, which the Prussians had pillaged in the morning. Here bad news arrived from Troyes. The Austrians had resumed offensive operations the instant Napoleon's back was turned ; and in a sanguinary action at Bar-sur-Aube on the 27th, their generals had shown themselves equally prodigal of their troops and of their own persons. Wittgenstein and Schwartzberg were wounded. The French generals were obliged to fall back ; and the Duke of Tarentum, who had gained some advantages on the side of Mussy l'Evesque, and had even at one time relieved the Austrians in guarding the Congress at Chatillon, was also carried along in the general movement of retreat. The enemy now became aware that the force opposed to them was but a screen ; and felt themselves strong enough to detach Hesse-Homberg and Bianchi against the Duke of Castiglione, who was in their rear. Thus the Austrians were advancing again, instead of retreating ; Augereau could no longer operate the diversion which had been planned ; and Paris was more than ever threatened by Blucher, who was at the gates of Meaux.

Napoleon still hoped, by an activity that was never equalled, to restore his good fortune ; and his first step was to dispose of Blucher. On the 1st of March, the French army arrived early at Ferté-Gaucher. Napoleon stopped at the house of the mayor, a very

old man, who had grown young again with zeal. The intelligence was encouraging. The Prussians had been stopped the day before by the breaking down of the bridges of Treport and Lagny, by the Duke of Ragusa at the village of Lisy, and by the Duke of Treviso at the ford of Tremi. The two marshals still maintained themselves in front of Meaux: Napoleon expected to arrive in time, and the troops, though harassed by fatigue, but sustained by the ardent desire of victory, still pressed forward by Rebais to La Ferté-sous-Jouarre. Arrived on the heights, they discovered the town at their feet, the windings of the valley, and on the other side of the Marne the Prussian army, which had escaped their pursuit! Blucher had been informed by Tettenborn of Napoleon's approach, and lost no time in placing the Marne between them, and cutting down the bridge. The Emperor ordered the bridge to be reconstructed with all possible expedition, and went the next day to superintend it. The plain between the Marne and the Ourcq was covered with detachments of the Prussian army retreating in disorder on Soissons. The roads were bad, owing to the weather, and their equipages stuck in the mud. The peasants from all parts brought in accounts of their distress and terror. Napoleon sent off messengers to Paris and to Chatillon with the intelligence of the flight of the Prussians, and dispatched orders to the Dukes of Treviso and Belluno to advance northward and form the left of a circle, in which Blucher might be inclosed. The weather had changed on a sudden; and the muddy ways, which had retarded the enemy's march, were converted by a hard frost into solid and easy roads. Still the course of the Aisne opposed a barrier to the passage of the Prussians in the direction they had taken. Soissons, the key of that barrier, was in possession of the French, with a garrison of fourteen hundred Poles. Blucher had no hope of carrying it by a *coup-de-main*. He was at Beurne-



ville, near La Ferté-Milon ; his soldiers scattered over the plains of Gandelu and Aulchy-le-Chateau, with the Aisne before and the Marne behind them, pressed on the left by the troops of the Duke of Treviso and the Duke of Ragusa, and on the right by Napoleon's army, ran great risk of being hemmed in at Soissons and forced to lay down their arms at the foot of the old ramparts of that town. This was almost the last instance in which the hope of human liberty breathed thick, and dared to look around for deliverance as possible ! Napoleon, full of his project, debouched on the 3rd of March by the new bridge of La Ferté ; made a rapid movement on the highway from Chalons, as far as Château-Thierry ; and at that point turning his army to the left in the direction of Soissons, brought it back on the enemy's flanks. By following the road, the troops marched quicker than the Prussians, got between them and Rheims, and were able to attack them before they could pass the Aisne. Napoleon slept that night at Bezu-St. Germain. While the right of the French army was thus advancing by the route of Château-Thierry, the enemy was turned on the left by the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, who pushed forward to Soissons through Villers-Cotterets and Neuilly-le-St. Front. Thus beset on every side by these masterly combinations, the enemy gave himself up for lost ; but at that critical moment, the drawbridges of Soissons were lowered to receive the astonished Prussians.—“There is no more to say.”——

This unexpected passage was opened for them by Generals Bulow and Winzingerode, who had been brought by the merest chance to the other side of the Aisne, and who meeting before Soissons on the 2nd of March, had persuaded the Commandant to capitulate. On the morning of the 4th, Napoleon, still unacquainted with what had happened, continued his movement on the Aisne. The imperial army passed at the foot of the ruined castle of Fere-en-Tardenois,



and arrived at Fismes, so as to cut off the road from Soissons to Rheims. It was here he first learnt the loss of Soissons and the good fortune of the Prussians.—

Here let us pause.

## CHAPTER LII.

## THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814 (CONCLUDED.)

Battle of Craone ; Napoleon halts at Rheims ; disasters of the army of the Pyrenees ; the Empress and her son quit the Tuileries ; battle of Arcis ; Napoleon retreats to Vitry ; is summoned to save Paris ; arrives too late ; repairs to Fontainebleau ; the allied sovereigns enter Paris ; Napoleon abdicates in favour of his son ; addresses the army ; finally renounces his throne ; rumoured attempt to poison himself ; Napoleon's departure for Elba.

ENGLAND had just obtained the signature of the treaty of Chaumont,\* dated the 1st of March, by which the allies bound themselves to confine France within her ancient limits. It is supposed there were other secret articles relating to the dethroning of Napoleon, which, out of delicacy towards Austria, and till success was made sure, were kept back for a time.

From that period both the political and military events seemed to hurry down a steep descent to their final catastrophe. In this critical state of things, in which the spirit of the country failed as the pretensions of the allies became more exorbitant and dictatorial, Napoleon was uneasy at being thrown so far from the scene of the negotiations, but did not like to turn back till he had disabled the Prussians from again annoying him. Above all things, he sought nor was he without expectations of a battle.

\* This mention of England as acting the part of a busybody on the occasion will be regarded by some as invidious and unpatriotic, and yet we shall hear praises the next moment bestowed on the English minister (Castlereagh) for his energy, perseverance, and wisdom in bringing the negotiation to this complexion.

In the night between the 4th and 5th of March, General Corbineau was sent with a detachment of cavalry to occupy Rheims, which he did the next morning. Napoleon next proposed to surprise the passage of the Aisne by the new bridge at Bery-au-Bac, on the road between Rheims and Laon. The whole of the army proceeded thither on the 5th along the cross-road. The bridge was carried by General Nansouty's cavalry and the enemy driven upon Corbeny. Having secured the passage of the Aisne, he dispatched scouts to the garrisons of the Ardennes and Lorraine (behind Blucher) with orders to put themselves in motion for the purpose of barring his retreat and assisting the operations of the advancing army. On the 6th, the French moved forward towards Laon, but halted at Corbeny. The corps of Winzingerode, Woronzoff, and Sacken advanced to meet them to give the Prussians time to rally about Laon. The Russian army took up a position on the heights of Craonne, a long, steep ascent, between the course of the Aisne and the Laon road, where they appeared inaccessible on the flanks, and difficult to attack in front. Obstacles, however, vanished before the eagerness to strike the last blow; and the vanguard established itself at Crayonne, half-way up the declivity. Ney pushed on his troops as high as the farm of Uturbie, Gourgaud and Caraman occupied the defiles of the mountain, and preparations were made for a battle the next day. Napoleon was at the village of Corbeny.

Here he was presently surrounded by the principal inhabitants of the neighbouring places. He recognised in one of them (the mayor of Baurieux) M. de Bussy, his old comrade in the regiment of La Fère. This officer had emigrated; and since his return, had lived retired on his patrimonial estate on the banks of the Aisne. He acted as guide the next day. An emissary from Strasburg, of the name of Wolff, also arrived with accounts of the rising of the inhabitants of the Vosges on the supposed retreat of the Austrians:

he stated that the peasants near Bar-sur-Ornain had killed a Russian general and dispersed his regiment ; that sallies had been made by the troops at Verdun, at Metz, and at Mayence ; and that the garrisons and inhabitants of that part of France were more than ever disposed to co-operate with Napoleon's designs. He does not seem to have done more than given a cold and formal assent to theirs. There was, in fact, nothing he so much dreaded as adding to the unavoidable horrors of war. He was chargeable with a little professional pedantry in this. With all his military energy and boldness, he wanted some of the revolutionary spirit at this crisis. Levies in mass would have been more to the purpose than armistices and matrimonial alliances. But he was bigoted to a mode of success, and would no more give the people the head than the ideologists and republicans would allow him his full scope to save the country. He still trusted to his genius and his fortune, and would not, at the last gasp, give a loose to the impulse of popular fury, when nothing else could serve him, because it might also overwhelm him. Old Percy had a juster notion of the extremities of war.

—“ Now let not nature's hand  
 Keep the wide flood confined ! Let order die !  
 And let this world no longer be a stage  
 To feed contention in a lingering act ;  
 But let one spirit o' the first-born Cain  
 Reign in all bosoms, that, each heart being set  
 On bloody courses, the rude scene may end,  
 And darkness be the burier of the dead !”

When the passions dictate the attack, they must be consulted in the defence ; and I hate all reasoning that boggles about the means and loses the end.

The battle of Craonne commenced on the 7th, at day-break. Marshal Ney and Marshal Victor fought at the head of the infantry : Marshal Victor was wounded. General Grouchy commanded the cavalry

of the army, and General Nansouty the cavalry of the guard : they were both wounded. General Belliard took the command of the cavalry ; the fire of the artillery was directed by General Drouot, who at length succeeded in driving back that of the enemy. But the difficulty of marching up the ascent was extreme ; the ground was contested foot by foot by the Russians, and there was no means of accelerating their retreat by a movement on their flanks. The only trophies left of the victory of Craonne, which was disputed a considerable part of the day, were the enemy's dead, the best of all trophies ! The Russians made another stand at the Ange-Gardien, an inn where the roads to Soissons and Laon meet, to give the Prussians time to come up. At night the imperial head-quarters were removed from the field of battle down into the valley of the Aisne, and fixed at the little village of Bray. Napoleon, after this sanguinary action, in all the dangers of which he had shared, still agitated by the uncertainty of battle, harassed with fatigue, and surrounded with wounded and dying men, found himself in one of those moods in which the glories of war no longer seemed to redeem its horrors and disgusting features, when dispatches from Chatillon were announced, and he was never more disposed to listen to terms of peace. But the allies had no such matter in their heads : they only wanted to pick a new quarrel with him. They treated the adherence of France to the basis laid down at Frankfort as a breach of the terms of the negotiation which *they* had since offered ; insisted on France returning within her old limits, would allow of no discussion : and unless she did this immediately, or gave in a counter-project, would break up the conferences. Napoleon was prepared for great sacrifices ; but this tone of defiance was too much. " If I am to receive a castigation," he said, " it is not my business to expose myself to it : the very least I can do is to have it applied by violence." Rumigny was consequently to



take back no counter-project, but to deliver the words which he had just heard. The messenger mounted his horse at day-light to return to Chatillon, and Napoleon went to join the head of his columns.

A detachment was sent to take possession of Soissons : and the army halted two leagues short of Laon, where the road was confined between morasses, of which the enemy took advantage to oppose its progress. Napoleon returned to Chavignon for the night, where it was necessary to think of forcing the passage of the defile the next day. Gourgaud, the first orderly officer, put himself at the head of a night-enterprise intended to favour this object. A cross-road turned on the left of the morass, into which he threw himself with some chosen troops ; and under cover of the darkness, surprised the guard of the allies. This alarm effected a complete diversion, during which Marshal Ney cleared the defile. Thus the French army reached the foot of the heights of Laon, the corps of the Duke of Ragusa arriving by the Rheims road at the same time that the main body came up by that from Soissons. The other troops arrived in succession. The prince of the Moskwa, the duke of Ragusa, the duke of Treviso, and the imperial guard occupied different positions. Every preparation was made, and orders were issued for commencing the battle the following morning at day-break. Blucher, who had rallied his Russian and Prussian forces, had also been joined by the vanguard of the crown-prince, who advanced but slowly and under the suspicion of the allies. Thus the Prussian general found himself stronger than ever. He opposed to the French centre the corps of Bulow, to their left the corps of Langeron, Sacken and Winzingerode, to their right the corps of Kleist and Yorck. In the centre of these troops was the town of Laon, standing on an elevated peak, and commanding the environs.

No discouragement was felt in the French ranks, either from the enemy's number or position. Every

thing denoted a sanguinary and decisive battle. Napoleon had just put on his boots and called for his horses at four in the morning of the 10th, when two dismounted dragoons were brought before him. They stated that they had just escaped as by miracle through a *houra* which the enemy had made in the night on the bivouacs of the Duke of Ragusa, and that all was lost in that quarter. The intelligence was soon confirmed; and Marmont, who was at first supposed to be killed, was then in the Rheims road, striving to rally his troops. This event filled up the measure of the disappointments which had of late baffled all Napoleon's efforts; nor was it an accident, but a kind of insult that showed the audacity of the enemy's generals, encouraged by numbers and by various circumstances. They were unable to carry the French position the next day, but were repulsed to the gates of Laon. It was, however, in vain to think of forcing them there, and Napoleon made up his mind to retreat. He left Chavignon on the morning of the 11th, the army following him and taking up a position in the defiles that covered Soissons. He was occupied in fortifying this place, when a new enemy appeared. In the night between the 12th and 13th of March, he learnt that the Russian general, St. Priest, with fifteen thousand Russians had taken Rheims, after having overthrown General Corbineau and killed or taken him prisoner. Napoleon did not neglect so important a place, which connected Blucher with Schwartzberg's army. He immediately set out and arrived the same evening at the gates of the town. After an obstinate resistance in which the enemy's general was wounded, the Russians withdrew, and Napoleon entered Rheims at one in the morning. General Corbineau presented himself next day among the inhabitants, who crowded before Napoleon's lodgings. The Duke of Ragusa had rallied in time to co-operate in the attack on Rheims. He was called upon to give an account of his conduct; and reproaches were not

spared, which are supposed to have rankled in his breast. The same day, the 14th, the Dutch general Janssens, formerly governor of the Cape of Good Hope, arrived with a reinforcement of six thousand men, which he had brought from Mezieres and the garrisons of the Ardennes by the way of Rhétel. While Ney was advancing to Chalons, the army halted in the neighbourhood of Rheims on the 14th, 15th, and 16th. These three days of rest were necessary to prepare it for new marches, and gave Napoleon time to meditate on his future line of conduct. That military halt was one of the last in which Buonaparte found leisure to sign the official documents and to place the affairs of the empire on their customary footing. Up to that period, whatever might be the hardships of the campaign, he had superintended every thing, and shown himself equal to direct the affairs of the interior, and fight all Europe with a handful of men. Such extraordinary activity must naturally have shocked the *still-life* of thrones, and showed a capacity too vast for France or Europe safely to hold it!

Napoleon in this interval had time to look about him at the state of his affairs. In the north, General Maisons contrived to keep the enemy in check between Tournay, Lille, and Courtray. Carnot remained master of Antwerp. The English general, Graham, on the night between the 8th and 9th of March, had surprised one of the gates of Bergen-op-Zoom, and penetrated into the town with four thousand troops; but they were surprised and defeated in their turn by the presence of mind of General Bizannet, who is said by Buonaparte to have conducted himself like a second Bayard on the occasion. The Duke of Castiglione had lost time by amusing himself with a petty warfare with General Bubna about Geneva, instead of advancing boldly on Vesoul and the rear of the allies; and had thus ceased to be of any use in the great events of the campaign. Napoleon had intended to replace Augereau by a more active and enterprising general,

and had fixed his thoughts on Marshal Suchet. The army of the Pyrenees and its commander displayed a loyalty, proof against misfortune. Soult was at length compelled to abandon the line of the Adour by the loss of the battle of Orthez on the 27th of February; gained that of Tarbes over the Portuguese on the 2nd of March, and retreated in good order on Toulouse, but left the road to Bordeaux open to the English, who, in concert with Lynch, the mayor, hoisted the standard of Louis XVIII. there on the 12th, in proof that the war had never had for its object to meddle with the independence or internal government of France. The Duke d'Angouleme was shortly expected to make his entrance into that city. The progress of the foreign armies by so many different routes naturally gave consistency to the hopes of the house of Bourbon, which had first put all those armies in motion. The Count d'Artois had shown himself in Franche-Compté and Burgundy; and Joseph Buonaparte had written to his brother to apprise him of the secret intrigues and machinations that were going on in Paris.

Napoleon having determined to make head against the enemy, had no more time to lose. He wished to strike a decisive blow, and he could not accomplish this without risking all for all. The safety of Paris was the first consideration. Schwartzenberg might be there on the 20th, and it was against him that his march must be directed. He, however, stood in need of some signal advantage, which could not be obtained from an attack in front. He therefore came to the daring resolution of throwing himself on the Austrian rear, which manœuvre held out the chance of destroying the enemy's rear-guard, of making important captures, of deranging the whole plan of the hostile movements, and placing the allied sovereigns in a most perilous situation in the heart of France. At worst, he could always retire upon the garrisons of Lorraine. It was supposed from various rumours that



Schwartzenberg had arrived at Nogent. To debouch behind him, the army was to proceed upon Epernay, Fere-Champenoise, and Méry. The corps of the Prince of the Moskwa, which it had been under consideration to employ as partisans in Lorraine, were appointed to rendezvous near the same spot. But this movement would uncover Paris, and Blucher had already pushed on detachments to Compeigne. Napoleon, above all things, was desirous to secure the safety of his wife and son ; and gave instructions to Prince Joseph, to have them removed on the slightest appearance of danger to the Loire. These orders were soon after carried into effect on the morning of the 29th March, when the Empress and the King of Rome quitted the Tuileries—it might be too much to say never to return to them. The young prince resisted, shed tears, and said he would not leave the palace ; and it required force to convey him to the carriage. The heir of the greatest name in the modern world, of him who had so long kept foreigners from France, made way for those who had been justly expelled from her soil for incapacity and malice, and who were brought back by those foreigners against her will. England willed it, France allowed it ; but England will one day rue that sentence, and France cancel her own ignominy by reversing it !

The necessary dispositions having been made, the army set out on the morning of the 17th. The corps of the Duke of Ragusa was alone left at Rheims, with strict orders to co-operate with the Duke of Treviso in defending the road to the capital foot by foot against the hordes of Russians, Swedes, and Prussians, that were about to break in upon it, in their rage for the independence of nations and sworn attachment to the preservation of the geographical boundaries of different countries ! Napoleon (who was not himself so nice, but was at the bottom of all their good behaviour and high-flown pretensions, by keeping them from traversing the same route long before) arrived at



Epernay at an early hour, where he first heard of the events at Bordeaux. The hospitable inhabitants of Epernay brought out their best Champagne wines, to drown for a while the cares of the soldiers and the generals. The next day, they continued their march to Fere-Champenoise. In the evening, Rumigny arrived from Chatillon. The allies had given Caulaincourt three days to subscribe to the proposed conditions. The time was short, but the circuit which they made the couriers take was long: so that the truce would expire before the answer could be given, and Lord Castlereagh could not but smile at so well-managed a result! On the 19th, the army passed over the river Aube at Plancy; and, towards evening, the advanced-guard, passing over the ashes of the town of Méry, gained the hamlet of Chatres, on the high road from Troyes to Paris. Some baggage and prisoners were brought in, and fresh information was obtained. Napoleon had been misled by the alarms of the capital. The enemy had suspended their march on Paris during the five days that they remained uncertain as to the events of Laon and Rheims. The check given to St. Priest and Napoleon's stay at the latter place had increased the indecision of the enemy's generals, who at first halted; and on hearing that he was at Epernay, ordered a general retreat. Platoff, with his Cossacks, had hastily withdrawn from Sezanne to Arcis, and the head-quarters of the allies had fallen back as far as Troyes. There was even a question to continue their retreat to Bar. The troops that the French had fallen in with at Chatres were some of the last rear-guard, who were carrying off the boats of the bridge that had been thrown over at Nogent. It was during this momentary panic that the Emperor Alexander caused a communication to be made to Schwarzenberg at four in the morning to dispatch a courier to Chatillon with orders for the signing of the treaty of peace, demanded by Caulaincourt. The anxiety which Alexander felt on that occasion was such, that he himself said, "It would turn half his hair grey!"

Thus the Austrians having retrograded at the mere shadow of his name, Napoleon had stopped too short for his intended plan in turning from Fere-Champenoise to Plancy. He was still between the allies and Paris, instead of being behind them. He must proceed further eastward to execute his first design. On the 20th of March the whole of the army was in motion to re-ascend the Aube, and arrived at an early hour on the heights of Arcis. Some of the enemy's troops having been observed on the Troyes road, detachments were sent to reconnoitre: they were vigorously resisted, the advanced-guard engaged, and at length the rest of the troops were drawn into action. Napoleon thought he had fallen in with some scattered corps; but it was the whole of Schwartzberg's army, advancing to join Blucher's on the plain of Chalons, and thus, according to a late resolution of the allies, to overwhelm Buonaparte by superior numbers (ten to one, they thought themselves secure) and avoid continually harassing retreats before his diminished forces. He was aware of all the precaution with which he inspired his enemies. While endeavouring to manœuvre on their flanks, he fell in with their vanguard in the lateral movement they were making to unite their forces before they again ventured to attack him. In this action, Napoleon was personally exposed to the greatest danger. Far from shunning the perils of the battle, he seemed to court them. He fought at the head of his escort, and was several times obliged to extricate himself from desperate cavalry-charges, sword in hand. A shell fell at his feet; he awaited the explosion; and was soon enveloped in a cloud of smoke and dust. He was thought to have been killed, but he got upon his legs again, threw himself on another horse, and went to expose himself once more to the fire of the batteries, where death refused him as a victim!

While the enemy's forces were forming a semicircle round Arcis, the French army rallied under the walls

of the houses of the suburbs. The fall of night protected them in that position, though they could not long maintain it. The balls crossed each other in every direction over the little town of Arcis; the castle belonging to M. de la Briffe (the imperial headquarters) was pierced on every side. The suburbs too were on fire, and there was but a single bridge over the Aube. Napoleon took advantage of the night to throw a second bridge across, and the movement of retreat commenced the following morning. The action was renewed along the whole line and lasted part of the day. The French kept the enemy back, when he ought to have annihilated them; and re-passed the Aube in an orderly manner. The Dukes of Tarentum and Reggio were the last who crossed.\* Unable any longer to oppose the enemy's masses, he did not choose to dispute the road to Paris with them. He still thought of operating a grand diversion. He abandoned the road to the capital, and retreated by the cross-roads to Vitry and Lorraine. In this he did wrong; but he appeared to get out of the way to leave treason to do its worst in the capital, in proportion as he felt assured that it would do so, and from his reluctance to admit any apprehensions on the subject even in his own breast. He knew that the fidelity of the Parisians was a desperate chance, and he mechanically looked another way, while the cast was thrown. Alas! it was time enough to hear of unpalliated baseness, after it had happened; and then there would be an excuse to say, that it was too late to prevent what was inevitable in itself! The new scheme of tactics adopted by the Emperor threatened the communications of the allies, and might, it is true, kindle a fatal conflagration in their rear. But this was not the

\* Napoleon, before he left the town, sent two thousand francs to the Sisters of Charity, to enable them to relieve the wants of the wounded and suffering. This was the man who was held up as a monster of ferocity and cruelty, as a foil to the enviable *douceurs* of Legitimacy!

moment for contingencies and probabilities. It was necessary to make assurance doubly sure—to preclude the possibility of the allies taking Paris, or (which was the same thing) getting there before him. He might rely on the insincerity of the leaders, and their desire to show off their new mountebank tricks before the allies. Buonaparte ought not to have let the enemy out of his sight for an instant. His retiring to a distance to draw them after him was a *wild-goose chase*. When a man is going to apply a lighted match to a mine of gunpowder, it will not do to beckon him off or to make a feint to alarm him; the only way is to put it out of his power to execute the mischief he intends. There was in Buonaparte's conduct in this precipitate movement too much speculative refinement, and too little attention to the *main-chance*. But I suspect, he was influenced (as I said before) by a secret consciousness of the utter heartlessness and hollowness of those on whom he had to depend; and sought an excuse for throwing the blame on fortune, rather than letting it remain a spot on honour, on liberty and human nature.

The ball of victory (which Napoleon had so far endeavoured to roll up its arduous ascent with assiduous pains and dauntless perseverance, and which he had so often suspended on the edge of a precipice by his own sole strength and skill) being now left to itself, rolled down-hill fast enough with thundering sound to the gates of the capital. Napoleon was at the village of Somepius on the night between the 21st and 22nd. The next day he crossed the Marne; and after sending a detachment to summon Vitry-le-Français, stopped at Plessis-ô-le-Comte. On the 23rd the army reached St. Dizier, at which town the Duke of Vicenza rejoined the head-quarters. This circumstance served as a pretext for some half-stifled murmurs to break out among the higher officers. It was asked, "Which way are we going? What is to become of us? If he fall, we shall fall with him!"



Thus it should seem as if attachments founded on choice and reason might always be retracted at the convenience or pleasure of one of the parties, and that only those that were involuntary and founded on compulsion, ignorance, or prejudice were general principles of action binding in all circumstances. These were, however, exceptions, painful as they were: for the soldiers and officers in general remained firm to their own honour, and to their country's independence. Buonaparte despatched the Duke of Reggio on the side of Lorraine, and General Piné towards Langres and Chaumont in the rear of the allies; proceeded to Doulevant on the 24th and 25th, whence he might advance on Lorraine, on Burgundy, or on Paris by the left bank of the Seine, according to the intelligence he should receive; he was recalled to St. Dizier on the 26th by an attack from Blucher; and on the 27th rallied under the walls of Vitry. These different movements very much resemble the suggestions of despair, or the extreme workings of habitual energy, having no longer either means or object. He redoubled his precautions, waited to collect more precise information, refined upon and extended the scale of his combinations, clinging to the shadows and accompaniments of power after the substance had vanished; when all he had to do was to throw himself on the hunters, and rend them in pieces or perish in the attempt. But perhaps he could not make up his mind to yield himself conquered or submit to receive the *coup de grace* from so base a foe. Had he rushed forward to meet the impending blow; had he, like the dying gladiator, extended his hands towards the enemy after his sword was wrested from him, as if his very will had a power to kill,\* loud acclamations might have followed such an example of heroic self-devotion; and a kindred fury have poured out the blood of those myriads, who were insatiable of human gore, and whose appetite for feeding on human flesh

\* The action of Mr. Kean in the conclusion of Richard III.



could only be diverted by delivering up to them the violated corse of liberty which they came to seek ! But other counsels prevailed, perhaps dictated by a loftier sense of power, and which subsequent events did not altogether fail to justify.

At Vitry, Napoleon learnt the real posture of affairs. While Schwartzberg was forcing the passage of the Aube at Arcis, Blucher had arrived by the Rheims road on the banks of the Marne, having driven back the corps of Marmont and Mortier towards Chateau-Thierry. The junction of the two armies was effected on the 23rd. The allies had to decide whether they should march against Napoleon or advance upon Paris. They hesitated, fearing an insurrection in the country behind them, which is the military side of France ; when some secret emmissaries from Paris determined them to proceed. Relying upon treason as their best auxiliary, they chose the boldest step ; and on the 23rd of March a proclamation, announcing to France the rupture of the negotiations at Chatillon and the junction of the two great armies, avowed the resolution of the allies to advance in mass upon Paris. It was expected that the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa would oppose the march of the allies up to the very faux-bourgs ; instead of which they attempted to rejoin Napoleon, and met with a severe repulse at Fere-Champenoise. On hearing these tidings Napoleon mounted his horse, left Vitry, and repaired to St. Dizier with all his troops. He passed the night in his cabinet, intent on his maps. If the allies had made good use of their advantages in this decisive advance, the French still had it in their power to make as resolute a use of theirs. They were masters of their movements ; nothing (it was observed) prevented them any longer from rallying the garrisons, from stopping up the roads, cutting down the bridges, and inflicting a signal chastisement on the mixed hypocrisy and audacity with which that band of foreigners had at last penetrated into the heart of the

country. Let the capital submit to its fate, but be it the grave of the enemy! That extremity was constantly contemplated from the beginning of the campaign. Napoleon had made every effort to familiarise his mind to suitable determinations; his plans were formed, and he had only to follow them up. But in the moment of action, his resolution failed him; he was deterred by what his enemies might say of him; and a Rostopchin was wanted to finish what a Napoleon had begun! \*

Paris might hold out for several days; but would the Parisians defend it? That question ought hardly to have been left for their decision. The road by the left bank of the Seine still lay open to Napoleon. However far advanced the enemy might be, he hoped to arrive in time to rally his forces under the cannon of Montmartre, and discuss the last conditions of peace in person. The army began its march by the route of Troyes and Doulevant. When the head-quarters were about to quit St. Dizier, eight or ten persons were brought in, taken by the peasants; among others M. de Weissemburg, the Austrian ambassador to England, a Swedish general, and others. M. Vitrolles, an agent of the Bourbons, sent by M. Talleyrand to the Emperor Alexander, was among them, but escaped. The only advantage which the Emperor wished to take of their misfortune was to make M. de Weissemburg the bearer of a direct communication to his father-in-law. But it so happened that at this very period the Emperor of Austria had been separated from the allies, had been forced to fly with a single gentleman and a single servant in a German *droska*, and took refuge in Dijon, where he remained actually

\* It would have been a subject of regret if the Louvre had been destroyed in defending Paris; and so, perhaps, of other things. Thus, when a country has anything in it to make it worth saving, it can no longer be saved by destroying everything in it. Other objects then interfere with the independence of our country; so that it is only in barbarous states that patriotism is a pure flame, a natural instinct.

a prisoner for thirty hours. Napoleon still seemed inclined to attach some consequence to this application, had it been conveyed in time. But that sovereign in being false to "kindred" was true to "kind;" and the greater obligation swallows up the less. Let kings stand by one another; only let the people stand by one another too! I am very willing to compound the matter so. In the afternoon of the 28th the army was at Doulevant; Napoleon was met there by an emissary of M. de Lavolette. For ten days no intelligence had been received from Paris: the eagerness with which the deciphering the small piece of paper entrusted to that man's care was waited for, may be easily imagined. The following were its contents:—"The partisans of the foreigners, encouraged by what has occurred at Bordeaux, no longer conceal themselves; they are supported by secret machinations. The presence of Napoleon is necessary, if he wishes to prevent his capital from being delivered up to the enemy. Not a moment is to be lost."

The army had already commenced its march, and arrived at Troyes on the evening of the 29th. The imperial guard marched fifteen leagues that day by Doulevant and Doulencourt. At the bridge of Doulencourt, Napoleon was encountered by a number of couriers and expresses who had been detained at Nogent and Montereau. The enemy's troops had followed Schwartzberg's movement on the Marne, and the route by Troyes was left open. Napoleon instantly ordered General Dejean, his aide-de-camp, to set off at full speed, and announce his return to the Parisians. After a few hours' rest, he set forward again on the morning of the 30th. He thought proper to make a military march as far as Villeneuve-sur-Vannes; when no longer doubtful about the security of the road, he threw himself into a post-chaise. Intelligence was successively received in changing horses, that the Empress and her son had left Paris, that the enemy was at the gates, and that

the attack had commenced. He never showed more impatience at the length of the way, encouraged the postillions himself, and advanced with extraordinary speed. About ten o'clock at night, he was but five leagues from Paris: fresh horses were putting to at Fromenteau near the fountains of Juvisy, when he learnt that he had arrived a few hours too late. Paris had just surrendered, and all was over.

Some troops from the capital had already reached that village. General Belliard was with them, and Napoleon was soon made acquainted with the events which had hastened that frightful catastrophe. The Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, after the unfortunate action at Fere-Champenoise, had thought only of falling back on Paris; but they had scarcely reached Ferté-Gaucher when they were attacked by a Prussian corps through which they had to cut their way. On the morning of the 28th the enemy pursued them to Meaux; and the regency, on hearing this intelligence, thought proper to leave Paris. At length, the allies descried the walls of the capital on the evening of the 29th. No news had come from the armies for eight days. The absence of Napoleon had extinguished the hope of succour. The departure of the Empress with the ministers filled up the measure of discouragement and distraction. On the appearance of the enemy, the rich proposed capitulating; the working-classes, who called for arms, could not be supplied with them. The brave soldiers of the dukes of Treviso and Ragusa were determined to make a last effort. A few thousand men belonging to the *depôts* of Paris, the pupils of the polytechnic school, and from eight to ten thousand Parisians, who volunteered from the national guard, marched out to take part in the defence of the capital. The whole of the force did not amount to twenty-eight thousand bayonets: yet it did not despair of making head against the enemy. The battle began at five in the morning of the 30th. Prince Schwartzberg commenced operations by an



attack on the wood of Romainville. The action was sustained with great obstinacy and with equal success during the whole of the morning. Had Napoleon arrived at this juncture, there is no knowing what might have happened. Why then was he absent? But towards noon, the plan of the allies became more clearly developed. Blucher had marched by the right through the plain of St. Denis against Montmartre, and the Duke of Wurtemberg by the left on Charonne and Vincennes. Prince Joseph, seeing the immense body of troops collected at the foot of Montmartre, was convinced of the necessity of capitulating; and having given the requisite powers to the duke of Ragusa, proceeded to join the government on the banks of the Loire.

During the conferences the enemy had spread themselves on all the neighbouring heights of Péré La Chaise, Chaumont, and Menilmontant; Montmartre was carried, and Blucher was about to force the barrier of St. Denis, when a suspension of hostilities was agreed to. It was five o'clock in the evening; the terms of the capitulation were settled, but nothing was yet signed. Such were the communications made to Napoleon; and he dispatched the duke of Vicenza to Paris to see if it was still possible for him to interpose in the treaty. During that interval of anxious suspense, he was separated only by the river from the enemy's out-posts. The allies had forced the bridge of Charenton and spread themselves over the plain of Villeneuve St. Georges; and the light of their bivouacs was reflected on the rising grounds of the right bank; while the corner of the left bank, where Napoleon was waiting with a few attendants, lay in the most profound obscurity. At four o'clock a courier brought word from the duke of Vicenza that all was over; that the capitulation had been signed a little after midnight, and that the allies were to enter Paris that same morning. Napoleon immediately ordered his carriage to turn



back, and alighted at Fontainebleau. "It is here that we must take a view of human affairs: let us reflect upon so many wars undertaken, so much blood shed, so many people destroyed, so many great actions, so many triumphs, such political combinations, such constancy, such courage: what has been the issue of it all?"\* Only to prove how much the genius of one man can do; how sure it is that kings will prevail against the people; and that the pride of the one is incompatible with the freedom of the other!

On the 31st of March, at six in the morning, Napoleon entered Fontainebleau. He repaired to his little apartment at the castle, situated on the first story, in a line with the gallery of Francis I. In the course of that evening and the following morning, the heads of the columns which he had brought from Champagne came up by the road of Sens; and the advanced-guard of the troops from Paris arrived by the road of Essonne. These wrecks of the grand army now assembled round Fontainebleau. The different marshals arrived successively at the imperial head-quarters. The troops as they came up were posted behind the river Essonne, at Mennecy, or round Fontainebleau. The park of artillery was ordered on to Orleans. Napoleon therefore still had an army: but while he was considering what advantage he could make of his position, the thoughts of the individuals about him were wholly turned to what was passing at Paris—ever the slaves of opinion and worshippers of success! The duke of Vicenza had met with a favourable reception from Alexander; who held in his hands the keys of Paris which had just been presented to him, but could give no answer till the troops were in secure possession of the city. Meanwhile, the chiefs of the hostile armies had begun to declare themselves against the government of Napoleon. Schwartzemberg in particular, in the absence of his sovereign, was the most eager to manifest his sen-

\* Montesquieu, as quoted by Baron Fain.

timents, probably because a diversity of opinion might be naturally expected to arise in that quarter ; and was the first to avow (after the various mock-lines of pacification, the Rhine, the old limits of France, &c. that had been progressively insisted on as the campaign advanced and drew to its ultimate close) that the allies would make no peace with Napoleon :\* and to recommend it to France to restore the Bourbons as the only way of coming to an amicable understanding with the rest of Europe, the governments of which (with one exception, at least) were not founded on a revolutionary basis. Why had not this been stated not only from the beginning of the campaign, but during the whole war, as the only ground and object of coalition after coalition? Would they have had fewer accomplices to second them, fewer dupes to applaud them? It would have been a singular piece of self-denial in the sovereigns to renounce the favourite object of twenty years' solicitude and prayers to the deaf Heavens, the moment that it was providentially placed within their reach, for the sake of a few blushes or faltering excuses in letting it appear in what the secret of all their love of independence and freedom consisted. The old republicans were mad to expect it! The Buonapartists were traitors ever to think it!

This proposition was communicated on the 31st by Schwartzenberg as his own and M. Metternich's opinion to the Duke Dalberg, the same person whose name is connected with the affair of the Duke d'Enghien. At this signal the agents of the house of Bourbon, availing themselves of the general stupor that prevailed, no longer feared to show themselves. The same day at noon, the Emperor Alexander and

\* The year following they went farther, and proposed to assassinate him. There were two names in particular to the state paper of the Congress of Vienna, those of M. Talleyrand and the Duke of Wellington, to which one does not see what epithet sufficiently expressive can be affixed!

the King of Prussia made their entrance into the capital. This event at first excited no sensation ; but at length cries in favour of the Bourbons were heard, and white cockades were mounted. The astonished Parisians inquired why the Emperor of Austria did not appear : they might easily have guessed the reason. The Emperor Alexander alighted at the house of M. de Talleyrand. This minister had been instructed to follow the Empress to the Loire ; but he halted at the barrier, and returned to Paris to pay his respects to the allies. Why was not the reptile crushed, as he glided back on his insidious errand ! No sooner had the czar established himself in Paris than he held a council to deliberate on the best course for the allies to adopt, which was doubtless the one they had already resolved upon. M. de Talleyrand and his confidential friends attended this council to give the proper answers for justifying the conduct of the allies. The Emperor Alexander, for form's sake, observed that there were three courses open ; to treat with Napoleon, demanding guarantees ; to appoint a regency ; or to recall the Bourbons. M. de Talleyrand then suggested the last as the only one conformable to the general wish of the people. The Emperor having modestly hinted a doubt of this general wish, of which the allies in their march through France had met with no convincing proofs but just the contrary, M. de Talleyrand and the Abbé de Pradt answered with equal assurance both for themselves and all France ; and the Emperor Alexander, satisfied with this reply, said, " Well then, I declare I will not again treat with the Emperor Napoleon." Permission was obtained to make this declaration public : and in two hours afterwards it was posted on all the walls of Paris. Thus nations are disposed of, while they themselves look on and wonder. The autocrat of all the Russias made it known in this conference that he did not wage war upon France but on Napoleon and those who were hostile to French liberty. Before he

talked of granting liberty as a compliment to France, he had better have gone back and set his own subjects free. The kind of liberty he meant was soon translated into plainer language. M. de Nesselrode had already written to the prefect of police, directing him to liberate all persons imprisoned for attachment to *their legitimate sovereign*. Did England subscribe the same shibboleth too—she that a hundred years before had discarded her own legitimate sovereign to place an elector of Hanover on the throne, whose descendants still occupied it? Thus the centuries stammer and contradict each other. In vain did the Duke of Vicenza endeavour to obtain the promised audience. “The case of his sovereign,” says Napoleon, “was lost even before he could procure a hearing.” It was lost with the first battle he lost. From the moment he was found not to be invincible, impassive to the blows of fate, proof against the machinations of gods and men, a hope, a thirst of vengeance grew up in the place of the fear and amazement he had before inspired : and nothing from that time forward could shelter him from the persecution of deep-lodged hatred but a prison or a tomb. The Abbé de Pradt observes, with great *naivete*, in relation to the summary evidence on which the allies acceded to the restoration of the Bourbons as a new thought which would never have entered their minds till now that it was forced upon them by the spontaneous wish of the French people —“At the close of the council we exerted our utmost endeavours to obviate the effect of the representations which Napoleon’s negotiators might bring forward.” [As to the general wish expressed in behalf of the whole French people by the Abbé de Pradt and the prince of Benevento.] “If we could not prevent their arrival, we at least succeeded in shortening their stay in the capital and mitigating the effect it was calculated to produce.” There are refinements in meanness, in treachery, and impudence, to which no words can do justice ; or new names



should be invented, the old ones having lost their force.

There were not three but four courses open. 1. To treat with Napoleon. This the allies had all along pretended was their only object, but this they now flatly refused. 2. To appoint a Regency. This they did not object to as altogether inadmissible, but set it on one side as inexpedient. 3. To recall the Bourbons. This the French might do if they chose, and the allies, although not insisting on, would approve of it. 4. If they did not do it of themselves, they would force them to do it, as in fact they did the year following, when the only answer to the demand of a hearing that could be obtained from an insolent livery-groom and whipper-in of despotism was—"Your king is at hand!" But really after all the blood that had been shed to keep out these Bourbons, their own among the rest; after the foreign wars and coalitions to restore them instigated by these Bourbons and that had been broken up year after year; after the assassinations, massacres, and civil convulsions that had been caused by the dread and hatred of them and their pretensions to rule over France in contempt of the choice and wishes of the people; after the French themselves had become a byword and had been shut out of the pale of civilized Europe because they had refused to submit to the principle that mankind are the absolute property of a few hereditary princes; after they had triumphed over all Europe in this just and noble quarrel, which was not only theirs but mankind's; since, in doing so, they had struck down and quelled that loathsome phantom that reared its form over states and nations, claiming the world as its toy, braving the will and sacrificing the lives of millions to the least of its caprices, blotting out the light of Heaven and oppressing the very air with a weight that is not to be borne; after a government had been established on the ruins of the former arbitrary one, and that carried the glory, the prosperity, and the



security of the country to the highest pitch under the rule of one, "who was to them Hyperion to a Satyr;" and when the only drawback to that felicity was the enmity to France which this family and the shaking off their galling yoke had entailed upon her, and which at length, persevering in its object and aided by the unrelenting nature of power and the sleepless malice of fortune, reversed all their successes, heaped defeat on defeat, and laid them at the mercy of their enemies;—then to have these Bourbons brought forward again and held up by foreign bayonets to lord it over their misery and insult their fall, and this, not as arising from any old grudge to the cause of freedom or secret league and fellowship among kings, but as a general wish and long-suppressed vow of the French themselves, this was the most extraordinary proposition that ever affronted the human understanding, as the French were the most extraordinary people to submit to it as they did, and become its converts on the spot as a happy augury and a gracious boon. The allies themselves were ashamed of the barefaced disclosure of all their designs and dereliction of all their mighty professions of freedom and independence; and to break the fall, invented a number of little winding-galleries in diplomacy, leading gradually from the top of regal hypocrisy to the lowest degradation of the subject. Why say that the Bourbons were the choice of the French people when they claimed to reign over them in spite and in contempt of their choice? But the French are, it is said, a vain people, and they did not like the idea of being conquered: it was therefore understood that they were *restored!* They did not quite stomach six hundred thousand bayonets pointed at their breasts: and therefore this hostile demonstration was to be called *deliverance*. The French are a people who set almost as much store by words as by things, and who very much prefer the agreeable to the disagreeable: they therefore took the word of the allies that nothing was meant but to

oblige, and so the affair ended, without any thing tragical, as a sentimental drama!—The emissaries of the Bourbons ran about everywhere among the baggage and artillery of the allies, addressing every one; and all who listened to them were regarded as favouring their designs. They might have been told, “Take away these harsh disputants with brazen throats, and then we’ll answer you.” If the opinion of the French army was considered as neutralising the popular voice, surely the roar of foreign cannon did not echo it. It was a hackneyed complaint that brute force had given the law to Europe. Had not an appeal been made to brute force against reason and opinion? Alas! not in vain! As the French, however, are fond of restoration and deliverance, they must be accounted doubly happy, since they were restored and delivered again precisely in the same manner and on the same principles a year after; and to make the charitable donation still more palatable to them, an English general (who was well-suited to such a task) was the chief performer in administering it to them! But to pass on from this subject which perhaps has taken deeper hold of my mind than it deserves; for either liberty itself is the most worthless cause or the French the least worthy of it of any people on the face of the earth.

It was necessary to find an organ of public opinion; nor was it difficult to find one in the *Senate*. This word will be henceforth shameful in history. They met on the 1st of April under the presidency of M. Talleyrand, and appointed as members of the provisional government, Messieurs Talleyrand, Beurnonville, Jaucourt, Dalberg, and the Abbé Montesquieu—these gentlemen having taken due care to nominate themselves! The council of the department of the Seine at the same time declared for the Bourbons. Such was the substance of the accounts received at Fontainebleau during the three first days. They produced a great impression on the chiefs of the army

(some of whom were already in treaty with the enemy) but they did not make Napoleon relinquish his military projects. He still found himself at the head of fifty thousand men ; and he resolved to march on Paris. He hoped that the firing of his cannon would rouse the Parisians and revive the national spirit. For some hours the enemy had been lulled into the security of success ; the generals were feasting in the hotels, the troops scattered about in the labyrinths of the city. A *coup-de-main* on Paris might produce some great result and was well worth attempting. The army had already begun to move, when in the night of the 2nd of April the Duke of Vicenza arrived and presented himself before the Emperor. He had been flattered by the allies into some hope of a regency, and came to solicit his abdication in favour of his son. Napoleon wisely suspecting an ambush held back, and refused to explain himself. On the morning of the 3rd he mounted his horse to inspect the advanced-posts, and the whole of the day was spent in military preparations.

The troops were in good spirits and listened with acclamations of joy to the scheme of delivering the capital. The young generals, inspired with the same ardour, were ready to brave new dangers and fatigues. But it was not thus with those in the highest ranks. They were alarmed at what they termed a headlong adventure ; and wished, as they could no longer trample over Europe, at least to keep the peace at home. Hints of the proposed abdication got abroad ; and were whispered in the palace and even on the stair case of the *Cheval-Blanc*. It was immediately caught at as the easiest way of letting the question down.

In the night of the 3rd an express arrived from the Duke of Ragusa to say that the senate had proclaimed the abdication. On the 4th orders were issued for transferring the head-quarters to a position between Ponthierry and Essone. After the parade which took

place every day at noon in the court of the *Cheval-Blanc*, some of the principal officers escorted Napoleon back to his apartment. The close of this audience was expected to be the signal for mounting horse and quitting Fontainebleau. But a conference had been entered into on the situation of affairs; it was prolonged till the afternoon; and when it broke up, Napoleon's abdication was made known. The want of spirit evinced by his old companions in arms was what made him yield. But this act of abdication which he wrote with his own hand\* was only conditional, in favour of his son. It was in these words :—

“The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to peace in Europe, the Emperor, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to resign the throne, to quit France, and even to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, those of the regency of the Empress, and the maintenance of the laws of the empire.

“ Given at our palace of Fontainebleau,  
“ April 4, 1814.

“ NAPOLEON.”

This act was transcribed by a secretary; and the Duke of Vicenza prepared immediately to convey it to Paris, accompanied by the Prince of the Moskwa. Napoleon also wished the Duke of Ragusa to be joined with them, as being his oldest companion in arms; but Marshal Macdonald was substituted in his stead, at the suggestion of some one present, as having more influence with the army, and having been less about Napoleon's person. After the departure of the plenipotentiaries the Emperor dispatched a messenger to the Empress at Blois to inform her of what

\* The round marble slab on which he wrote it is still shown at Fontainebleau.



had just taken place, and to authorise her to send the Duke of Cadore to her father, who was still in Burgundy, to solicit his intercession for her and her son. This was, I think, stooping from his "eyry." Overpowered by the events of the day, Napoleon had shut himself up in his chamber, where he was now about to receive the severest blow that had yet been aimed at his heart. On the night of the 4th Colonel Gourgaud, who had been dispatched with orders to Essone, returned with the utmost speed to announce that Marmont had forsaken his post and repaired to Paris; that he was treating with the enemy; that his troops having received secret orders to march, were at that moment passing the Russian cantonments, and that Fontainebleau remained undefended. Napoleon could not at first credit this distressing news; but when he could no longer doubt its truth, his eye became fixed, and he threw himself into a chair, overcome by his feelings. "Ungrateful man!" he exclaimed: "but he will be more unhappy than I!" He immediately addressed the following order of the day to the army:—

*Fontainebleau, April 5, 1814.*

"The Emperor thanks the army for the attachment it has evinced to him; and principally because it acknowledges that France is with him and not with the people of the capital. It is the soldier's duty to follow the fortune and misfortune of his general, his honour and religion. The Duke of Ragusa has not sought to inspire this sentiment in the hearts of his troops. He has gone over to the allies. The Emperor cannot approve of the condition on which he has taken this step: he cannot accept of life and liberty at the mercy of a subject. The senate has presumed to dispose of the French Government; but it forgets that it owes to the Emperor the power which it now abuses. The Emperor saved one half of the members of the senate from the storms of the revolution: and the other half he drew from obscurity



and protected from the hatred of the people. These men avail themselves of the articles of the constitution as grounds for its subversion. The senate blushes not to reproach the Emperor, unmindful that, as the first body of the state, it has participated in every public measure. It goes so far as to accuse the Emperor of altering acts in their publication.

“A sign was a command to the senate, which was always ready to do more than it was required to do.\* The Emperor has ever been accessible to the remonstrances of his ministers; and he therefore expected from them the most complete justification of the measures he adopted. If public speeches and addresses received the colouring of enthusiasm, then the Emperor was deceived: but those who held this language must thank themselves for the consequences of their flattery.

“The senators have spoken of libels published against foreign governments, forgetting that those libels were prepared in their own assembly! So long as fortune continued faithful to their sovereign, these men also remained faithful to him. If the Emperor despised mankind as he is said to have done, the world will now admit that it was not without reason. His dignity was conferred on him by God and the people, who alone can deprive him of it: he always considered it as a burthen; and when he accepted it, it was with the conviction that he was enabled adequately to sustain it. The happiness of France seemed to be connected with the fate of the Emperor: now that fortune frowns on him, the will of the nation

\* “The Emperor, above all things, complained of the servile disposition of the Senate. This was a great cause of dissatisfaction to him throughout the whole of his life. But in this respect he was like most men—he wished for contradictory things. His general policy was not in unison with his particular passions. He wished to have a free Senate, that might secure respect to his government; but at the same time he wished for a Senate that would be always ready to do whatever he wanted.”—Note from Montesquieu’s “Grandeur des Princes,” appended to the text by Napoleon.

can alone induce him to retain possession of the throne. If he is to be considered as the only obstacle to peace, he voluntarily makes the last sacrifice to France. He has in consequence sent the Prince of the Moskwa and the Dukes of Vicenza and Tarentum to Paris, to open the negotiation. The army may be assured that the honour of the Emperor will never be incompatible with the happiness of France."

Napoleon's plenipotentiaries soon perceived how much their cause had suffered during the absence of the Duke of Vicenza. The members of the Provisional government incessantly importuned the allied sovereigns to bring about the exclusion of the Empress and her son. So true is it, that treachery only finds relief in the excess of its baseness. Besides, their dread of the father afforded them no hope of security but by the fall of the whole family. The plenipotentiaries found them at their post, in attendance on the allied princes; and observed, not without apprehension, the air of satisfaction that was impressed on their countenances. This is certainly (considering who these persons were) one of the most odious pictures ever afforded of human nature! The Duke of Ragusa soon after entered with a confident air: this circumstance explained everything. They learnt from the Emperor Alexander, that the Duke of Ragusa's troops had been led to Versailles by General Sarazin,\* and that by the desertion of the camp at Essone, the person of Napoleon was in the power of the allies. While he was at the head of fifty thousand picked troops, military calculations had prevailed over intrigue; but now that the army itself seemed to abandon the cause of Napoleon, all considerations of delicacy were laid aside. The abdication in favour

\* On the preceding evening, at Fontainebleau, this same French general had received two thousand crowns from Napoleon. If what he saw around him was the acme and height of civilization, Alexander must have gone back to his barbarism and his deserts with no little secret satisfaction.

of the Empress and her son was not enough ; and the plenipotentiaries were informed, that Napoleon and his dynasty must entirely renounce the throne. The Duke of Vicenza returned to Fontainebleau on this painful mission.

On seeing the Duke, Napoleon's first thought was to break off a negotiation, which had become so humiliating. Being now pushed to the last extremity, he endeavoured to free himself from the trammels in which he had been imperceptibly involved. War could be no worse than peace : this, he thought, must be clear to every one ; and he hoped the chiefs had discarded their chimerical notions. Perhaps, all might yet be saved. Soult had fifty thousand men : Suchet fifteen ; Prince Eugene had thirty thousand ; and fifteen thousand were with Augereau in the Cevennes, besides those with General Maisons and the garrisons, which might be collected together, and make one last noble stand. But at the very report of a rupture of the negotiation, alarm once more spread through the head-quarters ; and all were resolved to oppose the only step that still gave a glimpse of hope or of retrieving their affairs. They were ready enough to triumph and vapour over all the rest of the world, and this they thought quite in character for the Great Nation ; but they scorned by painful and doubtful struggles to save their country from the last outrage and the last disgrace. They were shocked at the idea of incurring the odium of contending at once against fortune and opinion, which in France were the same thing. The example of the Russians and Spaniards, who had made such desperate sacrifices in support of *their* independence, seemed to confirm them the more in their own dastardliness and effeminacy as a polite return to it. Buonaparte had said of them, that " Frenchmen had no sentiment but that of honour !" and they are so full of this and of themselves, that they have no room left for the sense of *dishonour*. " On their brow shame is ashamed to sit : " and instead of

persisting in a losing cause, or sitting down sullen and discontented under misfortunes and defeat, which is the lot of others, they thought it better to go over to the enemy, to join his triumph (as they had none of their own to celebrate), and to march into the saloons of the allied princes with smiling and erect looks, and all the blushing honours of treachery and ingratitude on their heads, braving contempt and silencing reproach by a perfection of baseness that made the bye-standers ashamed of their species, and that tarnished the name of truth or virtue.

Buonaparte attributes the backwardness of his generals to their fear of losing their fortunes. But though the French are mercenary as well as light and vain, the want of fortitude is their besetting and constitutional vice; and it was the fear of incurring ridicule, of not succeeding in a hazardous enterprise, or of not coming out of it with their accustomed *eclat*, that deterred them. The younger generals would have joined him from greater generosity and enthusiasm, or because a romantic adventure would bring their names into notice, of which, with the termination of the war, there was no hope. The former were, however, incorrigible. The new revolution was represented as being "a great contract between all the interests of France, in which it was only necessary to sacrifice one interest, namely, that of Napoleon"—as if that which was the only stumbling-block to the allies, was not the only safeguard to France. Napoleon was held out as the only blot on the amiableness and inoffensiveness of the French character; that is, he was the only person in France whom the invaders feared or cared the least about, because he was the only person who could or did interpose between them and their old claims and designs. The only question among the generals now was how to find pretexts for going to Paris; and this was easy to men who seemed to be restrained by no ties of honour or gratitude, neither by the shame of late defeats nor the pride of



old victories, which appeared to be quite forgotten. While the utmost anxiety prevailed at Fontainebleau to know what was doing at Paris, the allies were not less eager to know what was passing near Napoleon, on whom they kept a vigilant eye. Every precaution was adopted against one of those bold movements by which he had so often astonished Europe and broken through the toils prepared for him. A Russian army was posted between Essone and Paris; another on the right bank of the Seine; other corps had marched on the roads to Chartres and Orleans; others again were dispersed between the Yonne and the Loire. The line of blockade round Fontainebleau daily became closer; and was thought a convincing argument by those who, having lost the spirit, could see no means left for resistance.

Napoleon appreciated more justly the unequal strength of the net which was drawn round him, and promised to break through it. "A road," he said, "that is closed against couriers will soon open before fifty thousand men. Yet he hesitated and was restrained by a secret dissatisfaction, foreseeing but too well the difference which would subsist between his past and future fortunes. He who had always commanded great armies, who in every battle had been accustomed to decide the fate of a capital or a kingdom, must henceforth assume the character of a partisan leader, an adventurer roaming from province to province, skirmishing and destroying with doubtful success. An appeal was also made to his dread of civil war, which was always a weak side in his character. "Well then," he cried, "since I must renounce the prospect of defending France, does not Italy afford a retreat worthy of us? Will you follow me across the Alps?" A profound silence ensued. If at this moment Napoleon had quitted the saloon and entered the hall of the inferior officers, he would have found a host of young men eager to follow wheresoever he might lead. But a step farther, and he would have



been greeted at the foot of the staircase by the acclamations of all his troops! But he was swayed by the habits of his reign: he could not leave the Emperor behind; nor move without the great officers whom he had created; nor conquer (as it seemed to him) without his old train of lieutenants. Past recollections haunted him; and there rose up before him perhaps a shadow of the future, vast, undefined, gorgeous, that would have dimmed all former glories and blotted out all former disgraces, and that was all but realised! Every one breathes the atmosphere around him, and he at length yielded to the apathy of his followers, though not without addressing them in these prophetic words:—"You wish for repose; take it then! Alas! you know not how many troubles and dangers await you on your beds of down. A few years of that peace which you are about to purchase so dearly, will cut off more of you than the most sanguinary war would have done!" The Emperor owned himself subdued less by the fear of his enemies than the defection of his friends; and taking his pen, he drew up and signed the second formula of his abdication:—

"The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the Emperor, faithful to his oath, renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy, and declares that there is no sacrifice, not even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France."

The allies, who hardly expected that Napoleon would make so absolute a surrender, eagerly caught at it, and hostilities were instantly suspended.\* Napoleon was to retain the rank, title, and honours belonging to crowned heads. He was to have an indepen-

\* The notice of the suspension of hostilities did not reach the Duke of Wellington till the 12th of April, who, after a sanguinary battle and great loss of men, was besieging Soult in Toulouse.

dent residence assigned him ; and Corfu, Corsica, and the Isle of Elba were proposed, the last of which was determined upon. With regard to pecuniary matters, a desire was expressed to treat Napoleon and his family with the greatest generosity. An establishment in Italy was assigned to the Empress Marie-Louise and her son ; nor were any of the members of the Imperial family, including Josephine and Eugene Beauharnais, left unprovided for. The more flattering these promises were, the more they seemed to gratify the vanity or duplicity of the allies. The Emperor Alexander carried his generosity so far as to take into consideration Napoleon's military suite and domestic establishment. It was his proposal that Napoleon should (as if he had been on his death-bed) dictate a will to remunerate them. Anything that bore a resemblance to that would no doubt be acceptable to him. To the disgrace of European diplomacy, these liberal proffers were never carried into effect.

While the treaty which was to ratify these arrangements was pending, Napoleon sent courier after courier to demand back the paper from the Duke of Vicenza which was the foundation of it. He had been dissatisfied with himself ever since he had signed the surrender of his throne. The diplomatic proceedings displeased him still more. He thought them both useless and degrading. After surviving his greatness, he wished thenceforth to live as a private individual. All he asked was not to be accounted a prisoner of war ; and for that a mere cartel was sufficient. The treaty was signed at Paris on the 11th of April, and the Duke of Vicenza carried it immediately to Fontainebleau. The first words Napoleon uttered were a demand to have the act of abdication returned. But it was no longer in the Duke of Vicenza's power to give it up. The paper was the first document presented to the allies as the basis of the treaty and of the re-establishment of the new order of things in France. The Bourbons were naturally as much dis-

satisfied with this as a preliminary step to their ascending the throne as Napoleon was with the act by which he had resigned it. There was, however, no remedy: Fontainebleau was now a prison, every road leading to it being carefully guarded by foreign troops. To sign the treaty appeared the only way to preserve his liberty, perhaps even his life; for the emissaries of the provisional government\* were lying in wait for him in the neighbourhood. Napoleon still persisted in his refusal: but how was he to escape from the alternative in which he was placed? For some days he had been apparently dull and indisposed, and he was only roused from his abstraction by contemplating the gloomy pictures of history. The subject of his private conversation was the voluntary death to which the heroes of antiquity had doomed themselves in situations similar to his own. The apprehensions excited by his turn of thought were increased by his manifesting no desire to see the Empress, who was expected at Fontainebleau, but rather a wish to avoid the interview.

On the night of the 12th, the silence which reigned in the long corridors of the palace was suddenly interrupted by the sound of hurried footsteps. The servants of the palace were heard running to and fro; a number of persons arrived; and sobs and groans resounded from the inner chamber. The secret of this night has always been involved in extreme obscurity; but the following story has been circulated. During the retreat from Moscow, Napoleon had, in case of accident, taken measures to prevent his falling alive into the hands of the enemy. He procured from his surgeon Yvan a bag of opium, which he wore about his neck as long as danger was to be apprehended. He afterwards carefully deposited this bag in a secret drawer of his cabinet. On the night of the 12th,

\* Why did he not hang up these miscreants at their own doors, as he was advised to do when they first began to play their tricks a few months before?

he thought the moment come for availing himself of this last expedient. The *valet de chambre* who slept in the adjoining room, the door of which was ajar, heard Napoleon empty something into a glass of water, which he drank, and then returned into bed. Pain soon extorted from him an acknowledgment of what had just taken place. He then sent for the most confidential persons in his service. Yvan was also sent for; who finding what had happened, and hearing Napoleon complain that the poison was not quick enough in its effect, lost all self-possession, rushed out of the chamber, and fled from Fontainebleau. It is added that Napoleon fell into a sound sleep; and that after copious perspiration every alarming symptom disappeared: either the dose was insufficient in quantity, or time had mitigated the power of the poison. The Emperor, astonished at the failure of the attempt, exclaimed, "God then has ordained that I shall live;" and resigned himself to his fate. The whole affair was hushed in secrecy; and on the morning of the 13th Napoleon rose and dressed himself as usual; and his objections to ratify the treaty being now at an end, he signed it without further hesitation.

The individuals about Napoleon now learnt from his own mouth, that he had ceased to reign. He enjoined them to submit to the new government as henceforth the rallying point of the French people. Fontainebleau was soon nearly deserted, as Orleans and Blois had been by the Empress's court. The few who still remained at Fontainebleau were engaged in making preparations for their departure for the Island of Elba. Napoleon put the library under contribution, and shut himself up with his books and maps, in order to collect every particular relating to his future place of residence. The Grand Marshal Bertrand,\* General Drouot, General Cambrone, the treasurer Peyrusse,

\* Poor Duroc! how he would have felt this blow!



the state-messengers Deschamps and Baillon obtained permission to follow the Emperor. A small domestic establishment was composed for the island of Elba. Only four hundred of the guard were permitted to go ; and almost all Napoleon's old companions begged to be selected : the choice therefore was most embarrassing. The lines of the English poet have been quoted here, and I will not do myself the violence to exclude what is so noble in itself and so worthy of the occasion :—

—“ He that can endure  
To follow with allegiance a fallen lord  
Does conquer him that did his master conquer,  
And earns a place i' the story.”

It had been determined that each great power should send a commissioner to Elba by way of safeguard to Napoleon, whom they were to accompany to the place of his destination. Eight days had elapsed before they arrived at Fontainebleau. In the meantime the imperial family was dispersed in various directions. The Empress and her son had fallen into the power of the Austrians, and were conveyed from Blois to Rambouillet. Napoleon's mother and Cardinal Fesch set out for Rome : the brothers—Louis, Joseph, and Jerome Buonaparte were proceeding to Switzerland. The command of the army was resigned to the Prince of Neufchatel, who acted under the provisional government. Napoleon was now become a private individual. He had withdrawn to a corner of the palace, and only now and then quitted his apartment to walk in the little garden between the old gallery *des cerfs* and the chapel. Whenever he heard the rolling of carriage-wheels in the courtyard, he never failed to inquire whether it was not some of his old ministers who had arrived to bid him farewell. He fully expected Molé, Fontanes, and some others ; but no one appeared. Napoleon saw none but the few faithful servants who resolved to remain with him to the last. The Duke of Vicenza was, with his usual



activity, engaged in making preparations for the journey. The Duke of Bassano never for a moment quitted Napoleon ; and the latter, in his confidential intercourse with his minister, maintained all the serenity of manner and countenance which distinguished him during the brightest days of his glory. From the manners of his minister, it would never have been suspected that those days were gone by. Incomparable and affecting testimony of fidelity ! At one of those moments, when Napoleon was anxiously looking for the arrival of some of his old friends, Colonel Montholon presented himself. He had just come from the Upper Loire, whither he had been sent to make a recognisance. After describing the sentiments by which the people and the troops were animated, he spoke of rallying the forces of the south. Napoleon smiled at the zeal of this faithful servant. " It is too late," he replied ; " such an attempt would expose France to the horrors of a civil war, and no consideration can urge me to risk that."

These last proofs of attachment seemed to console Napoleon for the wounds which ingratitude had aimed at his heart. He regularly perused the Paris journals, from which torrents of abuse were showered upon him. This made no great impression on him ; and when malice was carried to a pitch of absurdity, it only drew from him a smile of pity. He happened to find in one of the newspapers an article signed Lacretelle — " There are two of that name," said he ; " which of them wrote this ? Surely not my Lacretelle ?" These insults, added to the many instances of individual ingratitude, had their share in influencing his resignation.

Of all the intelligence which he received from Paris, that which caused him least vexation was the arrival of the Count d'Artois, because it put an end to the provisional government. This was but natural. Napoleon had at no time the proper theoretical hatred of the Bourbons ; though he was the only resource of those who had, and the only person who could roll

away that great stone from the mouth of the cave of Liberty!

Marie-Louise had had an interview with her father at Rambouillet. The first thing she did was to place her son in his arms. At this proof of maternal solicitude an expression is said to have passed over the Emperor's face, which indicated a pang of momentary remorse. He told his daughter that she must be separated from her husband for a time, but that measures would be taken for her rejoining him. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia both paid the Empress a visit; and were anxious to see the little King of Rome, whose father they had just dethroned in virtue of so many protestations to the contrary. The Emperor of Russia was gay and debonnaire enough; but the King of Prussia looked more askance at the child, thinking, perhaps, that as filial vengeance was the order of the day in Prussia, they had left their work imperfect. Alexander extended his ambiguous courtesy so far as to pay a visit to the Empress Josephine also, and her daughter, Queen Hortense. Buonaparte was very little pleased with these extreme attentions. Marie-Louise was to set out for Vienna as soon as the Emperor quitted Fontainebleau; she was to carry her son with her, and to be attended by the Duchess of Montebello, the Countesses of Montesquieu and Brignolet, General Caffarelli, and Barons de Bausset and Menneval.

The commissioners of the allied powers had arrived at Fontainebleau;\* and the departure was fixed for the 20th of April. On the night of the 19th, Napoleon experienced another desertion; his confidential valet Constant and the Mameluke Rostan disappeared. On the 20th, at noon, the travelling carriages drew up in the court of the Cheval-Blanc, at the foot of the Fer-à-Cheval steps. The imperial

\* These Commissioners were General Schouvaloff, for Russia; General Kohler, for Austria; Colonel Campbell, for England; and General Truchsels, for Prussia.

guard formed itself in lines. At one o'clock Napoleon quitted his apartment. He beheld, ranged along the avenues through which he passed, all that now remained of the most numerous and brilliant court in Europe. These individuals were the Duke of Bassano, General Belliard, Colonel de Bussy, Colonel Anatole Montesquieu, the Count of Turenne, General Foulcrand, Baron Mègrigny, Colonel Gourgaud, Baron Fain, Lieutenant-Colonel Athalin, Baron de La Place, Baron Lelorgne d'Iderville, Chevalier Jouanne, General Kosakowski, and Colonel Vonsowitch : these two last were Poles. (The Duke of Vicenza and General Flahaut were absent on missions.) Napoleon shook hands with them all ; then hastily descending the steps, he passed the range of carriages, and advanced towards the imperial guard.

Having signified that he wished to speak, all were hushed in a moment, and listened in profound silence to his last words :—"Soldiers of the old guard," said he, "I bid you farewell. During twenty years you have been my constant companions in the path of honour and glory. In our late disasters as well as in the days of our prosperity, you invariably proved yourselves models of courage and fidelity. With such men as you, our cause could not have been lost ; but a protracted civil war would have ensued, and the miseries of France would thereby have been augmented. I have therefore sacrificed all our interests to those of the country. I depart : you, my friends, will continue to serve France, whose happiness has ever been the only object of my thoughts, and still will be the sole object of my wishes ! Do not deplore my fate : if I consent to live, it is that I may still contribute to your glory. I will record the great achievements we have performed together. Farewell, my comrades ! I should wish to press you all to my bosom : let me, at least, embrace your standard !" At these words General Petit took the eagle and came forward. Napoleon received the general in his arms

and kissed the flag. The silent admiration which this affecting scene inspired, was interrupted only by the occasional sobs of the soldiers. Napoleon made an effort to subdue the emotion which powerfully agitated him, and then added in a firm voice, "Farewell once more, my old comrades! Let this last kiss be impressed on all your hearts!" Then rushing from amidst the group which surrounded him, he hastily stepped into his carriage, where General Bertrand had already taken his seat. The carriages instantly drove off. They took the road to Lyons, and were escorted by French troops.\*

\* A few days before Napoleon set out for Elba, his old prefect of the palace, De Bausset, was sent to him from the Empress, and has left an interesting account of their interview.

"I was introduced," (he says,) "immediately to the Emperor, to whom I presented the letter of the Empress. 'Good Louise!' he exclaimed, after having read it. He then asked me a number of questions concerning her health and that of his son. I begged him to honour me by being the bearer of an answer, a consolation which the heart of the Empress greatly needed. 'Stay here to-day,' he said: 'in the evening I will give you my letter to take back.'

"I found Napoleon calm, tranquil, and decided. His mind was strongly tempered; never, as I think, did he appear grander to me. I spoke to him of the isle of Elba: he already knew that this small sovereignty would be accorded to him. He made me notice on his table a book of geography which contained all the details of which he wished to be informed on the subject of his future residence. 'The air there is healthy,' he observed, 'and the disposition of the inhabitants excellent. I shall feel tolerably comfortable there, and I hope that Marie-Louise will do so too.' He was not unacquainted with the obstacles that had been raised to their meeting at Fontainebleau; but he flattered himself that, once in possession of the Duchy of Parma, the Empress would be allowed to come with her son and settle with him in the island of Elba. He was mistaken, and was never more to see these objects of his most tender affection.

"The Prince of Neufchatel, who had just given in his adhesion to the new government, entered the Emperor's cabinet to ask permission to go to Paris on particular business, and promised to return the next day. 'He will not come back,' said Napoleon coldly to the Duke of Bassano. 'What! Sire, is it possible that this should be the last farewell of Berthier?' replied that loyal and faithful minister. 'Yes, I tell you, he will not come back!' Towards two in the afternoon, the Emperor went to walk on the terrace at the back of the gallery of Francis I. He sent for me to put a number of questions as to the events of which I had probably been a witness. 'He was far from approving the step which had been taken in making the Empress quit Paris.' I mentioned the letter which he had written to his brother Joseph. 'The circumstances were no longer the same,'



he said; 'the mere presence of the Empress at Paris would have been sufficient to prevent the treason and defection of some of my troops. I should still be at the head of a formidable army, with which I might have forced the enemy to quit Paris, and sign an honourable peace.' I thought I might venture to state that it was to be regretted that he had not concluded peace at Chatillon. He answered, 'I never believed in the good faith of our enemies: every day there were new demands, new conditions. They did not want peace; and then I had declared to France that I never would accede to any terms that I thought humiliating, even though the enemy were on the heights of Montmartre.' I went so far as to remark that France, circumscribed as she would have been, would nevertheless have continued to be one of the finest kingdoms in the world. 'I abdicate and give up nothing.' Such was his reply, which he uttered with a remarkable composure.\*

"During this audience, which lasted above two hours, he made me acquainted with his opinion of some of his lieutenants, and expressed himself with energy of one of them in particular. 'Macdonald is a brave and loyal warrior. It was only in the late conjuncture that I was enabled to appreciate the nobleness of his character: his connexion with Moreau had given me a prejudice against him: but I did him an injury, and I much regret not having known him better.' Then passing to other subjects, 'See,' said he, 'what a thing is destiny? At the battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, I did all I could to meet a glorious death in defending, foot by foot, the soil of the country. I exposed myself without reserve. It rained bullets around me; my clothes were pierced, and yet not one of them could reach me,' he added with a sigh—'A death which I should owe to an act of despair would be a baseness. Suicide neither accords with my principles, nor with the rank which I have filled on the stage of the world. I am a man condemned to live,' he observed, still sighing. We then took several turns round the terrace, keeping a profound and mournful silence. 'Between ourselves,' resumed the Emperor, with a smile full of bitterness, 'they say that a living drummer-boy is worth more than a dead Emperor.' The air with which he pronounced these few words made me think that the interpretation of this old adage might be given thus: *It is only the dead who never return.*

"Before we parted, I spoke to him of the different persons I had met on the road in coming from Paris. The last name I pronounced was that of General Hullin, who had been president of the court-martial on the trial of the Duke d'Enghien. 'Oh! as for him,' he said, 'he must always arrive too late to make his peace with the Bourbons.' As he uttered these words, which I repeat faithfully and without commentary, he returned to his apartments. I have never seen him since."—*Memoirs of the Interior of the Palace*, vol. ii., p. 247.

\* "On the 14th of February, 1813, at the opening of the session of the legislative body, Napoleon, announcing his desire of peace, added:—'It is necessary to the world: *four times since the rupture which followed the treaty of Amiens, I have offered it by a solemn procedure: I will not make any but an honourable peace, and one suitable to the grandeur of my empire.*'"



## CHAPTER LIII.

RESIDENCE IN THE ISLAND OF ELBA, AND  
RETURN FROM IT.

Arrives at Elba, the island described ; his pursuits there ; non-payment of his pension ; summary of public feeling and affairs in France ; embarks from Elba ; lands at Cannes ; his reception at Gras ; is joined by some troops at Grenoble ; is enthusiastically welcomed by the peasants of Dauphiny ; issues two proclamations ; is joined by Ney ; triumphal march to Paris ; enters the capital.

THROUGHOUT all the first part of Napoleon's journey, he was the object of universal respect and of the warmest and most affectionate interest. This fell off as he drew nearer to its close. On the evening of the 20th he reached Briarre, and on the following days arrived successively at Nevers, Rouanne, Lyons, Montelimart, and Orgon ; on the 26th he slept near Luc, on the 27th at Frejus ; and on the 28th, at eight in the evening, he embarked on board the English frigate, the *Undaunted*, commanded by Captain Usher. It was deemed prudent to arrange matters so that Napoleon should reach Lyons in the night : or rather it was intended to prevent his reaching that city at all. An English gentleman residing there and the Austrian commissioner went out in disguise and mingled with the crowd, curious to hear the imprecations of which they expected he would be the object. But as soon as the Emperor appeared, deep silence prevailed among the multitude ; and an old woman, rather above the common class, dressed in deep mourning, and with a countenance full of enthusiasm,

rushed forward to the carriage-door. "Sire," she said, "may the blessing of heaven attend you! Endeavour to make yourself happy. They tear you from us: but our hearts are with you wherever you go." The Austrian general, not a little disappointed, said to his companion, "Let us be gone; I have no patience with this old mad woman. The people have not common sense." A little beyond Lyons, the general-in-chief of the army of the east appeared on the road; and Napoleon, alighting from his carriage, walked with him a considerable way. When Augereau had taken his leave, one of the allied commissioners ventured to express his surprise, that the Emperor should have treated him with such an appearance of friendship and cordiality. "Why should I not?" inquired Napoleon. "Your Majesty is perhaps not aware that he entered into an understanding with us several weeks ago?"—"It was even so," said the Emperor, in speaking afterwards on the subject; "he whom I had intrusted with the defence of France on this point, sacrificed and betrayed the country." Napoleon was less favourably received as he approached Provence, where there had always been a party of malcontents, and where the plots of his enemies anticipated his arrival. He was once or twice exposed to insult and personal risk, which gave rise to the most exaggerated and ridiculous stories, that have at present only one discreditable echo! Napoleon is represented as having wept and trembled like a woman. It is easy to distinguish the style of the hero from that of his historian: nor is it difficult to understand how a pen, accustomed to describe and to create the highest interest in pure fiction without any foundation at all should be able to receive and gloss over whatever it pleases as true, with the aid of idle rumour, vulgar prejudice, and servile malice. The author here alluded to with no less shame than regret writes fiction with the broad open palm of humanity—history with cloven hoofs!

Having reached Aix, precautions were taken to ensure his personal safety. At a chateau on the road called Bouelledon, he had an interview with his sister Pauline. On his arrival at the place of embarkation, there were two vessels waiting to receive him, an English and a French. Napoleon chose the English one in preference, observing he would never have it said that a Frenchman had carried him away. Only the Austrian and English commissioners accompanied him on board. During the passage he conversed with great frankness and ease with Captain Usher and Sir Niel Campbell. He laughed at the supposition of the caricatures which his voyage might occasion. The sailors, who at first imagined they had got a wild beast on board or some nondescript animal, were soon delighted with his gaiety and good-humour; and he became a favourite with them. One of them, more obstinate than the rest, would not listen to the praises of his ship-mates, and said it was all a deception. This was truly English, to maintain that the prejudice you have conceived or the report you have heard against anything is the reality, and the thing itself an imposture. On taking leave, Napoleon presented these jolly tars with a purse of two hundred Napoleons; and the boatswain, in returning thanks in the name of the crew, wished him "his health and better luck the next time." On the 4th of May they arrived at Porto Ferrajo, the principal town in the island. Buonaparte first landed incognito; and having returned on board to breakfast, he went on shore in form about two o'clock, receiving a royal salute as he left the *Undaunted*. On the beach, he was received by the governor and other official persons, who conducted him to the Hotel-de-Ville, preceded by a band of wretched musicians. The people welcomed him with shouts, anticipating many advantages from the residence of their new sovereign among them.

Elba is close to the coast of Tuscany, and about sixty miles in circumference. The air is healthy, ex-

cept in the neighbourhood of the salt marshes. It produces little grain, but exports a considerable quantity of wines; and its iron ore has been famous since the days of Virgil. Buonaparte lost no time in exploring the surface of his little state. He did not fail to visit the iron mines, which he was informed produced about five hundred thousand francs a year. But it seems he had given away this revenue to the Legion of Honour. One or two of the poorer class of inhabitants knelt and even prostrated themselves when they met him. He expressed disgust, and imputed this unusual degree of debasement to their wretched education under the monks. It was only the common and universal state of debasement a century or two ago, from which he was one of the main engines for rescuing the world. Climbing a mountain above Ferrajo, and seeing the ocean approach its feet on almost every side, the expression broke from him, "It must be confessed that my isle is very little." He, however, appeared to be perfectly resigned to his fate; often spoke of himself as a man politically defunct, and claimed credit for what he said upon public affairs, as having no further interest in them. This alternation of extreme repose and activity in his character appears the most remarkable feature in it; or perhaps the one was the consequence of the other. He must have been worn out with his constant and violent exertions both of mind and body, but for an original happiness of constitution and indolent composure as the groundwork of such prodigious undertakings. Sleep and wakefulness naturally counterbalance each other. He might be said to resign the empire of the world with the same indifference that a man sits down under the loss of a game of chance; or it was his thorough knowledge of the game, and the infinite variety of combinations still passing through his mind, that served him as resources against the chagrin and lassitude. In general the greatest reverses of fortune are the most easily borne, from a sort



of dignity belonging to them. Where from the nature and extent of the consequences involved in them they become the subjects of history, the individual himself takes an abstracted and *ideal* interest in them; and the vastness of the loss and elevation of the height from which he has fallen, carrying others along with him, lessen the sting of what is personally annoying and would be intolerable in itself.

In the course of two or three days, Napoleon had visited every spot in his little domain—mines, woods, salt-marshes, harbours, fortifications, and whatever else was worthy of an instant's consideration; and had meditated improvements and innovations respecting each. One of his first and not least characteristic proposals was to extend his Lilliputian dominions by taking possession of an uninhabited island, called Rianosa, which had been left desolate on account of the frequent descents of the Corsairs. He sent thirty of his guards there, sketched out a plan of fortifications, and remarked with complacency, "Europe will say that I have already made a conquest." In a short time he had planned several roads; had contrived means to convey water from the mountains to Porto-Ferrajo; designed two palaces, one for the country, the other in the city: a separate mansion for his sister Pauline; stables for one hundred and fifty horses; a lazaretto; receptacles for the tunny-fishery, and salt-works on a new construction at Porto Longone. He placed his court also on an ambitious and regular footing, though the furniture and accommodations of the Imperial Palace were exceedingly mean. His household was reduced to thirty-five persons. He displayed a national flag, having a red bend-dexter in a white field, the bend bearing three bees. His body-guard, consisting of about seven hundred infantry and eighty cavalry, occupied a great deal of his attention. They were constantly exercised; and, in a short time, he became anxious about obtaining recruits for them. During the summer of 1814 there was a considerable degree of fermentation



in Italy, to which the neighbourhood of Elba, the residence of several of the Buonaparte family, and the sovereignty of Murat occasioned a general resort of Napoleon's friends and admirers. This excited the attention of the English, who are curious to know the meaning of whatever is going on; or not knowing it, suspect mischief. Towards the middle of summer Napoleon was visited by his mother, and his sister the Princess Pauline. At the same time he expected to be rejoined by his wife, Marie-Louise, who was coming to take possession of her Italian states; and who had been promised permission to proceed to Elba, though it was now denied her. Surely, the more dignified step would have been not to have considered her as degraded by so doing, from a mere change of fortunes, unless it were intended to stigmatise the union altogether as forced and unnatural, which could not reflect much honour on any of the parties concerned in it.

In the latter end of May, Baron Kohler, the Austrian commissioner, took leave of Napoleon to return to Vienna. After his departure, Colonel Sir Niel Campbell was the only one of the four commissioners who continued to reside at Elba, by order of the British cabinet. It was difficult to say what his situation really was, or what were his instructions. It was not the less appropriate in an English commissioner for being impertinent; and the officiousness added to the *bonhomme*. It came the nearest of anything to the character of a spy. This was not very pleasant to Buonaparte, who might have his reasons for being private; and though he at first took pleasure in Colonel Campbell's society, the intimacy cooled by degrees; and the Emperor, by availing himself of the forms of court etiquette, made it necessary for him to take a trip to Leghorn or the coast of Italy, whenever his curiosity grew uneasy, by which method, at his departure and return, he obtained an audience. Sir Niel found Buonaparte's conversation on these occasions rather vague and declamatory; and seemed

to think it hard that the latter did not, in good-fellowship, communicate all his plans to him, that he might forthwith transmit them to the British cabinet, the conscience-keeper of Europe. During his residence at the island of Elba, Buonaparte had also frequent conversations with English travellers (among others Lord Ebrington and Mr. Lyttelton), who, inquiring into the truth of certain allegations brought against him with that jealousy of right and wrong which is natural to them, and which their government turn to so vile a use, were the first means to dispel those shameful delusions which had been employed as bugbears to inflame and madden the public mind, prostituting the moral sense of the community to ruin and enslave both it and the world!

As the winter approached, a change was discernible in the Emperor's habits and manners. The alterations which he had planned no longer gave him the same interest: he rode out but little, and grew more thoughtful and retired. He became also uneasy at being subjected to pecuniary embarrassments. The ready money he had brought from France was soon gone; and to make up the deficiency, he was forced to call for contributions from the islanders, who were too poor to pay them. This plan not succeeding and only producing petitions and vexations, he was compelled to have recourse to others, peculiarly galling to his disposition. His actual income did not exceed three hundred thousand francs, and his expenditure amounted at least to a million: he was therefore obliged to lower the allowances of most of his retinue; to reduce the wages of the miners by one fourth; to raise money by the sale of the provisions laid up for the garrison; and even by selling a train of brass artillery to the Duke of Tuscany. He disposed also of some property in a barrack, and meant to have sold the town house at Porto-Ferrajo. These difficulties were mostly owing to the mean and unfair proceeding of the French government, of a piece with all

the rest. The sixth article of the treaty of Fontainebleau provided an annuity of two millions five hundred thousand francs, to be registered on the Great Book of France, and paid without abatement or deduction to Napoleon Buonaparte. Nevertheless, so far from this pension being paid regularly, there is no evidence that Buonaparte ever received a single remittance on account of it. Sir Niel Campbell, so early as the 31st of October, expressed his opinion that if this state of things continued much longer, nothing could or would hinder Buonaparte from passing over with his troops to Piombino, or some other part of Italy. Lord Castlereagh, in consequence, insisted on the payment of the pension by the French government, to which no attention was paid—or else, perhaps, hinted the propriety of his removal to a place of greater safety (such as St. Lucie or St. Helena), a proposal which was more likely to sink into the ears of the allied sovereigns.

This is not the less probable, as the Duke of Wellington had casually seen the latter place, and pronounced that it was good for such a purpose; and as these two distinguished persons lent one another their countenance and wit, such a suggestion might naturally pass from them to the congress. It is certain that Napoleon soon after heard of such a scheme as in agitation, and that it hastened his decision. Much has been said, though nothing is known, of suspicious movements observed at this period—of the arrival of Dominico Ettore, and one Theologos, a Greek (a name of ominous import), of furloughs granted to the Old Guard to seduce the French soldiery from their loyalty to the Bourbons; of masked balls given by the Princess Pauline: of plots and conspiracies formed by the Duchess of St. Leu, and the Duchesses of Bassano and Montebello at Paris, and of Fouché jumping out of a window and alighting in the midst of them, to prepare the way for and explain the success of Buonaparte's

enterprise—by those who think that slavery is the natural state of repose to which the human mind tends, and that all resistance to it must be brought about by dark and clandestine intrigues. Politicians of this school cannot conceive how a nation like France, with a restored despotism like a toad or ugly nightmare on its breast stifling and sucking up the breath of independence, should be obliged to the person who wakes it from its hateful trance, when a touch is only necessary for this purpose. Buonaparte thought otherwise. He set foot on her shores; and she was free from one end to the other. It was an appeal irresistible and instinctive to all who had not forgotten that they were Frenchmen and men, in whom every spark of honour, of self-respect, of liberty, of recollection of the past or of hope for the future was not dead. The return from Elba, to which we must now come, was a blow in the face of tyranny and hypocrisy, the noblest that ever was struck. Even those who had been contented to breathe, to have a feeling or thought only at the mercy of the Bourbons and their allies, seemed to recover from their stupor. The Congress was dissolved by it; and no longer bartered the independence of states, and affected to dispose of human nature with an air of easy indifference. There was a pause among the gods of the earth, a panic among their creatures, a shout from the free; and France once more with swelling heart and baring her breast to the insolent foe, “heaved pantingly forth” the name of her champion and her deliverer.

Buonaparte thus straitened in his circumstances by the breach of one part of the treaty, still more alarmed by the threat held out of the breach of another part by seizing on his person and making him a close prisoner; apprised also by the public papers of the state of feeling in France, formed his determination accordingly. This state of public feeling and affairs may be thus briefly summed up:—



a king professing to reign by the grace of God and the Prince Regent of England, declaring himself absolute by right of birth, but willing to humour the French people by treating them as manumitted slaves ; and while groaning under a foreign yoke and a revived despotism, mocking them with the offer of Liberty and a Charter—the nobles returned with their old prejudices and pretensions enhanced, and everywhere regarding the people as of a lower species—the emigrants put over the heads of those who had been fighting against and repelling them from the soil of the country for twenty years, and equally objects of dislike from their insolence and incapacity—the clergy renewing their mummeries, their exactions, and their threats of excommunication against those who held the national domains or church lands—the great proprietors brought back to the kingdom, but ejected from their former lordships and estates, and eight or ten millions of purchasers of these forfeited estates holding them in jeopardy and with a feeling of irritation and distrust—the army disbanded or recruited with Chouans and Royalists, the fortresses given up, France dismantled, dishonoured, with her arms reversed—the King unable to grant favours or rewards to his old followers and adherents, for fear of offending the marshals and new nobility, whose only titles to distinction were treason and rebellion in his eyes—the finances again exhausted, public works discontinued, actresses refused burial, thus throwing a stain of impiety on the most refined and admirable of the national amusements, and the observance of the Sabbath strictly enforced, to the destroying the recreations and pastimes of the common people—in fact, the persons, feelings, and customs most hateful to the French, brought back to them by a foreign force, and not by any change in themselves, or voluntary recurrence to old habits and principles; and thus rendering the whole composition of public and of private life a medley of contradic-



tion and absurdity, a conflict between hostile parties in a kingdom (not a settled union or even gradual subsiding of different factions) and making it manifest that a state of things so odious and discordant could be maintained by foreign interference alone, which had at first imposed and still upheld it. All that was wanted, therefore, was a national force to oppose that foreign force and to throw off that grievous burden. But it might be objected that if the French did not submit quietly to their present rulers, all Europe would rise up in arms against them. To so imperious a mandate there could be but one answer, a practical one; and there was but one man who could give it. He did not shrink from the appointed task; and he acquitted himself nobly of it. The plea that the French, in siding with Buonaparte, would prefer war and despotism to peace and liberty is a singular one. The allies said, "Take the Bourbons and the liberty they give you, abating (to oblige us) some of their original claims and their right to punish you as malefactors: go back to your chains a little lightened *in conformity to the fantastic spirit of the times*, or we will force you to do so. We have conquered you, and we make you over to those in whose cause we fought, to a government you hate and have rejected; and between whom and you there can never be a true reconciliation. You are a race of dastards, and we will make you a herd of slaves!" So much for the liberty side of the question. For the peaceable plea, it amounted to this: "Louis is a most peaceable monarch, as far as the enemies of France are concerned, but most warlike against his own country: therefore keep him; or this peaceful monarch will return at the head of six hundred thousand foreign troops to compel you to accept of peace on his conditions." This was doubtless a reason for getting rid of him the instant there was even a chance of success. The attempt was worth making; and it was made with more than a chance of success.

Napoleon having taken his resolution, kept the secret of his expedition until the last moment; and under one pretext or other, means were found to make the requisite preparations. It was not till they were all on board that the troops first conceived a suspicion of the Emperor's purpose; a thousand or twelve hundred men had embarked to regain possession of an empire containing a population of thirty millions. He set sail on Sunday, the 25th of February, 1815; and the next morning, at ten o'clock, was not out of sight of the island, to the great annoyance of the few friends he had left behind. At this time, Colonel Sir Niel Campbell was absent on a tour to Leghorn, in order that at his return he might have an audience, and get an insight into the ex-Emperor's intended motions; but being informed by the French consul and by Spanocchi, the Tuscan governor of the town, that Napoleon was certainly about to sail for the continent, he hastened back; and giving chase to the little squadron in the Partridge sloop of war, which was cruising in the neighbourhood, only arrived in time to get a distant view of the flotilla, after Buonaparte and his troops had landed. Sir Niel had an interview before he left Elba with the Emperor's mother and sister, in order to learn from them which way he was gone; and was not a little nettled at their want of English plain dealing and sincerity in not betraying their son and brother into his hands, *out of the love which he (Sir Niel) bore to his native country.* There are weaknesses and vices in the English character which make one blush for it, notwithstanding ten redoubted sea-fights and one victory by land. We really might be ashamed to show our faces, if it were not that we never turn our backs!

There were between five and six hundred men on board the brig (the *Inconstant*) in which Buonaparte embarked.\* On the passage they met with a French

\* Napoleon, when he set foot on board his vessel, exclaimed with Cæsar, "The die is cast!" His countenance was calm, his brow

ship of war, with which they spoke. The guards were ordered to pull off their caps, and lie down on the

serene; he appeared to think less of the success of his enterprise than of the means of promptly attaining his object. The eyes of Count Bertrand sparkled with hope and joy; General Drouet was pensive and serious; Cambrone appeared to care little about the future, and to think only of doing his duty well. The old grenadiers had resumed their martial and menacing aspect. The Emperor chatted and joked with them incessantly; he pulled their ears and their mustachios. He reminded them of their dangers and their glory, and inspired their minds with that confidence with which his own was animated.

All were burning to know their destination; respect did not allow any one to ask the question; at length Napoleon broke silence. "Grenadiers," said he, "we are going to France; we are going to Paris!" At these words every countenance expanded, their joy ceased to be mingled with anxiety, and stifled cries of "France forever!" attested to the Emperor, that in the heart of a Frenchman the love of his country is never extinct.

An English sloop of war, commanded by Captain Campbell, appeared to have the charge of watching the island of Elba; she was continually sailing from Porto Ferrajo to Leghorn, and from Leghorn to Porto Ferrajo. At the moment of embarkation she was at Leghorn, and could occasion no alarm; but several vessels were descried in the channel, and their presence gave room for just apprehensions. It was hoped, however, that the night breeze would favour the progress of the flotilla, and that before daybreak it would be out of sight. This hope was frustrated. Scarcely had it doubled Cape St. Andrew, in the island of Elba, when the wind fell, and the sea became calm. At daybreak it had advanced only six leagues, and was still between the islands of Elba and Caprea.

The danger appeared imminent; several of the seamen were for returning to Porto Ferrajo. The Emperor ordered them to hold on their course, as, at the worst, he had the chance either of capturing the French cruisers, or of taking refuge in the island of Corsica, where he was assured of being well received. To facilitate their manœuvres, he ordered all the luggage embarked to be thrown overboard, which was cheerfully executed at the instant.

About noon the wind freshened a little. At four o'clock they were off Leghorn. One frigate was in sight five leagues to leeward, another on the coast of Corsica, and a man-of-war brig, which was perceived to be "Le Zephir," commanded by Captain Andrieux, was coming down upon the imperial flotilla right before the wind. It was first proposed to speak to him, and make him hoist the three-coloured flag. The Emperor, however, gave orders to the soldiers of the guard to take off their caps and conceal themselves below, choosing rather to pass by the brig without being known, and reserving himself in case of necessity, for the alternative of making him change his colours. At six o'clock the two brigs passed alongside of each other, and their commanders, who were acquainted, spoke together.

deck or go below, while the captain exchanged some words with the commander of the frigate, whom he

The captain of "Le Zéphir" inquired after the Emperor's health, and was answered through a speaking trumpet by the Emperor himself, "that he was extremely well!"

The two brigs, steering opposite courses, were soon out of sight of each other, without Captain Andrieux having any suspicion of the valuable prize that he had allowed to escape.

In the night of the 27th, the wind continued to freshen. At day-break a seventy-four was descried, which appeared steering for San Fiorenzo, or Sardinia, and it was soon perceived that she took no notice of the brig.

The Emperor, before he quitted the isle of Elba, had prepared, with his own hand, two proclamations, one addressed to the French people, the other to the army; and he was desirous of having them copied out fairly. His secretary and General Bertrand, being neither of them able to decipher them, carried them to Napoleon, who, despairing of doing it himself, threw them into the sea from vexation. Then, after meditating for a few moments, he dictated to his secretary two other proclamations on the spot.

The Emperor, while he dictated these proclamations, appeared to be animated with the most profound indignation. He seemed to have before his eyes both the generals whom he accused of having given up France, and the enemies who had subjugated it. He incessantly repeated the names of Marmont and Augereau, and they were always accompanied with threats, and with epithets suited to the idea he had conceived of their treachery.

When the proclamations were transcribed, the Emperor directed them to be read aloud, and invited all those who could write a good hand to copy them. In an instant benches and drums were converted into tables, and soldiers, sailors, and officers, gaily set themselves to work.

After a certain time, Napoleon said to the officers around him, "Now, gentlemen, it is your turn to speak to the army; you must tell it what France expects of it under the important circumstances in which we shall soon find ourselves. "Come, Bertrand, take your pen." The grand marshal, however, begged to be excused. The Emperor then resumed his discourse, and dictated, without stopping, an address to the generals, officers, and soldiers of the army, in which the imperial guard was made to conjure them, in the name of honour and their country, to shake off the yoke of the Bourbons.

The address was scarcely finished, when the coast of Antibes was descried at a distance. Immediately on this, the Emperor and his brave followers saluted the land of their country with shouts of "France for ever! Success to the French!" and at the same instant resumed the tri-coloured cockade.\*

On the 1st of March, at three o'clock, they entered the Gulf of

\* The cockade adopted by Napoleon, as sovereign of the island of Elba, was white and amaranth powdered with bees.



afterwards proposed to pursue and capture. Buonaparte rejected the idea as absurd, and asked why he should introduce this new episode into his plan? He landed without any accident on the 1st of March at Cannes, a small seaport in the gulf of San Juan, not far from Frejus, where he had disembarked on his return from Egypt sixteen years before. A small party of the guards who presented themselves before the neighbouring garrison of Antibes, were made prisoners by the governor of the place. Some one (more nice than wise) hinted that it was not right to proceed till they had released their comrades who had been made prisoners; but the Emperor observed that this was poorly to estimate the magnitude of the undertaking:—before them were thirty millions of men waiting to be set free! He, however, sent the war commissioner to try what he could do, calling out after him, “Take care you do not get yourself made prisoner too!” At nightfall the troops bivouacked on the beach. Just before, a postilion in a splendid livery had been brought to him. It turned out that this man had formerly been a domestic of the Empress Josephine, and was now in the service of the Prince of Monaco,

Juan. General Drouot, and a certain number of officers and soldiers, who were on board the felucca, *Caroline*, landed before the Emperor, who was still at a considerable distance from the shore. At this moment they perceived to the right a large vessel, which appeared to them, though they were mistaken in this) to be steering with all sails towards the brig. Suddenly they were seized with the greatest disquiet; they walked backward and forward, testifying by their gestures and hurried steps the emotion and fear with which they were agitated. General Drouot ordered the *Caroline* to be unloaded, and hasten to meet the brig. In an instant cannons, carriages, chests, baggage, everything was thrown out upon the sand, and already the grenadiers and brave sea officers of the guard were rowing away with all their strength, when acclamations from the brig saluted their ears and their affrighted eyes. It was the Emperor; whether from prudential motives or impatience, he had got into a simple boat. Their alarms ceased; and the grenadiers stretching out their arms to him, received him with the most affecting demonstrations of devotedness and joy. At five o'clock he landed. He has been heard to say that he never felt an emotion so profound as on this occasion.



who himself had been equerry to the Empress.\* The postilion after expressing his great astonishment at finding the Emperor there, stated in answer to the questions that were put to him, that he had just come from Paris ; that all along the road, as far as Avignon, he had heard nothing but regret for the Emperor's absence ; that his name was constantly echoed from mouth to mouth ; and that when once fairly through Provence he would find the whole population ready to rally round him. The man added, that his laced livery had frequently rendered him the object of odium and insult on the road. This was the testimony of one of the common class of society : it was very gratifying to the Emperor, as it entirely corresponded with his expectations. The Prince of Monaco himself, on being presented to the Emperor, was less explicit. Napoleon refrained from questioning him on political matters : the conversation therefore assumed a more lively character, and turned altogether on the ladies of the former Imperial court, concerning whom the Emperor was very particular in his inquiries.

As soon as the moon had risen, which was about one or two in the morning of the 2nd, the bivouacs broke up, and Napoleon gave orders for proceeding to Grasse. There he expected to find a road which he had planned during the Empire, but in this he was disappointed ; the Bourbons having, according to the immemorial and praiseworthy usage of all hereditary governments (existing in their own right and for their own profit and pleasure) given up all such expensive works as tended only to the public benefit, to put the money in their own pockets. Buonaparte was therefore obliged to pass through narrow defiles filled with snow ; and left behind him in the hands of the municipality his carriage and two pieces of cannon, which had been brought ashore. This was termed a capture

\* Josephine died in the interim between Buonaparte's first abdication and his return.

in the bulletins of the day. The municipality of Grasse was strongly in favour of the royalist cause ; but the sudden appearance of the Emperor afforded but little time for hesitation, and they came to tender their submission to him. Having passed through the town, he halted on a little height some way beyond it, where he breakfasted. He was soon surrounded by the whole population of the place ; and he heard the same sentiments and the same prayers as before he quitted France. A multitude of petitions had already been drawn up and were presented to him ; just as though he had come from Paris, and was making a tour through the departments. One complained that his pension had not been paid ; another that his cross of the legion of honour had been taken from him. Some of the more discontented secretly informed Napoleon that the authorities of the town were very hostile to him, but that the mass of the people were devoted to him, and only waited till his back was turned to rid themselves of the *miscreants*. He replied, " Be not too hasty. Let them have the mortification of seeing our triumph, without having any thing to reproach us with." The Emperor advanced with all the rapidity in his power. " Victory," he said, " depended on my speed. To me France was in Grenoble. That place was a hundred miles distant, but I and my companions reached it in five days, and with what weather and what roads ! I entered the city, just as the Count d'Artois, warned by the telegraph, was quitting the Tuileries."

Napoleon himself was so perfectly convinced of the state of affairs and of popular sentiment, that he knew his success in no way depended on the force he might bring with him. A piquet of gens-d'armes, he said, was all that was necessary. Every thing turned out as he foresaw. At first he owned he was not without some degree of uncertainty and apprehension. As he advanced, it is true, the whole population declared themselves enthusiastically in his favour : but he saw

no soldiers ; they were all carefully removed from the places through which he passed. It was not till he arrived between Mure and Vizille, within five or six leagues from Grenoble, and on the fifth day after his landing, that he met the first battalion. The commanding officer refused to hold even a parley. The Emperor, without hesitation, advanced alone ; and one hundred grenadiers marched at some distance behind him with their arms reversed. The sight of Napoleon, his well-known costume, and his grey military great-coat had a magical effect on the soldiers, and they stood motionless. Napoleon went straight up to them, and baring his breast, said, " Let him that has the heart now kill his Emperor ! " The soldiers threw down their arms ; their eyes moistened with tears ; and cries of *Vive l'Empereur !* resounded on every side. Napoleon ordered the battalion to wheel round to the right, and all marched on to Paris. At a short distance from Grenoble, Colonel Labedoyere, who had been sent at the head of the 7th regiment to oppose his passage, came to join the Emperor. The impulse thus given in a manner decided the question. Labedoyere's superior officer in vain interfered to restrain his enthusiasm and that of his men. The tri-coloured cockades which had been concealed in the hollow of a drum were eagerly distributed among them ; and they threw away the badge of their own and the nation's dishonour. The peasantry of Dauphiny, the cradle of the Revolution, lined the road-side ; they were transported and mad with joy. The first battalion, which has just been alluded to, had shown some signs of hesitation ; but thousands of the country-people crowded round it, and by their shouts of *Vive l'Empereur !* endeavoured to urge the troops to decision ; while others who followed in Napoleon's rear encouraged his little troop to advance, by assuring them that they would meet with success. Napoleon said he could have taken two millions of these peasants with him to Paris ; but that then he would

have been called the King of the *Jacquerie*. And what would it have signified if he had? He could not help what was said. When the Revolution first broke out, the Bourbons wanted the troops to massacre the people, and called it a revolution of the mob: when the people afterwards got an army to defend them (as they needs must) against the unceasing hostility of these Bourbons and their friends for five-and-twenty years, then they said that it was the army alone that was opposed to them, and that hindered the people from showing their love and affection for them. A distinction has been taken between the feelings of the army and the people in this instance. There was none in kind, though there might be in degree; and still less ought there to have been any; both ought to have been equally ready to devote themselves "to the very outrage." This was a cause that made every man in the country a soldier, and levelled all distinctions, except between the slave and the free. Where the question was to defend the soil and the rights of the country against foreign domination, there could be no dispute about the right or duty to do so, but about the will and courage; and in this point of view the army was not to be disqualified, but to have the preference as expressing the more manly and nervous sense of the people. Suppose it had been pretended that the English people in 1798 and 1803 were anxious for the invasion of England by the French, but that the army would not let them come ashore. This would not have been a caricature of the perversity and shifts that were resorted to, in order to prove the attachment of the French nation to the Bourbons. Thus much may be granted, that (with the exception of the army) their hatred of the Bourbons was not so great as their dread of six hundred thousand foreign bayonets; also, their love of Buonaparte was less than their dread of six hundred thousand foreign bayonets. If Buonaparte was not popular, it is strange; for the utmost conceivable popularity that a man can possess would



only enable him with a handful of men to march from one end of a kingdom to the other, enter its capital, and take possession of a throne! But the French people waited for the arrival of the allies (bringing back peace and liberty with them) to express their true and unbiassed sentiments. I have no objection to this being the opinion of any one who will apply the same rule to his own or any other country but France!

In a valley through which the troops had to pass, a very affecting spectacle presented itself: a number of *communes* were assembled together, accompanied with their mayors and curates. Amidst the multitude was observed a fine-looking young man, a grenadier of the guard, who had been missing since the time of Napoleon's landing, and whose disappearance had given rise to suspicion. He now advanced to throw himself at the Emperor's feet: the tears glistened in his eyes, and he supported in his arms an old man of ninety years of age, whom he presented to the Emperor; it was his father, in quest of whom he had set off as soon as he landed in France. The Emperor, after his arrival at the Tuileries, ordered a picture to be painted of this subject.

Napoleon had issued two proclamations on the road. He at first regretted not having had them printed before he left Elba; though this could not have been done without some risk of promulgating his design. He dictated them on board the vessel, where every man who could write was employed in copying them. These copies soon became very scarce; were often incorrect and even illegible; and it was not till he arrived at Gap on the 5th, that he found means to have them printed. They were from that time circulated and read everywhere with the utmost avidity, and produced an effect which is not astonishing, considering the matter and the circumstances. They were as follows:—"Frenchmen! The defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons



without defence to our enemies. The army, the command of which I had entrusted to him, was by the number of its battalions, the courage and patriotism of the troops that composed it, in a condition to beat the Austrian troops opposed to it, and to arrive in time on the rear of the left flank of the army which threatened Paris. The victories of Champ-Auber, of Montmirail, of Château-Thierry, of Vau-champs, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craonne, of Rheims, of Arcis-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier, the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine and Champagne, of Alsace, Franche-Compte and Burgundy, and the position which I had taken in the rear of the hostile army, by cutting it off from its magazines, its parks of reserve, its convoys, and all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the *élite* of the enemy's army was lost without resource; it would have found a tomb in those vast plains which it had so mercilessly laid waste, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa delivered up the capital and disorganised the army. The unexpected misconduct of these two generals, who betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the fate of the war; the situation of the enemy was such that at the close of the action which took place before Paris, he was without ammunition, in consequence of his separation from his parks of reserve. In these new and distressing circumstances, my heart was torn, but my mind remained immoveable; I consulted only the interests of the country: I banished myself to a rock in the middle of the sea; my life was yours, and might still be useful to you. Frenchmen! In my exile I heard your complaints and your vows; you accused my long slumbers; you reproached me with sacrificing the welfare of the country to my repose. I have traversed seas through perils of every kind; I return among you to reclaim my rights, which are yours."

That to the army was still more masterly and eloquent. It ran thus:—"Soldiers! We have not been conquered: two men sprung from our ranks have betrayed our laurels, their country, their benefactor, and their prince. Those whom we have beheld for twenty-five years traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us, who have spent their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, and in cursing our beautiful France, shall they pretend to command or enchain our eagles, they who have never been able to look them in the face? Shall we suffer them to inherit the fruit of our glorious toils, to take possession of our honours, of our fortunes; to calumniate and revile our glory? If their reign were to continue, all would be lost, even the recollection of those memorable days. With what fury they misrepresent them! They seek to tarnish what the world admires; and if there still remain defenders of our glory, they are to be found among those very enemies whom we have confronted in fields of battle. Soldiers! In my exile I have heard your voice; I have come back in spite of all obstacles and all dangers. Your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people and raised on your shields, is restored to you: come and join him. Mount the tri-coloured cockade; you wore it in the days of our greatness. We must forget that we have been the masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs. Who would pretend to be master over us? Who would have the power? Resume those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Wagram, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmuhl, at Essling, at Smolensk, at the Moskwa, at Lutzen, at Wurtchen, at Montmirail. The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the grand army, are humiliated: their honourable scars are stained, their successes would be crimes, the brave would be rebels, if, as the enemies

of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies. Honours, recompenses, favours are reserved for those who have served with them against the country and against us. Soldiers! Come and range yourselves under the banners of your chief: his existence is only made up of yours; his rights are only those of the people and yours; his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at a charging-step; the eagle with the national colours shall fly from steeple to steeple till it reaches the towers of Notre-Dame. Then you will be able to show your scars with honour; then you will be able to boast of what you have done: you will be the liberators of the country. In your old age, surrounded and looked up to by your fellow-citizens, they will listen to you with respect as you recount your high deeds; you will each of you be able to say with pride, 'And I also made part of that Grand Army which entered twice within the walls of Vienna, within those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow, and which delivered Paris from the stain which treason and the presence of the enemy had imprinted on it.' Honour to those brave soldiers, the glory of their country!"

One does not wonder at the effect these words produced, but that it ever could be lost. That it was so was not the fault of the cause, of the leader, or the army. For the present it was the dawn of a brighter day, a raising from the depths of despair, a reprieve from dishonour, a ransom from slavery, a recall from the dead, that seemed little short of miraculous. It was nightfall when Napoleon arrived before the walls of Grenoble. He found the gates closed, and the commanding officer refused to open them. The garrison assembled on the ramparts shouted "Vive l'Empereur!" and shook hands with Napoleon's followers through the wickets, but they could be prevailed on to do nothing more. It was necessary to force the

gates; and this was done under the mouths of ten pieces of artillery, loaded with grape-shot. In none of his battles did Napoleon ever imagine himself to be in so much danger as at the entrance into Grenoble. The soldiers seemed to turn upon him with furious gestures: for a moment it might be supposed that they were going to tear him to pieces. But these were the suppressed transports of love and joy. The Emperor and his horse were both borne along by the multitude; and he had scarcely had time to breathe in the inn where he alighted, when an increased tumult was heard without; the inhabitants of Grenoble came to offer him the gates of the city, since they could not present him with the keys.\*

From Grenoble to Paris, Napoleon found no further opposition. During the four days of his stay at Lyons, where he had arrived on the 10th, there were continually upwards of twenty thousand people assembled before his windows, whose acclamations were unceasing. It would never have been supposed that the Emperor had even for a moment been absent from the country. He issued orders, signed decrees, reviewed the troops, as if nothing had happened. The military corps, the public bodies, and all classes of citizens eagerly came forward to tender their homage and their services. The Count d'Artois, who had hastened to Lyons as the Duke and Duchess of Angouleme had done to Bordeaux, like them in vain attempted to make a stand. The national horse guards (who were known royalists) deserted him at this crisis; and in his flight only one of them chose to follow him. Buonaparte refused their services when offered to him, and sent the decoration of the Legion of Honour to the single volunteer who had

\* It is a rule in philosophy to admit no more causes than are sufficient; and the army being sufficient to bring back Buonaparte, the Tories, who are great philosophers when it suits them, hold themselves bound to maintain (be the fact as it might) that in this, as in the other instances, the inhabitants took no part in it.



thus shown his fidelity. As soon as the Emperor quitted Lyons, he wrote to Ney, who with his army was at Lons-le-Saulnier, to come and join him. Ney had set off from the court with a promise to bring Napoleon "like a wild beast in a cage to Paris." But amidst the general confusion, distracted between his new engagements and his old obligations, thunder-struck by the Emperor's proclamations, abandoned by his troops, and overpowered by the enthusiasm of the people of the surrounding provinces—Ney, the child of the revolution, yielded to the general impulse, and issued his famous order of the day. Well would it have been, if all his qualms had ended here, and had not afterwards followed him into the field of battle! Ney, after what had passed, expected to be ill received, and begged leave to retire from the service; but the Emperor wrote back an answer, desiring him to come, and that he would receive him as on the day after the battle of Moscow; and on his presenting himself, he rushed into his arms, calling him *the bravest of the brave*: and from that moment all was forgotten.\* This uniform display of magnanimity seemed only to stimulate the ingratitude of those

\* The emperor, in his progress from Elba to Paris, imagined that he should find Ney at Auxerre on his arrival. "I cannot conceive," said he to General Bertrand, "why Ney is not here; I am surprised at it, and uneasy; has he changed his opinions? I cannot think so; he would never have suffered Gamot to implicate himself. Yet we must know on what we are to depend—see to it." A few hours after the marshal arrived. It was about eight o'clock, and Count Bertrand came to inform the Emperor of it. "The marshal, before he comes into your majesty's presence," said he, "is desirous of collecting his ideas, and justifying in writing his conduct both previous and subsequent to the events of Fontainebleau."—"What need is there of any justification to me?" answered Napoleon: "tell him that I love him still, and that I will embrace him to-morrow." He would not receive him the same day, as a punishment for having had to wait for him.

The next day the Emperor, as soon as he perceived him, said, "Embrace me, my dear marshal, I am glad to see you. I want no explanation or justification; I have honoured and esteemed you as the bravest of the brave."

NEY. Sire, the newspapers have told a heap of lies, which I wish



towards whom it was exerted, and to make them determined to triumph over it by repeated acts of dis-

to confute: my conduct has ever been that of a good soldier and a good Frenchman.

NAPOLÉON. I know it, and accordingly never doubted your attachment.

NEY. You were right, sire. Your majesty may always depend upon me, when my country is concerned.—It is for my country I have shed my blood, and for it I would still spill it to the last drop. I love you, sire, but my country above all! above all!—

NAP. (interrupting him). It is patriotism, too, that brings me to France. I learned that our country was unhappy, and I am come to deliver it from the emigrants and the Bourbons. I will confer upon it all that it expects from me.

NEY. Your Majesty may be assured that we will support you; he who acts with justice may do what he pleases with the French. The Bourbons have ruined themselves, by having wished to act as they thought proper, and thrown aside the army.

NAP. Princes who never saw a naked sword could not honour the army: its glory humiliated them, and they were jealous of it.

NEY. Yes, sire, they incessantly thought to humiliate us. I am still enraged, when I think that a marshal of France, an old warrior like me, was obliged to kneel to receive the cross of St. Louis!—it could not last; and, if you had not come to expel them, we should have driven them out ourselves.

NAP. How are your troops disposed?

NEY. Very well, sire; I thought they would have stifled me, when I announced to them that they were about to march to meet your eagles.

NAP. What generals are with you?

NEY. Le Courbe and Bourmont.

NAP. Why are they not come hither?

NEY. They showed some hesitation, and I left them.

NAP. Are you not afraid of Bourmont's bestirring himself, and embarrassing you?

NEY. No, sire; he will keep himself quiet; besides, he would find nobody to second him. I have expelled from the ranks all the light infantry of Louis XIV. who had been given to us, and all the country is fired with enthusiasm.

NAP. No matter; I shall not leave him any possibility of disturbing us: you will direct him and the royalist officers to be secured till we enter Paris. I shall be there, without doubt, by the 20th or 25th, or sooner. If we arrive, as I hope, without any obstacle, do you think they will defend themselves?

NEY. I do not think they will, sire; you know what the Parisians are,—more noise than work.

NAP. I have received despatches from Paris this morning; the patriots expect me with impatience, and are on the point of rising; I am afraid of some quarrel taking place between them and the royalists. I would not for the world that my return should

loyalty! On this subject, Napoleon was heard to say, "If I except Labedoyere, who flew to me with enthusiasm and affection, and another individual who of his own accord rendered me important services, nearly all the other generals whom I met on my route evinced hesitation and uncertainty; they yielded only to the impulse about them, if indeed they did not manifest a hostile feeling towards me. This was the case with Ney, with Massena, St. Cyr, Soult, as well as with Macdonald and the Duke of Belluno; so that if the Bourbons had reason to complain of the complete desertion of the soldiers and the people, they had no right to reproach the chiefs of the army with conspiring against them, who had shown themselves mere children in politics, and could be looked upon as neither emigrants nor patriots."

For the rest of the way, Napoleon may be said to have made a triumphal march. And here let us take a brief retrospect of it, brief as was the triumph itself. It was indeed a merry march, the march from Cannes. Those days were jocund and jubilant—full of heart's ease and of *allegresse*. Its footsteps had an audible echo through the earth. Laughed eyes, danced hearts, clapped hands at it. "It loosened something at the chest;" and men listened with delight and wonder (wherever such were to be found) to the unbarring and unbolting of those doors of despotism which they thought had been closed on them for ever. All that was human rejoiced; the tyrant and the slave shrunk back aghast, as the clash of arms was drowned in the shout of the multitude. This is popularity; not when a thousand persons consult and deliver the result of their decisions formally and securely, but where each of the thousand does this (before that of the

be stained with a single drop of blood. It is easy for you to hold communication with Paris; write to your friends—write to Murat, that our affairs go on well, that I shall arrive without firing a single musket; and let them all unite to prevent the spilling of blood. Our triumph should be as pure as the cause we serve.—*Bertrand*.

others can be known) from an uncontrollable impulse, and without ever thinking of the consequences. It was the greatest instance ever known of the power exerted by one man over opinion; nor is this difficult to be accounted for, since it was one man armed with the rights of a people against those who had robbed them of all natural rights, and gave them leave to breathe by a charter. Therefore Buonaparte seemed from his first landing to bestride the country like a Colossus, for in him rose up once more the prostrate might and majesty of man; and the Bourbons, like toads or spiders, got out of the way of the huge shadow of the Child Roland of the Revolution. The implied power to serve and buckler up a state was portentous: if it was fear and personal awe that threw a spell over them in spite of themselves, and turned aside all opposition, though it might take from the goodness of the cause, it would not lessen the prowess and reputation of the man. Even if the French had forgot themselves and him, would not their former sentiments be revived in all their force by his present appearance among them, so full of the bold and marvellous? The very audacity of the undertaking, as it baffled calculation, baffled resistance to it, as much as if he had actually returned from the dead. Its not seeming ridiculous stamped it sublime; any one but he making such an attempt would have been stopped at the outset; and this shows that he possessed more influence than any other human being. It was the admiration inspired by the person and the enterprise that carried him through, and made all sanguine, anxious, full of interest for him, as for the hero of some lofty poem or high-wrought romance. He dispersed the *Compagnons du Lys*, as Ulysses slew the suitors. The only pleas I have heard in favour of the popularity of the Bourbons in comparison are, first, that the French dreaded the return of war. If peace is purchased at that price, it may always be obtained by setting your enemies on the

throne, for they will hardly make war on themselves. The second is like unto the first, and admits the same answer. It is said the army and not the people were favourable to Buonaparte and against the government. But the army cannot be conceived to be against the government, unless the government has been imposed by foreigners, by whom they have been foiled ; and in this case, the enthusiasm of the military and the zeal of the people must be supposed to go hand in hand. These arguments may, therefore, be returned on the hands of their original fabricators or more wretched endorsers—Whig orators and parliamentary speakers, whose vanity will not let them remain silent, and who have not courage to speak the truth. The Bourbons had reckoned on the troops to defend them : if the people were for them, why did they not trust their cause to them ! They did more wisely in appealing to their old friends and acquaintances, the allies ; who this time forced them back without the formality of asking any questions of the French people. This was so far at least well.

Buonaparte travelled several hours ahead of his army, often without any guard, or attended only by a few Polish lancers. His advanced guard now regularly consisted of the troops who happened to be before him on the road, and to whom couriers were sent forward to apprise them of his approach. Thus he entered Paris, escorted by the very troops who in the morning had been ordered out to oppose him. Louis XVIII. had left the capital at one in the morning of the 20th. Marshal Macdonald had taken the command of the troops at Melun, the last place where they could make a stand. They were drawn up in three lines to receive the Emperor's troops, who were said to be advancing from Fontainebleau. There was a long pause of suspense, which seldom fails to render men more accessible to strong and sudden emotion. The glades of the forest and the winding ascent which leads to it were full in view of the troops, but



presented the appearance of a deep solitude. All was silence, except when the bands played some old tunes connected with the name and family of the Bourbons. The sounds excited no corresponding sentiments among the soldiers. At length, in the afternoon, a galloping of horse was heard. An open carriage appeared, surrounded by a few hussars, and drawn by four horses. It came on full speed; stopped, and Napoleon, leaping out of it, was in the midst of the ranks which had been drawn up to oppose him. His escort threw themselves from their horses, mingled with their ancient comrades, and the effect of their exhortations was instantaneous on men whose minds were already made up to the same purpose. There was a general shout of *Vive l'Empereur!* The last troops of the Bourbons passed over to the other side, and there was no farther obstacle between Napoleon and the capital. He arrived at the Tuileries about nine o'clock in the evening with an escort of about a hundred horse. On alighting, he was almost squeezed to death by the crowd of officers and citizens who thronged about him, and fairly carried him up stairs in their arms. Here he found dinner waiting; and as he was sitting down to table, an officer brought the intelligence of the capitulation of the citadel of Vincennes. Meantime the Revolution had taken full effect in Paris. Lavalette had taken possession of the Post-office in the name of the Emperor, by which means he stopped Louis's proclamations, and officially announced Napoleon's return to all the departments: and Excelmans hastened to remove the white flag which floated on the Tuileries, replacing it by the tri-coloured one. Should any hand be found bold and strong enough to do this a third time, the arm of England is not at present long enough to take it down again !\*

\* On the 20th of March, 1815, at an early hour, no inconsiderable bustle was manifested throughout Paris. About mid-day, a body of about two thousand troops, covered with dirt and dust, were seen



approaching the Boulevard Montmartre ; they were accompanied by several pieces of heavy artillery, every man wearing the tri-coloured cockade ; while at stated intervals of five minutes, as they advanced, shouts of " Vive l'Empereur !" rent the air, in which they were joined by vociferations of the populace who accompanied them, every soldier having a citizen linked to either arm, demanding tidings concerning the march of Napoleon, and the period of his arrival at the capital. This motley cavalcade was slow in its progress, for at certain periods a halt was made in order to gratify the populace, who insisted upon regaling the companions of the Emperor, for which purpose all the surrounding wine-shops were put in a state of requisition, when immense cans were brought out at the expense of the people, who, with the troops, toasted the Emperor, General Bertrand, the old guard, &c., with an enthusiasm which none but an eye-witness can figure to his imagination. In this manner they continued along the Boulevards, turning down the Rue de la Paix, and halted in the Place Vendome, where it appears they were to remain till further orders.

At a quarter past six o'clock a distant shout was heard at the Tuileries, which continued rapidly increasing, and, after a lapse of some minutes, a small escort galloped into the square, and, immediately afterwards, a carriage rattled along at full speed, containing the object so long and ardently expected, who, with Bertrand and Drouet, made signs to the shouting populace, while numerous general officers surrounded the vehicle uncovered, mingling their affectionate sentiments with those of the crowd.

On gaining the portal, it was with infinite difficulty that Napoleon could alight, from the dreadful pressure, and no sooner had he gained the bottom of the grand staircase, than he was raised from the ground and borne up the flight of stairs upon the shoulders of the officers, during which operation his constant cry was, "Soyez sage, mes bon enfans ! Soyez sage, je vous en prie !" "Be steady, my good children ; be steady, I entreat you !" But to expect subordination at such a moment was fallacious, as the general impulse approximated to madness ; in proof of which, a piece of the flap of his coat being either purposely or by accident torn off, was instantly divided into hundreds of scraps, for procuring a remnant of which, by way of relic, there was as much struggling as if the effort had been made to become possessed of so many ingots of gold.

At an early hour in the morning thousands repaired to the Tuileries' gardens to view Napoleon, who appeared at one of the windows every five minutes, when he was saluted with incessant acclamations. Upon one of these occasions, Bertrand stood beside him, whom he good-naturedly pulled by the ear, and patted on the shoulder, exclaiming, as he performed the action, "Le brave ne m'a jamais quitte !" "This brave fellow never abandoned me !" As the windows of the apartment were wide open, Napoleon was seen constantly traversing a chamber, accompanied by the Queen Hortense. Numerous individuals among the crowd held up petitions ; upon the Emperor's retiring from the window, they were desired by Bertrand, or some other officer, to deliver them to a sentry stationed

below at no great distance ; when, after the lapse of a few minutes, Napoleon again appeared with the bundle of papers in his left hand, which he held forth to view, and then, placing his right hand upon his heart, he bowed his head two or three times, thereby intimating that it was his intention to peruse every document himself, and not commit the petitions of his subjects to the decision of any other individual.—*France for the last Seven Years, by W. H. Ireland.*

## CHAPTER LIV.

PROCEEDINGS PREVIOUS TO OPENING THE  
CAMPAIGN.

Proceedings of the Hundred Days ; Napoleon's interview with Benjamin Constant ; the new constitution ; meeting of the legislative body ; Buonaparte's answer to the addresses of the chambers ; Murat proclaims Italy independent ; treaty of the four powers against Napoleon ; arrival in the Netherlands of the English and Prussians under Wellington and Blucher ; effective strength of the French armies.

IF the return from Elba was the triumph of common sense and natural feeling, the whole of the *Hundred Days* afterwards may be described as the triumph of trifling and cross-purposes. It was the reaction of political imbecility and speculative pedantry. Buonaparte wanted a sword ; and they gave him a foil. There had been too much of blood at one period, too much of war at another ; and therefore to avoid the danger of renewing the career of foreign conquest, they would not allow him arms to defend himself ; and he was not to confiscate the property of traitors or even punish the authors of recommendations to assassinate him and overturn his government by force, because this might seem like a return to the reign of terror and a violation of liberal principles. The ardour and infatuation shown in defence of these paradoxes was in proportion to their tenuity. Men in a state of barbarism and ignorance swallow the grossest absurdities greedily, because they excite their wonder : men in a state of refinement are the dupes of the most frivolous excuses, because they exercise and afford proofs of their ingenuity. Thus what is least and

most insignificant in itself, becomes of most consequence in the public opinion ; and the greatest object is lost in disputes about the evanescent shades of it. The people saw well enough that the question was, whether the country should be conquered or free, whether governments came of divine or human origin ; and that if they wanted the one, they must have Buonaparte ; if the other, the Bourbons. The leaders of the people saw this, but fifty other distinctions with it, which perplexed and distracted their attention from the main question and vital principle, covering it over like cobwebs, or eating up its sap and pith like the ivy. The Fauxbourgs saw no alternative between the new and the old government ; the drawing-rooms and coffee-houses, that is, the talkers and critics, saw something else between the two (and they had it) namely, their own opinion, whatever it might be. When folly arrives at a certain height, it has its root in equal baseness and want of principle. These high-flown aspirations after Utopian perfection were leagued (almost inseparably) with rank treachery and ranker cowardice. The Parisian speculators and sceptics were not afraid of Buonaparte—they were afraid of the allies. Had he been once more at the head of conquering armies, in possession of absolute power, they would (as they did before) have crouched to him and hailed him as a God ; it was because he wanted their assistance and zeal to defend them against the enemy, that they were determined to do nothing to commit themselves irrevocably in the struggle ; and that they did everything to thwart, annoy, and discountenance him, that they might have an excuse, in case of their being called upon for any painful sacrifices or exertions, to deliver up both him and themselves with ignominy to the enemy. Every one, therefore, thought this a fit opportunity to give Buonaparte his advice ; to cavil, to object, to criticise, to revive old grievances, instead of meeting present exigencies or warding off future and indelible

disgrace. All their resistance to Napoleon really meant that they would not make any very violent resistance to the allies, so that this Roman sternness and independent deportment was only a cover (in case of reverses) for the undisguised and unqualified display of French volatility and national abjectness. It must be confessed that this is in part also the misfortune of the cause. Men in a savage and rude state of society are slaves, because they do not know what liberty is : in a state of civilization and knowledge, they want the courage to defend it. Liberty and independence are also nearly another name for disunion and party-spirit. Those who wish to learn the history of revolutions and reform, have only to read the account of the battle of Bothwell Bridge in *Old Mortality*; where, while the Tory cavalry were charging their ranks, the Covenanters were debating about left and right-hand defections. So it was and so it will be, while the nature of things lasts. Three hundred men, willing to be slaves, put implicit faith in and follow their leader, and carry all before them. Three hundred men, determined to think and act for themselves, to give way in nothing, and sacrifice no jot of their opinion as to what is right, while they are disputing and refining, are split into as many different factions as there are persons, and are set upon and bound hand and foot by their adversaries, who will allow them no freedom of opinion at all. This, it should seem, they think a less evil than the other, because men's self-love is sooner brought to submit to a barefaced wrong than voluntarily to sanction the slightest difference of sentiment, which might compromise their own, or by being the next thing to the truth, require all their tenaciousness of principle and purpose to keep the separation clear. The proximity of the one staggers and makes them uneasy : the other their reason despises. The lovers of liberty and reform are the natural victims and the dupes of the slaves of power. For the latter think only of what *is*, or of



what is for their advantage, and cling to it with equal servility and fury : the former are thinking of what is best, though it may be quite hopeless, and their hold of this is less sure and fixed. Reformers, lovers of improvement and innovation, are those in whom the ideal faculty prevails over sense and habit ; and this being the case, they will be apt to be satisfied too easily with their own imaginations and opinions ; and provided they can indulge in these, care little about having them realised, of which there is in general small chance. If a certain degree of good is within their possession or reach, they grow indifferent to it ; raise their standard of perfection still higher ; become extravagant and fastidious in their ends to the neglect of all practical means to enforce them ; and, like the dog in the fable (the type of this class of philosophers and politicians) constantly lose the substance for the shadow. These persons are, doubtless, useful in their generation ; but they are the worst marplots and stumbling-blocks in the way of the accomplishment of their own schemes. They also often play the part of the dog in the manger ; and envy and try to supplant those who have shown more practical ability than themselves ; and would sooner see the object of their whole lives mangled and made a mockery of, than that it should be guarded by other hands than theirs or by other means than they approve of.

Buonaparte, however, in his new circumstances, struggled hard to fall in with the humour and demands (many of them reasonable in themselves) of these people, and to make his iron will bend to their veering speculations ; and considering the novelty of the attempt, performed wonders, though they sometimes tried his patience to the utmost. It is a pity that this compromise with the idealists turned out as it did, and as Buonaparte feared it would. M. Benjamin Constant, one of the most respectable and candid of the party, and one of his oldest antagonists,

was sent for soon after the Emperor's arrival, to make known the views and expectations of what was called the constitutional or liberal party in France, and as a proper medium to communicate the Emperor's own sentiments and changes of opinion. An interview took place at the Tuileries on the 24th of April; and the account of it throws too much light on the important point to be omitted here. Buonaparte began the conversation himself, and affected to disguise or soften nothing either in his past conduct or present dispositions. "The nation," he said, "has had a respite of twelve years from every kind of political agitation, and for one year has enjoyed a respite from war. This double repose has created a craving after activity. It requires, or fancies it requires a *Tribune* and popular assemblies. It did not always require them. The people threw themselves at my feet, when I took the reins of government. You ought to recollect this, who made a trial of opposition. Where was your support, your strength? Nowhere. I assumed less authority than I was invited to assume. At present all is changed. A feeble government, opposed to the national interests, has given to these interests the habit of standing on the defensive and evading authority. The taste for constitutions, for debates, for harangues, appears to have revived. Nevertheless, it is but the minority that wishes all this, be assured. The people, or, if you like the phrase better, the multitude, wish only for me. You would say so, if you had seen this multitude pressing eagerly on my steps; precipitating themselves from the tops of the mountains; calling on me, seeking me out, saluting me. On my way from Cannes hither, I have not conquered, I have administered. I am not alone (as has been pretended) the Emperor of the soldiers; I am that of the peasants, of the plebeians of France. Accordingly, in spite of all that has happened, you see, the people come back to me. There is sympathy between us. It is not as with the

privileged classes. The *noblesse* have been in my service; they thronged in crowds into my ante-chambers. There is no place that they have not accepted, asked for, solicited. I have had the Montmorencys, the Noailles, the Rohans, the Beauvaus, the Mortemarts, in my train. But there never was any analogy. The steed made his curvets, he was well broke in; but I felt him quake under me. With the people it is another thing. The popular fibre responds to mine. I have risen from the ranks of the people: my voice acts mechanically upon them. Look at those conscripts, the sons of peasants: I never flattered them; I treated them roughly. They did not crowd round me the less; they did not for that cease to cry, *Vive l'Empereur!* It is that between them and me there is one and the same nature. They look to me as their support, their safeguard against the nobles. I have but to make a sign, or rather to look another way, and the nobles would be massacred in all the provinces. So well have they managed matters in the last ten months! But I do not desire to be the king of a mob. If there are the means to govern by a constitution, well and good. I wished for the empire of the world; and to ensure it, a power without bounds was necessary to me. To govern merely France, it is possible that a constitution may be better. I wished for the empire of the world; and who would not have done so in my place. The world invited me to rule over it. Sovereigns and subjects alike emulously bowed the neck under my sceptre. I have seldom met with opposition in France; but still I have encountered more of it from some obscure and unarmed Frenchmen, than from all those kings so resolute just now no longer to have a man of the people for their equal! See then what appears to you possible: let me know your ideas. Public discussions, free elections, responsible ministers, the liberty of the press, I have no objection to all that—the liberty of the press especially: to stifle it is

absurd. I am convinced on this point. I am the man of the people: if the people really wish for liberty, let them have it. I have acknowledged their sovereignty. It is just that I should lend an ear to their will, nay, even to their caprices. I have never been disposed to oppress them for my pleasure. I entertained great designs: fate has disposed of them. I am no longer a conqueror: nor can I be one. I know what is possible and what is not. I have no farther object than to raise up France and bestow on her a government suitable to her. I have no hatred to liberty. I have set it aside when it obstructed my path: but I understand what it means; I was brought up in its school: besides, the work of fifteen years is overturned, and it is not possible to recommence it. It would take twenty years and the lives of two millions of men to be sacrificed to it. As for the rest, I desire peace; but I can only obtain it by means of victory. I would not inspire you with false expectations. I let it be said that there are negotiations going on; there are none. I foresee a hard struggle, a long war. To support it, I must be seconded by the nation; but in return I believe they will expect liberty. They shall have it:—the circumstances are new. All I desire is to be informed of the truth. I am getting old. A man is no longer at forty-five what he was at thirty. The repose enjoyed by a constitutional king may suit me: it will still more certainly be the best thing for my son.”\*

Agreeably to these professions and suggestions, which were in fact echoed on every side, the new Constitution, which was soon after promulgated, guaranteed the most perfect religious liberty; individual liberty was also guarded against the abuses

\* Buonaparte did not seem to M. Constant to be changed in his own views or feelings, but to be convinced that circumstances had changed, and to have made up his mind with his usual firmness to conform to them. He says, he listened to him with deep interest: there was a breadth and grandeur of manner as he spoke, and a calm serenity seated on a brow “covered with immortal laurels.”



of authority and the vexations of the subalterns of power; exile was not allowed to be inflicted as a punishment at the discretion of government; the liberty of the press for the first time obtained the protection of a jury; the independence of the judicial authorities was secured; military tribunals were confined to military offences; no levy of soldiers could take place without the concurrence of the legislature; a direct responsibility was attached to ministers, and the Chamber of Representatives was placed upon a popular basis and invested with a solid power. Certainly, the use they made of it was not calculated to render that power of long duration, nor to inspire any very high respect for the public spirit or practical good sense of popular institutions. What they seemed to have to do was not to support Buonaparte against the common enemy, but to vent their personal pique and spleen against him, as the power that trenched most closely upon their own, though their whole influence and very existence was bound up with his. While it required every exertion and the most entire unanimity to maintain his government or the independence of the country for a single hour against a league that was ready to overwhelm both, all that occupied them was the setting limits to a power that already hung by a thread, and protesting against the dreams of universal conquest, while their own imminent doom stared them in the face. Such folly would only be contemptible if the dreadful consequences with the wilful blindness to those consequences did not make it something worse.

The old war-horse, however, submitted to the bit, and moved on in his constitutional trammels very well. The only occasion on which he grew restive and unmanageable was in the Council of State on the question of Confiscation of the Emigrants. On that occasion, impatient of the rein which opinion imposed on him, and teased with the swarm of idle objections that buzzed round him, Buonaparte burst out in his



old way, to the great scandal of the ideologists present, who were too fine gentlemen to let him punish assassins employed to waylay him,\* or to confiscate the property of nobles who hired them. "You urge me," he cried, "into a path which is not mine. You enfeeble, you chain me. France seeks me, and no longer finds me. The public opinion was excellent; it is now execrable. France inquires what is become of the old arm of the Emperor, that arm of which she stands in need to repulse Europe. What is it they tell me of goodness, of abstract justice, of natural law? The first law is necessity: the first justice is towards the country. You wish that men whom I have loaded with wealth should make use of it to conspire against me in foreign countries. That cannot be, that shall not be: every Frenchman, every soldier, every patriot, would have a right to require an account from me of the riches left in the power of the enemy. When peace is made, we may see what is to be done. Every day has its task, every circumstance its law, every individual his nature. Mine is not to be an angel. Gentlemen, I repeat, it is right that men should find, it is right that they should see *the old arm of the Emperor.*" Thus, while traitors conspired and hostile armies moved on, the liberal party would have tied his hands behind him with their flimsy refinements and effeminate theories, as Dalilah bound Samson when the Philistines were upon him! Of all this moderate or old opposition party, Carnot was the only one who saw the question in a right point of view, as a struggle for existence or non-existence, and who in the stand he made for speculative principles, did not neglect what was essential in practice. The

\* At one time M. Benjamin Constant ran to the Emperor in great haste to assure him that if he punished M. Vitrolles for instigating various attempts of this kind, no honourable man could continue to serve him. This was certainly making themselves a character for liberality at his expense. The heroes of paradox and first principles were afraid not only of the swords but of the opinions of their adversaries.

reason was, he was more attached to a great cause than to his own favourite notions of it; and in the union of integrity of opinion with energy of purpose, bore a resemblance to some of the old English republicans.

The new constitution, with the *Acte Additionel*, was offered to the suffrages of the French people at large, and accepted by them by a majority of above a million and a half of votes to four thousand odd against it. Louis did not put himself to this kind of probation; it would have been inconsistent with his dignity and pretensions to do so; since his rights were by the supposition superior to and independent of the choice of the people, which was merely a vulgar appendage to them. That of itself, with me, is decisive of the whole question. This event was celebrated in the *Champ-de-Mai*, held on the 1st of June in the open space facing the military school, where the electors of the departments, the representatives of the people, and the deputations from the army, met in an immense concourse. The imperial and national guard and the troops of the line were drawn up in squares in the *Champ-de-Mars*. Napoleon appeared in the midst of them like a new Charlemagne, surrounded by his brothers, his court, and the members of his government, on a magnificent throne. An altar was raised in the centre, and the ceremony began by invoking the God of battles.\* After the religious solemnity, a deputation of five hundred electors advanced to the foot of the throne, and pronounced an eloquent and patriotic address. The result and number of the votes was then proclaimed; and Napoleon, turning towards the side where the electors were, said aloud,—“Emperor, Consul, Soldier, I hold all from the people: in prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole

\* M. de Talleyrand was not the officiating priest on this, as he had been on a former occasion.

object of all my thoughts and actions." Having ended his discourse, the Emperor proceeded to the altar with his escort, swearing to observe and maintain the constitution of the state; the oath was repeated by the ministers and the electoral deputations. The eagles were then distributed among the troops; cries of *Vive l'Empereur* resounded on all sides; and the crowd (whether of men or women) as they looked on, were filled with admiration and delight, and seemed to think that the enemy could never again pierce through those numerous and dense phalanxes, winding slowly along, as if incapable of flight!

The day following (the 2nd of June) the Emperor gave a second *fête* to the deputies of the army and the electors of the departments, who were assembled in the vast galleries of the Louvre. There was a fresh distribution of eagles; and those who received them from the hands of Napoleon renewed their protestations of devotion and fidelity. This banquet gave universal contentment.

The legislative body met on the 3rd of June; and from the first showed that pragmatistical spirit of opposition which soon ruined all. It might be supposed that every man in it was actuated with the ambition to boast with the Abbé de Pradt, that "but for him Buonaparte would still have been the greatest man in the world." If the English soldiers on the morning of the battle of Waterloo, instead of looking to their arms, had busied themselves in discussions whether the Duke was a whig or a tory, and had refused to fight till he had given a pledge for universal suffrage or Catholic emancipation, the battle would not have ended as it did. But it may be said that a nation or its representatives are not to be dragooned into obedience like an army. And the answer is plain. When a nation is threatened with the loss of its independence, and with having an obnoxious yoke imposed on it by foreigners, whoever sets up for being more than a soldier in his country's cause, is less than

a citizen; plucks up a spirit to oppose the government, when all the danger arises from another source; and makes his love of liberty a stalking-horse to hide his fear, his vanity or his leaning to the enemy. Buona- parte, in his answer to the addresses of the two chambers a few days after, did not disguise his dissatisfaction with their mis-timed scruples; and gave them a lesson, which, in proportion as it was just and incontrovertible, only irritated their self-love and lurking animosity the more.

“The struggle in which we are engaged is serious. The seductions of prosperity are not the danger which menaces us at present. It is under the *Caudine Forks* that foreigners wished to make us pass. The justice of our cause, the public spirit of the nation, and the courage of the army are strong grounds to hope for success: but should we encounter reverses, it is then that I should trust to see displayed all the energy of a great people. It is then that I should find in the chambers proofs of their attachment to the country and to me. It is in times of difficulty that great nations like great men unfold all the energy of their character, and become objects of admiration to posterity. I will set out to-night and proceed to join the army. The movements of the different corps of our enemies render my presence indispensable. The constitution is our rallying point: it should be our pole-star in these stormy times. Every public discussion tending directly or indirectly to diminish the confidence which should be placed in its arrangements, would be a misfortune to the state: we should then find ourselves in the midst of rocks without compass or pilot. The crisis in which we are involved is arduous. Let us not imitate the example of the lower empire, which pressed on all sides by the barbarians, rendered itself the scoff of posterity by entering into abstract discussions at the very moment when the battering-ram was at the gates of the city. In all circumstances, my conduct will be direct and



firm. Aid me to save the country. First representative of the people, I have contracted the obligation which I now renew to employ in more tranquil times all the prerogatives of the crown and the little experience which I have acquired, to ameliorate our institutions."

One would have supposed that an appeal like this might have raised those to whom it was addressed to take a view of their circumstances from the same lofty stand of reason and history ; that it would have imparted some of its manly sense and spirit to the most backward ; and that all petty scruples and base fears would have been "shook to air, like dew-drops from the lion's mane : " instead of which it seemed only to confirm them the more in their errors, and being warned against it, make them the more resolutely bent to pass under the *Caudine Forks*, and become the laughing-stock of the present generation and of posterity. Buonaparte reached the army the next day. Within a week all that he feared and predicted as possible had happened : but he had done all that could be done both by his efforts and advice to avert it.

From his first return to Paris, war was inevitable. In fact, his re-appearance was an insult offered to the allies and turning all their boasted triumphs into a jest. In vain was all they had done, if one man alighting in a kingdom could, by the mere force of his name and the odium attached to theirs, put a stop to all their fine schemes of legitimacy and the easy parcelling out of the world between them. But from the very certainty that they would feel no scruples and would use the most violent means to force the old government back upon them again, the French lay under every obligation of honour or independence to cast it off with the very first opportunity or chance of doing so. Buonaparte, however, lost not a moment's time in notifying his return to the foreign sovereigns and expressing his desire to ratify



the peace with France which had been concluded after his abdication. This pacific overture on his part received no other answer (if it might be called one) than the declaration of the 25th of March, placing him out of the protection of the law. If Napoleon had succeeded in his first battle and had been impelled once more into the career of victory by this repeated sullen scorn of his advances to peace, the whole of the bloodshed and mischief at the end of twenty years would (with the same decency as before) have been laid to the door of his inordinate ambition and love of conquest. Napoleon had perhaps flattered himself with some hope of the forbearance of Austria; but this hope (if any such existed) was destroyed by Murat, who, alarmed at the intrigues of the Bourbons to displace him from his throne, had made war upon Austria, was defeated, and thus led the Emperor Francis to suspect that this hair-brained enterprise was undertaken with the connivance of and in concert with Buonaparte. This gave the Emperor of Austria a pretext for a great deal of indignation and resentment against his son-in-law, as if while he was holding out to him the lure of peace, he was urging the madman of Naples to make war upon him in an affected panic at having his own throne undermined. Thus Murat did his kinsman all the mischief in his power, first by declaring against him, and then by prematurely declaring for him. Napoleon had sent an envoy to Joachim in the beginning of February to apprise him of his intended return to France and begging him to rest quiet for the present. But Murat (his brain heated with finding the game once more a-foot and his own crown not sure on his head) thought that Napoleon would anticipate him if he did not stir at once; resolved to proclaim the independence of Italy himself; proceeded across the marches of Ancona to Bologna for that purpose, where they only asked him why he made no mention of his and their old master; was attacked and repulsed by the Austrians, and

landed a fugitive in Provence. His queen, who had embarked on board an English commodore under an engagement to be taken to France, was carried to Trieste. Murat's progress had alarmed the Pope and the grand duke, one of whom fled to Genoa, the other to Leghorn. In the beginning of April, Lucien Buonaparte arrived at Fontainebleau, and brought the first news of Murat's irruption into Italy. A *Chargé d'Affaires* from the Pope accompanied him, who came to make known to Napoleon that if he did not guarantee the possession of Rome to his Holiness, he would instantly depart for Spain. The messenger was well received by the Emperor, and returned with assurances that it was his intention to fulfil in every respect the treaty of Paris.

On the 25th of April the four principal powers, recovering from their surprise but not the less resolved to revenge their mortification, signed a treaty, by which each agreed to furnish one hundred and fifty thousand men to recommence the contest; and it was computed that a million of men, composed of all the nations of Europe, would be assembled by the end of July on the frontiers of France. Sweden and Portugal alone had refused to furnish their contingent. Peace between England and the United States of America had been concluded towards the end of February; so that the English troops being no longer detained in Canada in the hope (as it was loudly recommended at the time) of "exterminating the last example of democratic rebellion" in that quarter of the world, were re-embarked for Europe in the very nick of time to extirpate it there. On the 13th of April, the Duke of Wellington had fixed his head-quarters at Brussels, while those of Blucher were at Liege. The French frigate *Melpomene* was taken, after a severe action, on the coast of Naples by the *Rivoli*, an English 74; but some days afterwards, the British commodore in the Mediterranean received orders to respect the French flag, war not being declared. A French

frigate brought the Emperor's mother from Naples to France. On the night of his arrival at Paris, the Emperor had ordered General Excelmans to pursue the King's guard at the head of three thousand cavalry, and to capture, disperse, or drive it beyond the frontiers. A part of it was surrounded and disarmed at Béthune, the rest were disbanded by the Count d'Artois at Neuve-Eglise. General Excelmans took possession of the horses, magazines, and baggage of this corps, who were obliged to disguise themselves and escape from the indignation of the peasants in various directions. Count Reille repaired to Flanders with twelve thousand men to reinforce Count d'Erlon, who commanded on that frontier; and Napoleon deliberated whether he might not commence hostilities with the thirty-six thousand men thus placed at his disposal, by marching on the 1st of April on Brussels and rallying the Belgian army under his colours. The English and Prussians were at this time feeble in point of numbers, dispersed, and without chiefs: the Duke of Wellington being at Vienna and Blucher at Berlin. But there were several objections to this plan, which was of too petty and indecisive a character to have any great attractions in itself. First, it was an object not to preclude the chance of peace by a hasty movement and to throw the odium of the resumption of hostilities on the enemy: secondly, it would be necessary in order to collect the given number of troops, to leave the fortresses towards Belgium without garrisons, which could not be done with safety; thirdly, the first signal of the renewal of war would have encouraged the discontented, and Napoleon above all things did not wish a gun to be fired till the Bourbons were removed from the French territory and the whole of the country rallied round the imperial government, which did not happen before the 20th of April. Marseilles and Bordeaux had no sooner hoisted the tri-coloured standard than the war in La Vendée broke out in the beginning of May, and de-

prived Napoleon of twenty thousand troops when he most needed them.

On his return he found the army in a most deplorable condition: it could send only ninety-three thousand effective men into the field, a force hardly sufficient to guard the fortresses and the principal sea-ports; in which last there were neither ships nor sailors, except one man-of-war and three frigates at Toulon, and two at Rochefort. Every exertion was used by Buonaparte during the three months of his power to restore its strength and spirit, and place it on a footing to repel once more the combined efforts of all Europe. During this period, he was employed fifteen or sixteen hours a-day. Some persons who see only the little in every thing tell you that he was taken up the greater part of the time in arranging the precedence of the princes and princesses of his family for the ceremonial of the *Champ-de-Mai*. What with organising the army to defend the Chambers and organising the Chambers to betray the army, he had work enough on his hands. Eight hundred thousand men were thought sufficient to fight Europe even-handed, and to surround France with a wall of brass which no human power could break through. But this would be a work of some time. By the 1st of June he had raised the army to upwards of five hundred thousand men, besides prodigious advances in every other branch of military preparation. The artillery-stores left, after all the previous losses at Antwerp, Wesel, Mayence, and Alexandria, were adequate to supply the largest armies for a length of time; but the men wanted clothing, arms, horses, and discipline. The first cares were directed to the reviving the spirit and past recollections of the army. The numbers borne by the regiments since 1794 were restored to them. Lists were ordered to be made out of those that were proper to officer the different corps; and this gave employment to all the officers on half-pay. All the veterans were recalled to their colours;



no coercive law was necessary to enforce obedience ; they came in crowds, labourers, tradesmen, mechanics, all quitted their work, resumed their old uniforms, and cheerfully rejoined their regiments. This summons, though it was expected to produce more, yielded about one hundred and thirty thousand men to the troops of the line. The levy of two hundred battalions of picked national guards produced eighty thousand more towards the end of May. Twenty regiments of marines were formed by drilling thirty thousand sailors that had belonged to the different squadrons of the French navy. A demand for two hundred and fifty thousand men was to be proposed to the Chambers in the course of July ; but this they took care to evade in the mean time, being more afraid of their defenders than of their enemies and claiming the privilege of women, as if it would be a want of gallantry in the allies to use a body of merely speculative politicians ill. The number of retired or pensioned soldiers and officers amounted to a hundred thousand, of whom thirty thousand were fit for garrison-duty ; they instantly answered the call of the War-Minister, and their zeal and experience were highly useful to direct the new levies as well as to ensure the preservation of the fortresses.

Fire-arms formed one of the most important objects of attention. There was a sufficient quantity of sabres, but a want of muskets. The imperial factories would in ordinary times furnish monthly twenty thousand stand of new arms : by the extraordinary activity and encouragements used, this number was doubled. Workmen were also employed in repairing old muskets. There was displayed at this momentous period the same activity in the capital as in 1793, and better directed, though without the same success. There existed at that period the fury of civil discord, which seems a necessary ingredient in French patriotism : they must first whet their swords on one another —otherwise, they are of too mild and candid a dispo-



sition to come to extremities with an enemy. The clothing of the army was another difficulty ; and this was got over by advancing large sums of money to the cloth manufacturers beforehand. The contractors delivered twenty thousand cavalry horses before the 1st of June ; ten thousand trained horses had been furnished by the dismounted gendarmerie. Twelve thousand artillery horses were also delivered by the 1st of June, in addition to six thousand which the army already had. The facility with which the ministers of finance and of the treasury provided for all these expenses astonished everybody, as it was necessary to pay for everything in ready money. The system of public works was at the same time resumed throughout France : " It is easy to see," said the workmen, " that the great contractor is returned : all was dead, now everything revives." To account for all this lavish expenditure, an opinion prevailed that the Emperor on his return had found a hundred millions of livres in gold at the Tuileries. The king had indeed quitted Paris with such precipitation that he had not been able to carry away the crown plate, valued at six millions ; or the treasury chests of the departments, containing fifty millions more. But the chief resource which Napoleon found on his return was in the good-will of the people, and in the confidence of the great French and Dutch capitalists arising out of it. Voluntary donations were also numerous, and in some departments exceeded a million. At the military parades, he was often presented with bundles of bank-bills ; and on his return to the palace had to give the minister of the treasury eighty or a hundred thousand francs, which he had received in this manner.

On the 1st of June, then, the effective strength of the French armies amounted to five hundred and fifty-nine thousand men.\* Thus in two months, the

\* I cannot help thinking (such is my prejudice in favour of my countrymen) that Napoleon ought to have had more than a fifth of this number to make sure of beating the English.

minister of war had levied four hundred and fourteen thousand men, making nearly seven thousand per day. Of this number, the effective of the regular army amounted to three hundred and sixty-three thousand men, that of the army extraordinary to one hundred and ninety-six thousand men :—of the effective of the line, two hundred and seventeen thousand were under arms, clothed, disciplined, and fit to enter immediately into the field. They were formed into seven grand corps, besides corps of observation, scattered along the whole line of the frontiers ; but the principal part of the forces was cantoned near Paris, and on the frontier of Flanders ; all the troops of the line had quitted the fortresses on the 1st of June, leaving them to be guarded by the army extraordinary. The first corps, commanded by Count d'Erlon, was in the neighbourhood of Lille, consisting of four divisions of infantry with four regiments of twelve thousand men each, of one division of light cavalry, and six battalions of artillery. The second corps, commanded by Count Reille, was cantoned round Valenciennes ; being composed much in the same manner, but stronger, some of the regiments having three battalions. The third corps, commanded by Vandamme, was assembled near Mezieres. The fourth, under Count Gerard, was at Metz ; the fifth corps, under the command of Count Rapp, was stationed in Alsace ; and the sixth, under Count Lobau, at Laon. The seventh corps was commanded by Marshal Suchet at Chambery, and consisted of two divisions of infantry of the line, and two of picked national guards, with light cavalry and batteries. The first corps of observation, that of Mount Jura, was commanded by General Lecourbe ; the second, that of the Var, by Marshal Brune ; the third, that of the eastern Pyrenees, commanded by General Decaen, was assembled at Toulouse ; the fourth, under General Clausel, was at Bordeaux. These generally consisted of one division of infantry of the line, a number of national guards, a regiment of

cavalry, with three or four batteries. The four corps of cavalry reserve under Marshal Grouchy were all quartered between the Aisne and the Sambre: the first corps of light cavalry being under Count Pajol; the second of dragoons under the orders of Count Excelmans; the third and fourth of cuirassiers were commanded by Count Milhaud and Count Kellermann. The imperial guard was formed of four regiments of the young guard, four of the middle guard, four of the old guard, four regiments of cavalry, and had ninety-six pieces of ordnance. The rest of the army was in La Vendée or dispersed through the various provinces, on the frontiers, or in the garrison towns. The ninety fortresses possessed by France were armed, palisaded, provisioned, and commanded by experienced officers.

Buonaparte, after his return from the campaign of Austerlitz, had several times thought of fortifying Paris; but the fear of alarming the inhabitants and the rapid succession of events prevented him from putting the design in execution. The circumstances of the last year convinced him more than ever of its importance. He now set about it in good earnest. He entrusted the engineer-general Haxo with the superintendence of the works. The heights of Montmartre, those of the Mills, of Chaumont and the Pere La Chaise were first mounted with defences. He next ordered the Canal de l'Ourcq from St. Denis to the Basin of Vilette to be finished, and the left bank to be thrown up in the form of a rampart. From the heights of Pere La Chaise to the Seine, the right was supported by works established at L'Etoile under the cannon of Vincennes; a trench of five thousand feet in length joined the barrier of the Throne with the redoubt of L'Etoile. These works, which were to be extended on the other side of Paris to St. Cloud, Neuilly, and back again to St. Denis, were finished by the 1st of June, and defended by six hundred pieces of cannon and by five or six thousand gunners taken from the arsenals, and by volunteers from the Charenton and

Polytechnic schools. Paris with proper spirit offered the certain resource of a hundred thousand men for its defence in case of necessity without weakening the regular army. Lyons, the second city in the empire, was fortified in like manner.

During the month of May, France (all but La Vendée) being pacified, and war from without certain, the Emperor meditated on two different plans of campaign. The first was to wait for the allies, to let them get entangled among the fortresses, and give them battle under the walls of Paris, which they could not reach before the middle of August, by which time Napoleon would nearly have doubled his forces, and have called forth all the resources of the country and the capital, while the allies would be compelled to leave a fourth of their troops behind them to watch the fortresses in their rear. He would in this case have two hundred and forty thousand troops, with Paris in a state of complete defence, to oppose to four hundred and fifty thousand of the enemy. Suchet would, on the same supposition, have to defend Lyons with twenty-five thousand men against sixty thousand, which was all that the allies would be able to muster in that quarter. The second plan was to anticipate the advance of the allies, to attack and if possible beat the Anglo-Prussian army in Flanders, before the Russians, Bavarians, and others could arrive on the Rhine. This latter plan presented many advantages. It suited the impatient character of the nation; if it succeeded, Belgium would revolt and join France; should her army be beaten, England would probably make peace, and the other allied troops advance no farther; and if it failed, Buonaparte might still fall back though with disadvantages, and, concentrating his forces in the heart of the empire, defend Paris to the last extremity. But to execute the latter plan, it was necessary to take the field by the middle of June, by which time he could only collect an army of one hundred and

forty thousand men. But could he with this army oppose the two hostile armies, consisting of one hundred and four thousand English and Dutch, and one hundred and twenty thousand Prussians and Saxons, in all two hundred and twenty-four thousand men? In 1814, he had with only forty thousand made head against an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men commanded by Marshal Blucher and Prince Schwartzenberg, and by the two emperors and the King of Prussia in person. He therefore did not hesitate in adopting this resolution, particularly as the troops opposed to him were some of them considered of inferior quality, were of different nations and interests, and were led by two different commanders-in-chief.



## CHAPTER LV.

## BATTLE OF LIGNY.

Napoleon joins the army ; his order of the day ; battle of Ligny.

MARSHAL SOULT (Duke of Dalmatia) was named Major-General of the army. On the 2nd of June he issued a spirited order of the day ; and immediately set out from Paris to visit the fortresses in Flanders and the different corps of the army. The fourth corps, commanded by Count Gerard, set out from Metz on the 6th of June, passed the Meuse, and arrived at Philippeville on the 14th. Count Belliard assumed the command of Metz and the frontier of the Sarre : he took care to mask this movement by occupying the frontier with detachments of the national guard, drawn out from the garrisons of Metz, Longwy, &c. The imperial guard quitted Paris on the 8th of June, and marched towards Avesne. The 1st corps set out from Lille, and the 2nd from Valenciennes to occupy a station between Maubeuge and Avesne. This movement was masked by sending detachments from the garrison to triple the advanced posts ; so that the allies being deceived, imagined that the whole army had formed a junction on the left, instead of in the centre. The 6th corps set out for Laon, and marched on Avesne : while the 4th corps of the cavalry of reserve concentrated itself on the Sambre.

The Emperor set out from Paris on the 12th in the morning ; breakfasted at Soissons ; slept at Laon ; gave his last orders for the arming of that place, and

arrived at Avesne on the 13th. On the 14th at night, the army encamped in three directions; the left, more than forty thousand strong, composed of the 1st and 2nd corps, on the right bank of the Sambre, at Ham-sur-Heure, and Solre-sur-Sambre; the centre, more than sixty thousand strong, composed of the 3rd and 6th corps, of the imperial guard, and of the reserves of cavalry, at Beaumont, where the headquarters were; the right, more than fifteen thousand strong, formed of the 4th corps and a division of cuirassiers at Philippeville. The camps were established behind small hills, a league from the frontier, in such a way that the fires were not perceived by the allies, who in fact had no knowledge of the encampment. On the 14th at night, the returns proved that the force of the army was one hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred men, and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The same evening, the Emperor issued the following order of the day:—  
“Soldiers! this is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland. Then, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous. We gave credit to the protestations and oaths of the princes, whom we suffered to remain on their thrones. Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they aim at the independence and at the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust aggressions. Are we no longer the same men? Soldiers! at Jena, when fighting against these very Prussians, now so arrogant, you were as one to two, and at Montmirail as one to three. Let those among you, who have been in the hands of the English, recite the story of their prisonships, and the evils which they suffered in them. The Saxons, Belgians, and Hanoverians, the soldiers of the confederation of the Rhine, groan at the thought of being obliged to lend their arms to the cause of princes, enemies of justice and of the rights of nations. They know that this coalition is insatiable: after having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve

millions of Italians, a million of Saxons, six millions of Belgians ; it will, if permitted, also swallow up the states of the second class in Germany. Fools that they are ! A moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and the humiliation of the French people are out of their power. If they enter France, there will they find their tomb. Soldiers ! we have forced marches to make, battles to wage, perils to encounter ; but with constancy, the victory will be ours :—the rights, the honour of the country will be recovered. For every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment has now arrived either to conquer or perish !”

On the night of the 14th the allied troops were very tranquil in their cantonments. The Prusso-Saxon army formed their left, the Anglo-Belgian army the right. The first, commanded by Marshal Blucher, was a hundred and twenty thousand strong, viz :—eighty-five thousand infantry, twenty thousand cavalry, fifteen thousand artillery, with three hundred pieces of cannon. It was divided into four corps. The first under General Zieten was next to the English, having its head-quarters at Charleroi ; the second under General Pirch was at Namur, farther back : the third under General Thielman was in the environs of Dinant, and was to rally at Ciney, to the southward : the fourth under Bulow was behind the three others at Liege. The whole of these were to assemble at Fleurus behind Charleroi, and eight leagues from Namur, fourteen from Ciney, and sixteen from Liege. Marshal Blucher's head-quarters were at Namur, sixteen leagues from the Duke of Wellington's at Brussels. The Anglo-Belgian army, under the command of the latter, was formed of twenty-four brigades, of which nine were English, ten German, five Dutch and Flemish ; and of eleven divisions of cavalry, consisting of sixteen English regiments, nine German, and six Dutch, besides a battalion at Ostend and four regiments in the Flemish fortresses. The proportions were thirty-seven thousand English (ten thousand

being cavalry) forty-two thousand Germans, twenty-five thousand Dutch and Belgians, in all one hundred and four thousand men. They were divided into two grand corps of infantry. The first under the orders of the Prince of Orange, composed of two English and three Belgian divisions, were at Enghien, Soignes, Braine-le-Comte, and Nivelles. The second corps, commanded by Lord Hill, and composed of four English divisions and one of Brunswick troops, was quartered at Brussels, Ath, Halle, and Ghent. Lord Uxbridge commanded the cavalry, and was at Grammont. The great park of artillery was at Ghent. The rallying point for the whole army was at Quatre-Bras, two leagues on the right of the Prussians; and from the distance between these scattered points, it would take two whole days to assemble both armies on the same field of battle.

In the night between the 14th and 15th, scouts returned to the French head-quarters at Beaumont, and reported that everything was tranquil at Namur, Brussels, and Charleroi. To have thus succeeded in concealing the movements of the French army for the last two days was a great point gained. The Prussians must now fall back behind Fleurus, or give battle in that position, without any hope of receiving support from the Anglo-Belgian army. The character of the two generals-in-chief opposed to Napoleon was taken into the account by him. The hussar habits of Marshal Blucher, his activity and adventurous spirit, formed a strong contrast to the circumspect movements and slow marches of the Duke of Wellington. If the Prussian army were not the first attacked, it would proceed with more alacrity and eagerness to the succour of the English army than the English army would hasten to its relief. All the efforts of Napoleon were therefore first directed against the Prussians.

The three French columns commenced their march at daybreak on the 15th. The advanced-guard of the



left, under Prince Jerome, met and routed the advanced-guard of Prussian corps of General Zietten, and took possession of the bridge of Marchiennes, driving the Prussians on Charleroi. The cavalry of General Pajol, forming the advanced-guard of the centre, commenced its march at three in the morning: it was to have been sustained by General Vandamme's infantry, which did not, however, set out in time. The Emperor therefore took the lead with his guard; and entered Charleroi, preceded by the light cavalry of Pajol, which followed the enemy sword in hand. The right of the army, commanded by Count Gerard, surprised the bridge of Chatelet at an early hour: the whole column came up in the evening. From Charleroi to Brussels is fourteen leagues: the road passes by Gosselies, Frasnes, Quatre-Bras, Gemappe, and Waterloo. Not far from Charleroi another causeway passes through Gilly to Namur. The corps of Zietten had hastily evacuated Charleroi by these two, one division retiring by the road to Brussels and the other on Namur. They were followed by the French on each. Count Reille and Count d'Erlon marched on Gosselies and were to push on to Quatre-Bras. Marshal Grouchy with the reserve of cavalry followed by the third corps, marched on Gilly, between which and Fleurus General Zietten had taken post, backed by a wood. General Reille gained possession of Gosselies after a slight resistance. Marshal Ney having just arrived on the field of battle, the Emperor immediately ordered him to proceed to Gosselies, to take the command of the whole of the left wing, composed of the first and second corps, with the cavalry of Lefebvre Desnouettes and General Kellermann's heavy cavalry (in all forty-seven thousand men)—he was to attack whatever troops he met on the road from Gosselies to Brussels, and to take post across that route beyond Quatre-Bras; keeping military possession of the ground by placing strong advanced-guards on the three openings to Brussels, Namur, and Nivelles, so



as to cut off completely, if possible, the communications between the English and Prussian armies. The division of Zieten's corps, which had defended Goselies, wheeled to the right on Fleurus; Count Reille caused it to be followed by General Gerard's division, while he himself, with his cavalry and three other divisions, marched on Quatre-Bras. Prince Bernard of Saxony, who had the command of four thousand of the troops of Nassau, hearing the firing in the direction of Charleroi, went and posted himself at Frasne before Quatre-Bras; but he was dislodged by General Lefebvre Desnouettes, who threatened to turn and cut off his retreat, and he was obliged to retire to Gemappe. Ney joined the troops soon after; but having heard the cannonade on Fleurus, and being informed by General Gerard that there were considerable forces in that direction, he thought it prudent to halt, sending on outposts to Frasne and Quatre-Bras.

Vandamme and Grouchy were stopped at Gilly by a report that there were two hundred thousand Prussians behind the woods in front of Fleurus. The Emperor went to reconnoitre; and judging that there could be no more than from eighteen to twenty thousand of the enemy, gave orders to advance. A successful charge of the four squadrons on duty, conducted by General Letort, pierced through two squares and destroyed the whole twenty-eighth Prussian regiment; but the intrepid Letort was mortally wounded. This general was one of the most distinguished of the French cavalry officers. He had not an equal in the art of conducting a charge, or in communicating the electric spark to the men as well as to the horses: at his voice and example, all fear vanished. At night Vandamme and Grouchy occupied the woods of Trichenaye and Lambusart, near Fleurus. During the night, between the 15th and 16th, the French head quarters were at Charleroi; Blucher was still at Namur, Wellington at Brussels.

The first Prussian corps under Zieten, enfeebled by the loss of two thousand men, retired to Sombref, behind Fleurus. The second and part of the third corps marched all night from Namur and joined the first on the morning of the 16th. The remainder of the third corps came up during the battle, and the fourth corps under Bulow did not reach Gembloux, ten leagues from Sombref, till it was over.

On the 15th, at seven o'clock in the evening, the Duke of Wellington received a dispatch from Marshal Blucher, to state that hostilities had commenced, and that a strong French reconnoitring party had sabred some of his advanced posts. This did not hinder the English general from going to a ball, where a second dispatch found him at eleven o'clock the same evening with the intelligence, that "the French had entered Charleroi that morning and continued to march in order of battle on Brussels; that they were one hundred and fifty thousand strong: and that the Emperor was at their head." This seemed to rouse the Duke from his apathy, so far at least as to give over the dance, and to issue orders to the army to break up its cantonments, and be in readiness to march towards the scene of action. The rest was left to chance. This apparent negligence, indifference and want of plan or preparation on the part of the English commander, which has been brought against him as a reproach, was perhaps highly creditable to his self-knowledge. He felt that what he chiefly had to do was to bring the men together, to stand by and see them fairly fight it out, and that any deliberate movement or interference on his part might be fatal. He wisely determined, therefore, (as it should seem) to make the battle a contest of personal courage, and to decline the trial of military skill altogether, both before and at the time; but it must be confessed that the backs of his troops, however fitted for it, very nearly broke down under the double charge imposed on them. The third Belgian division belonging to the Anglo-Belgian

army being six leagues from Quatre-Bras, was the only one that could arrive there the next morning. The remainder could not unite at that point before the next night or the following day. The artillery and the cavalry were in the latter predicament: the troops having been called out during the night, the Brunswick and the fifth English division which were at Brussels, commenced their march on Quatre-Bras early in the morning; but this was still two leagues from Fleurus, where the Prussians were encamped.

The French army bivouacked on the night between the 15th and 16th in a square of four leagues; the left under Marshal Ney having its head-quarters at Gosselies, with its out-posts at Quatre-Bras, and General Gerard's division on the route to Fleurus; the centre, with the cavalry of reserve and the Guard between Charleroi and Fleurus, and the right in front of the bridge of Chatelet. It was equally in its power to press on the Prusso-Saxon or the Anglo-Belgian army, being already placed between them; and their communications being in a great measure cut off. All the Emperor's manœuvres had succeeded to his wishes; he could henceforth attack his enemy in detail, unless they chose to abandon their ground and unite again at Brussels. Fortune, however, took the affair into her own hands.

Marshal Ney received an order in the night to push on at daybreak beyond Quatre-Bras and occupy a strong position there. General Flahaut was the bearer of this order. General Gerard's division was ordered to remain where it was, that it might be ready to act under the immediate directions of the Emperor; who, with the centre and right, marched to engage the Prussians, before the fourth corps under Bulow could come up or the English collect their scattered forces. The skirmishers met at the village of Fleurus; and those of the enemy having fallen back, showed their army drawn up in order for battle, their left at Sombref, the centre at Ligny, the right at St. Amand, with

the reserves on the heights of Bry, occupying a line of nearly four miles in extent. It was about ten in the morning when the French army halted and formed, having the third corps in front of Fleurus, with Gerard's division a mile and a half to its left, and the fourth corps (Gerard's) in the centre; Marshal Grouchy, the cavalry of Pajol and Excelmans forming the right, the Guard and Milhaud's cuirassiers being placed in reserve. The Emperor with a few attendants visited the chain of outposts on the heights, and from the windmills attentively reconnoitred the position of the enemy's army. It presented a force certainly exceeding eighty thousand men. Its front was covered by a deep ravine, but its right was exposed and had the troops at Quatre-Bras in its rear. It was evident Marshal Blucher did not expect to be attacked so soon, and that the Anglo-Belgians would not have time to come up to the support of his right. A staff-officer now arrived from Ney to say that he had not executed the prescribed movement, in consequence of reports which made him apprehensive of being turned (he was thinking how he should make his peace a second time with the Bourbons, in case he should be beaten)—but that he was ready to execute it, if still required to do so. The Emperor blamed him for having already lost eight hours; repeated his orders; and added that as soon as he had taken position, he should detach a column of eight thousand infantry with Lefebvre Desnouette's cavalry, and twenty-eight pieces of cannon (still leaving him thirty-two thousand men to keep the English in check) by the causeway of Namur to the village of Marchais, whence it should attack the heights of Bry in the Prussian rear. Ney received this order at half-past eleven; the detachment might set off at noon, and reach the village of Marchais by two. At two o'clock, therefore, Napoleon ordered a change of front on Fleurus, with the right in advance. This movement extended all along the line and was calculated to



enclose the Prussian army between two fires, on the arrival of the succours in the rear. Every thing indicated the ruin of the Prussian forces. Count Gerard having approached the Emperor to ask for some instructions respecting the attack on the village of Ligny, the latter observed, "The fate of the war may be decided in three hours. If Ney executes his orders well, not a gun of the Prussian army will escape: it is taken *in flagranti delicto*."

At three in the afternoon, the third corps attacked the village of St. Amand, the fourth advancing on Ligny, while Marshal Grouchy drove back the left of the Prussians. The remainder of their third corps under Thielman arrived during the battle through Sombref: this increased their force to ninety thousand men. The French army, including the sixth corps, which remained constantly in reserve, was seventy thousand men: less than sixty thousand were engaged. The village of Ligny was taken and retaken four times. It was here that Count Gerard acquired such imperishable glory, showing equal intrepidity and talent. St. Amand was contested in like manner, but was carried by General Gerard, who having received an order to attack on the left, overthrew all that opposed his passage with the bayonet, and had gained possession of half the village, when he fell mortally wounded. He had distinguished himself at the passage of the Tesino in 1800, and contributed much to the victory of Lutzen in 1813, where, though twice wounded, he refused to be carried off the field of battle till he learnt that the enemy were routed. The third corps maintained itself on the other side of St. Amand. It was now half-past five, and the Emperor was manœuvring with the guard on Ligny, when General Vandamme sent word that a column of thirty thousand of the enemy was advancing on Fleurus. This was a false alarm. An hour afterwards, this supposed English column turned out to be that of Count d'Erlon, who having been left in reserve



not far from Quatre-Bras, hastened to support the attack on St. Amand. The guard then resumed its movement upon Ligny; General Pecheux at the head of his division passed the ravine, supported by Count Gerard's division, the infantry, cavalry, artillery, and Milhaud's cuirassiers. The reserves of the enemy were repulsed by the bayonet, the centre of his line was pierced; forty pieces of cannon, eight stand of colours, and a number of prisoners were the trophies of this day. Marshal Grouchy, Generals Excelmans and Pajol excited the highest admiration by their behaviour. The Emperor, satisfied with Count Gerard, who commanded the fourth corps, intended to have given him a Marshal's staff, and regarded him as one of the hopes of France. General Monthion was charged with the pursuit of the Prussian left wing. They estimated their loss at twenty-five thousand killed, wounded, or prisoners, without including several thousands who disbanded, and ravaged the banks of the Meuse to Liege. Many of the allied generals were killed or wounded. Marshal Blucher was thrown down by a charge of cuirassiers, and trampled on by their horses; but they passed on without seeing him. It was already night; to which circumstance this officer owed his escape, though much bruised and hurt. The total loss of the French was six thousand nine hundred and fifty men killed or wounded. The disproportion between these losses arose from two causes; viz. 1. The reserves of the French were kept out of the reach of the enemy's cannon; 2. The third and fourth corps, which were in the front of the battle, were sheltered by inequalities of ground, while the Prussian soldiers were heaped together in large masses on the amphitheatre of hills from St. Amand and Ligny to the heights of Bry. The bullets from the French batteries which missed the first lines struck the reserves, so that not a single shot was thrown away.

The Prince of Orange, who was at Braine-le-Comte,

did not receive the Duke of Wellington's order to unite his troops before daybreak on the 16th. He then hastened to Quatre-Bras to support Prince Bernard of Saxony, who had taken post between Quatre-Bras and Gemappes. Sensible of the importance of this position, he had remained there all the morning with eight or nine thousand Belgians and troops of Nassau. If therefore Ney had marched on this point at daybreak, he would have anticipated the movement of the prince, and have been able to attack the divisions of the English army on their march and while advancing on the separate causeways of Nivelles and Brussels. At noon, having received fresh orders, he marched forward with little more than half his force, leaving the remainder to watch Fleurus and secure his retreat. He commenced skirmishing at two, but it was not till he heard the cannonade at Ligny, that he attacked the Belgians in good earnest. The Prince of Orange was soon overthrown; but he was supported by the division of Brunswick and the fifth English division, who arrived in great haste and some disorder, having marched eight leagues that morning, and having neither cavalry nor artillery. The contest was warmly renewed, and many were left dead on the field, particularly the reigning Duke of Brunswick. The forty-second Highland regiment, having formed in a square to sustain a charge of cuirassiers, was broken through and cut to pieces. The French sharpshooters had reached the farm of Quatre-Bras, where the first division of the English guards and Alten's division (the third) arrived, marching in double-quick time along the causeway of Nivelles. It was then that Marshal Ney felt the want of his second line which he had left three leagues behind him, and sent for it, but it was then too late. He however fought on with his usual intrepidity and sustained the conflict till night, taking up his head-quarters at Frasne, a mile and a quarter from Quatre-Bras. He was here joined by Count d'Erlon, who had turned

back as soon as St. Amand was carried, and thus his troops were useless in both actions. The loss of the Anglo-Belgians in this action was stated at nine thousand men, that of the French at between three and four thousand ; the difference arising from the want of artillery on the part of the English. If, with half his force, Marshal Ney made such havoc among the troops opposed to him, with the whole of it (which he was told to employ) he might have overwhelmed them.

The troops bivouacked on the field of battle at Ligny, Marshal Grouchy at Sombref. Blucher retreated fighting in two columns on Wavres, one by Tilly to the left, and the other by Gembloux more to the right, where Bulow arrived from Liege at eleven o'clock at night. The Duke of Wellington passed the night at Quatre-Bras, the English troops continuing to join him by the two causeways till the morning of the 17th, and amounting by that time to fifty thousand men. General Pajol moved in pursuit of the Prussian army at daybreak on the 17th. Marshal Ney had received an order to march on Quatre-Bras at the dawn of day and make a spirited attack on the English rear-guard, while Count Lobau was to proceed along the causeway of Namur to take the English army in flank. Marshal Grouchy set out with Excelmans' corps of cavalry and the third and fourth corps of infantry to support General Pajol, and follow up Blucher with rapidity and energy, in order to prevent him from rallying. He was positively enjoined always to keep between the causeway leading from Charleroi to Brussels and the Prussian general, so as to be in constant communication with the main army, and able to rejoin it when required. The third division of the second corps, which had suffered much at the battle of Ligny, remained to keep possession of the field of battle, and to succour the wounded. The Emperor the next morning visited the field of battle, and caused every assistance to be given to the wounded.

The loss of the Prussians was enormous, six of their dead bodies being to be seen for one of the French. This sacred duty fulfilled, Napoleon galloped on to reach Quatre-Bras with Lobau's cavalry. Arriving within sight of this place, he found it still occupied by a body of English cavalry. Ney had not stirred. A party of five hundred horse having been sent in the direction of Frasne to see what was passing there, some skirmishing took place between them and Ney's troops, who had mistaken the red lancers of the Guard for English. Officers were dispatched to press Ney's advance; at the same time Count Lobau moved forward. An English female sutler, who was taken prisoner, reported that Lord Wellington had not learned the disaster at Ligny till late at night; when he ordered a retreat on Brussels, leaving Lord Uxbridge with the cavalry as a rear-guard. That officer retired as soon as he perceived Count Lobau's force. The troops on the left still manifesting no disposition to quit their encampment, the Emperor's patience was exhausted, and he sent orders directly to the heads of columns. This had some effect. When Ney appeared, the Emperor reproached him with his slowness and indecision, and with the three most precious hours he had made him lose. He stammered an excuse, that he believed the whole English army was still at Quatre-Bras. At length the army moved forward, the Emperor marching at its head. The rain fell in torrents; the roads were hardly passable; and this, though it impeded the march of the French, enabled them to do the English cavalry much mischief with their artillery, and to take a number of prisoners, among others Captain Elphinstone. About six o'clock in the evening the weather grew extremely foggy; so that it was impossible to distinguish the amount of the English rear-guard, which had evidently been just reinforced; and as the forest of Soignes was not far off, probably wished to keep that position during the night. To ascertain this point,



Milhaud's cuirassiers threatened to charge ; when the English unmasked fifty or sixty pieces of cannon, for all their army was there. There was not daylight left to commence the attack that night, as Napoleon had wished. The French army took post in front of Planchenoit, with its head-quarters at the farm of Cailloux, about three miles from the village of Mont St. Jean.

The Emperor with the 1st, 2nd, and 6th corps of infantry, the Imperial Guard, a division of Pajol's light cavalry, and the two corps of Milhaud's and Kellerman's cuirassiers, in all sixty-eight thousand nine hundred and six men, and two hundred and forty-two pieces of cannon, was encamped across the high-road to Brussels, four leagues and a half from that city ; having before him the Anglo-Belgian army, ninety thousand strong, with two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, and its head-quarters at Waterloo. Marshal Grouchy, with thirty-four thousand men and one hundred and eight pieces of cannon, was supposed to be at Wavres, but was, in fact, in front of Gembloux, having lost sight of the Prussian army which had reached Wavres, where its four corps, now amounting to seventy-five thousand men, was united. Marshal Grouchy having set out in pursuit of Blucher on the 17th, had proceeded to Gembloux, whence he sent reconnoitring parties towards Liege and Wavres, in the track of the enemy's rear-guard. This done, he made his troops halt, though he had only marched two leagues. He afterwards learnt that the chief forces of the Prussians had taken the route of Wavres ; but it was then past six o'clock, the soldiers were at supper, and he thought it would be time enough to follow in the morning. This resolution was the principal cause of the loss of the battle of Waterloo by the French. At ten o'clock at night, the Emperor dispatched an officer to the marshal, who was concluded to be near Wavres, to inform him that there would be a great battle the



next day ; that the Anglo-Belgian army was posted in front of the forest of Soignes, its left supported by the village of La Haye ; and that he ordered him to detach seven thousand men of all arms and six pieces of cannon before day-light to St. Lambert, to be near the right of the grand army, and to co-operate with it ; that as soon as Blucher had evacuated Wavres, either towards Brussels or in any other direction, he should instantly march with the rest of his troops to support those already sent to St. Lambert. At eleven o'clock at night, an hour after this dispatch was sent off, a report from Marshal Grouchy, dated from Gembloux at five o'clock, stated that he was still in that village, ignorant of the direction Blucher had taken. A second officer was dispatched to him at four in the morning to reiterate the order sent at ten at night ; and soon after another message came from Grouchy, to say that he had learnt where Blucher was, and that he would follow in the morning. Thus, when it most needs their aid, do Frenchmen support the cause of their country, which, in this case, was the common cause of human nature. While sanguine of success or urged on by necessity, they take their chance in fight gallantly enough : but as soon as there is a doubt of the event, and there is only principle to fix them, you have no longer any hold upon them : they either go over to the enemy to put an end to an uneasy state of vacillation, or are quite at fault, and slip out of the difficulty how they can. Theirs is an utter want of self-reliance and fortitude. It was madness in Buonaparte to trust any one of them out of his sight for a single instant, if he could possibly help it.

## CHAPTER LVI.

## THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

Battle of Waterloo; remarks on the battle and its consequences; Napoleon returns to Paris; his abdication tendered to him by the Chambers; conversation with M. Benjamin Constant; Napoleon II. proclaimed; Buonaparte arrives at Rochefort, and goes on board the English ship *Bellerophon*; his letter to the Prince Regent.

DURING the night the Emperor gave all the necessary orders for the battle of the next day, though everything seemed to indicate that it would not take place. In the four days since hostilities had commenced, he had, by the most skilful manœuvres, surprised the enemy's armies, separated them, and gained an important victory. This was much for his glory; but not enough for the situation in which he was placed. Not having been able to bring the Anglo-Belgian army to action in the afternoon of the 17th, it was probable that the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher would profit by the night to cross the forest of Soignes and unite before Brussels. They would place the French army in a most critical position, as the two hostile armies would then have received all their reinforcements; among others the six thousand English lately disembarked from America at Ostend; and Napoleon durst hardly cross the forest of Soignes to encounter more than double his numbers; yet he had no time to lose—the Russians, Austrians, &c. being about to cross the Rhine, and advance on the Marne, while the fifth corps, left for the defence of Alsace, was only twenty thousand strong.

Full of meditation on these important subjects, the Emperor went out on foot at one o'clock in the morning, accompanied by the grand-marshal: his design was to follow the English army and attack it, in case of retreat, notwithstanding the obscurity of the night. He visited the whole line of main-guards. The forest of Soignes appeared like one continued blaze: the horizon between that forest, Braine-la-Leude, the farms of La Belle Alliance, and La Haye, were resplendent with the fires of numerous bivouacs; a profound silence reigned. The Anglo-Belgian army was wrapt in sleep, owing to the fatigues of the two preceding days. Arrived near the wood of Hougomont, he thought he heard the noise of a column in march: if so, the rear-guard ought to quit its position, and pursue the enemy in their retreat. But the noise ceased, and the rain continued to fall in torrents. It was half-past two o'clock. Several officers sent to reconnoitre agreed that the English had made no movement. At four the scouts brought in a peasant who had acted as guide to a British brigade going to take up a position at Ohain. Two deserters from a Flemish regiment confirmed the account, that their army was preparing for battle.

Buonaparte blames the English general for giving battle in these circumstances, and with the defiles of a forest in his rear, so that if defeated, retreat was impossible. I cannot say I do. It was certainly worth running some risk to beat him; and a second object was to stake the character of the English soldiery (for courage at least) against the French. Setting these two considerations aside, he might care as little about himself or about the cause of the allies, as every one else does at present. The French troops bivouacked in a deep mud; and the officers thought it impossible to give battle on the following day, as the artillery could hardly move for the moisture of the ground. The dawn having begun to appear, the Emperor returned to head-quarters, full of satisfaction at

the great fault committed by the English general, though apprehensive that the bad weather would prevent his taking advantage of it. But the atmosphere became more clear, and at five o'clock he perceived some feeble rays of that sun, which before its setting was to witness the triumph of the despot and the slave throughout the world, and as long as it shall continue to roll round this orb of ours !

The Anglo-Belgian army was drawn up in order of battle across the causeway leading from Charleroi to Brussels, in front of the forest of Soignes, crowning a large flat, from which the ground gradually sloped forward. The right, composed of the 1st and 2nd English divisions and the Brunswick division, under Generals Cook and Clinton, was near the road to Nivelles, a detachment of the guards occupying the castle of Hougoumont, about a mile in front. The centre, or 3rd English division, and 1st and 2nd Belgian divisions (Generals Alten, Collaert, and Chassé), was close upon the farm of Mont St. Jean, between the road to Nivelles and Charleroi, with one of its brigades at the farm of La Haye-Sainte between the two armies. The left, or 5th and 6th English divisions, and 3rd Belgian division, commanded by Picton, Lambert, and Perchoncher, had its right towards the causeway of Charleroi, and its left behind the village of La Haye, where it had a strong detachment. The reserve was at Mont St. Jean, where the roads from Charleroi and Nivelles meet. The cavalry in three lines guarded the rear of the troops, which extended about three miles. There was a ravine in front. The 4th English division, under General Colville, were placed as flankers on the right from Halle to Braine-la-Leude, and a brigade of cavalry at the village of Ohain on the left. The forces shown by the allies amounted to about ninety thousand men, of which not quite forty thousand were English.

At eight o'clock the Emperor's breakfast was served up: to this many general officers sat down. "The



enemy's army," said Napoleon, "is superior to ours by nearly a fourth: there are, nevertheless, ninety chances in our favour to ten against us." "Without doubt," said Marshal Ney, who had just entered, "if the Duke of Wellington were simple enough to wait for your majesty; but I am come to announce that his columns are already in full retreat, and are disappearing in the forest of Soignes." "You must have seen badly," replied the Emperor; "it is too late, he would expose himself to certain ruin by such a step: he has thrown the dice—they are now for us!" At this moment, officers of artillery, who had rode over the plain, stated that the artillery could manœuvre, though with great difficulty, which would be greatly abated in another hour. The Emperor mounted horse immediately, and went forward to the skirmishers opposite La Haye-Sainte, again reconnoitred the English line, and ordered General Haxo to approach nearer to it to see if any entrenchments were thrown up. He then, after a few moments' reflection, dictated the order of battle which was taken down by two of his generals, seated on the ground. The aides-de-camp took it to the different corps already under arms, and who now moved forward, marching in eleven columns. At nine o'clock, the heads of the four columns of the first line arrived where they had to form: at the same time were perceived, at unequal distances, the seven other columns, as they descended from the heights; the drums and trumpets sounded "*To the field,*" and the bands struck up airs which recalled the memory of a hundred victories to the minds of the soldiery:—the earth seemed proud of being trod by such intrepid warriors! The spectacle was magnificent; and being seen to great advantage from the heights of Mont St. Jean must have inspired the opposite army, though not with fear, with admiration.

The close columns moved with so much precision that no confusion arose, each occupying the place assigned to it in the mind of its chief. The army

was drawn up in six lines on each side of the causeway of Charleroi, the two first of infantry, having the light cavalry at each of its wings; the third and fourth of cuirassiers; the fifth and sixth of the cavalry of the guard, with the infantry of the guard drawn up across the road a little in the rear of these six lines, and the 6th corps and the cavalry of General Daumont and Subervie in column on each side of it in the interval between them. To the extreme left, the light cavalry of the 2nd corps formed across the road of Nivelles, near the woods of Hougoumont. The 2nd corps itself under General Reille formed the two first lines of infantry between the causeway of Nivelles and that of Charleroi. It was in three divisions, extending above a mile, the first commanded by Prince Jerome facing Hougoumont, the centre by General Foy, the third by General Bachelu, approaching the road to Charleroi, near the farm of La Belle-Alliance. The artillery was in the intervals between the brigades. Behind these two lines of infantry were placed Kellermann's cuirassiers, at a distance of two hundred yards; and behind them at the same distance, the cavalry of the guard, each in two lines. On the right of the causeway of Charleroi, the 1st corps under Count d'Erlon formed the two first lines of infantry, reaching from La Belle-Alliance nearly to Frichermont, where the light cavalry was drawn up opposite La Haye; behind this body of infantry were two lines of Milhaud's cuirassiers; and behind them, the lancers and chasseurs of the guard. The hospitals and parks were in the rear. At half-past ten o'clock the whole movement was completed, and all the troops at their stations. The most profound silence reigned on the field of battle. The Emperor then went through the ranks, the soldiers expressing the utmost enthusiasm: the infantry raised their caps on their bayonets, the cuirassiers their helmets on the point of their sabres. Victory appeared to hover over them: the old soldiers admired this new order of battle and endeavoured to guess at

the ulterior views of their general. Meanwhile, the Emperor gave his last orders and proceeded at the head of the guard to the heights of Rossome, where he dismounted, and where he had a complete view of the two armies, as the prospect extended far to the right and left of the field of battle. He could discern the movements of the English general, and had the reserve of the guard at hand to send them where the emergency of the case might require.

A large quantity of artillery was placed on the eminences in front of La Belle-Alliance and a little to its right, to support the principal attack which was to be made on La Haye-Sainte by two divisions of the 1st corps (D'Erlon's) and two divisions of the 6th (Lobau's), while two other divisions of the 1st corps should march on the village of La Haye. The light cavalry of the 6th corps placed in the centre on the route of Charleroi, and that of the 1st, stationed to the right of Fricheront, were to participate in this attack, as also the cavalry and guards. Its object was to turn the left of the English army, and cut off its right (which was its strongest) from the road to Brussels. The Emperor preferred turning the left of the hostile army to its right—1st, because he would thus intercept its communication with the Prussians who were at Wavres; 2nd, because the left appeared the most feeble; 3rd, because he himself was in momentary expectation of being joined on that side by Grouchy. Whilst every thing was preparing for the grand attack, Prince Jerome's division on the left commenced a fire of musketry at the wood of Hougoumont. The British unmasked forty pieces of cannon. General Reille advanced the battery of his second division, and the Emperor sent an order to Kellermann to employ his light artillery. The wood was carried several times and as often lost, being defended with great bravery by a division of the English guards. General Foy's division was engaged, and prodigies of valour were performed on both sides, the

English guards covering the wood and avenues of the castle with their dead, who had parted with their blood dearly. In this contest, which lasted great part of the day, the wood was at length taken; but the castle and farm-yard in which some hundreds of English had enclosed themselves, still obstinately held out. The Emperor ordered it to be attacked by a battery of eight howitzers, which setting fire to the roofs and barns, the French remained masters of the position.

Marshal Ney was entrusted with conducting the chief attack in the centre: no one was better fitted for a service of this kind. He had sent word that every thing was ready, and that he only waited the signal to begin. Before giving it, the Emperor wished to cast a last glance over the whole field, when he perceived in the direction of St. Lambert a dark spot (dark indeed) which looked to him like troops. He asked the Adjutant-General what he saw near St. Lambert? He answered, "I think I see five or six thousand men; it is probably a detachment from Grouchy." All the glasses of the officers were now turned that way. Some thought there were no troops but merely trees: others that there were columns stationary there, others that they were in motion. In this state of uncertainty and without further deliberation, Napoleon sent for General Daumont and ordered him with his light cavalry and that of Subervie to advance towards these troops, to effect a junction with them if they were Grouchy's, and keep them in check if they were enemies. These three thousand cavalry proceeded rapidly to a distance of nearly five miles, and drew up in line of battle to the right of the army. Presently after, a black Prussian hussar was brought in prisoner, from whom and from a letter of which he was the bearer, it was learnt that the column seen at St. Lambert was the advanced-guard of Bulow, who was coming up with thirty thousand fresh troops; that Blucher was with his army at



Wavres, and that Grouchy had not appeared there. The Duke of Dalmatia instantly dispatched a messenger to reiterate the order to Grouchy to march without a moment's delay on St. Lambert and take Bulow's corps in the rear. Whether he had received the orders sent to him in the night or not, it was thought he must now be at hand, as he had proposed to set out at dawn, and it was only three leagues from Gembloux to Wavres. But no one heard or saw any thing of him. The Emperor on this ordered Count Lobau to follow and support the cavalry of General Daumont, choosing a good position where he might with ten thousand men keep thirty thousand in check, and to redouble the attack as soon as he found that Grouchy was in the rear of the Prussians. Napoleon thus found himself enfeebled on the field of battle by the loss of ten thousand men, so that he no longer had more than fifty-nine thousand troops against ninety thousand. "We had ninety chances for us this morning," he said to Soult; "the arrival of Bulow makes us lose thirty; but we have still sixty against forty; and if Grouchy repairs the dreadful fault which he committed yesterday by amusing himself with Gembloux, and sends on his detachment with rapidity, the victory will be thereby only the more decisive, for the corps of Bulow must in that case be entirely lost."

It was noon: the skirmishers were engaged all along the line, but there was no real action except on the left at Hougoumont. The troops of Bulow were still stationary on the extreme right; they seemed to wait till their artillery had passed the defile. The Emperor sent an order to Marshal Ney to commence the attack. Eighty guns soon made an immense havoc through all the left of the English line; one of its divisions was entirely destroyed. While this attack was unmasked, the Emperor attentively observed the movements of the English general: he made none on his right, but the Emperor perceived a grand charge of cavalry preparing on the left, and he galloped to the spot. It had taken place before he



came up; a column of French infantry were repulsed, two eagles and seven pieces of cannon taken. A brigade of Milhaud's cuirassiers was brought up and ordered to charge the enemy's cavalry. They did so: the English cavalry was broken by the onset, and a great part of it left on the field: the guns were retaken, and the infantry fell into their ranks again. Charges of infantry and cavalry now followed thick upon each other: at length, after the engagement had lasted three hours, the farm of La Haye-Sainte, in spite of the desperate resistance of the Scotch regiments, was occupied by the French infantry; while the fifth and sixth English divisions were nearly cut in pieces, their General, Picton, remaining dead on the field. During the combat, the Emperor rode through the line of infantry of the first corps, the line of cavalry of Milhaud's cuirassiers, and that of the guard in the third line, in the midst of the discharges of the adversary's artillery and musquetry. The brave General Devaux, commanding the artillery of the Guard, was killed at his side by a cannon-ball. He was succeeded by General Lallemande, who was also wounded shortly after.

Disorder began to prevail in the English army: the baggage, waggon-train, and wounded, seeing the enemy approach the high-road to Brussels and the principal opening through the forest, hastened to effect their retreat, as did most of the English, Belgians, and Germans who had been sabred by the cavalry. It was now four o'clock. The Emperor about this time received a most disagreeable piece of news from Gembloux that Marshal Grouchy had not quitted his camp there at ten o'clock, owing, it was said, to the badness of the weather. Strange and most pernicious infatuation!\* The cannonade between General

\* I do not attribute deliberate treachery to Marshal Grouchy; but I believe that the vanity of the French was so excited and tortured at this period lest they should not take the most *knowing* side of the question, that they fairly lost their senses and their self-possession altogether.

Bulow and Count Lobau had now commenced and was maintained for an hour, when the French general perceived that the centre of the Prussians, which was foremost, was not well supported, marched to the spot, pierced through and repulsed it; but the two wings, which had been retarded by the roads, then came forward and endeavoured to out-flank the 6th corps. Count Lobau, fearful of being turned, fell back. The fire of the Prussians now doubled: the balls fell on the causeway in front and in rear of La Belle-Alliance, where the Emperor was standing with his guard. At this critical moment, he ordered General Duhesme, who commanded the young guard, to wheel to the right of the 6th corps with his two brigades of infantry and twenty-four pieces of cannon. A quarter of an hour afterwards, that formidable battery opened its fire; and soon acquired the superiority. As soon as the young guard was engaged, the movement of the Prussians appeared to be checked: but still they continued to attempt out-flanking the French right. Lieutenant-General Morand then moved with four battalions of the old guard and sixteen pieces of cannon, to the right of the young guard: two regiments of the old guard took post in front of Plenchenoit: the Prussian line being out-flanked, General Bulow was repulsed; his left made a movement backwards, converged, and by degrees all his line fell back. The French advanced, and occupied the positions from which General Bulow retreated. The Prussian bullets no longer reached the causeway of Charleroi, nor did they even come near the spot previously occupied by Count Lobau: this was at seven o'clock.

Two hours had elapsed since Count d'Erlon had taken possession of La Haye, had outflanked the English left and General Bulow's right. The light cavalry of the 1st corps, pursuing the infantry on the flats of La Haye, had been brought back by a body of cavalry superior in weight and number. Count Milhaud now ascended the height with his cuirassiers,

giving warning to General Lefebvre Desnouettes, who immediately commenced a hot fire to sustain him. This happened at five o'clock, at the moment when Bulow's attack had been most menacing. The English cavalry was repulsed by the cuirassiers and the chasseurs of the guard. The whole field of battle between La Haye-Sainte and Mont St. Jean, occupied by the English left, was abandoned. On seeing these brilliant charges, cries of victory were heard all over the field, upon which the Emperor said, "It is an hour too soon: but we must follow up what is done." He then sent an order to the cuirassiers of Kellermann, which were still stationary on the left, to move quickly to the support of the cavalry on the low grounds. This rapid movement of three thousand cuirassiers who advanced under the cannonade of the Prussians, shouting, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" had an animating effect, though it ought in strictness to have been delayed a little longer. The cavalry marched as in pursuit of the English army, while Bulow still pressed upon the flank and rear. The soldiers and officers sought to divine in the looks of the chief (which breathed nothing but confidence) whether they were conquerors or in danger.\* Just at this time, the division of heavy cavalry of the guard, under the orders of General Guyot, and which was behind Kellermann's cuirassiers, followed at a brisk trot to the plain. On perceiving this movement, the Emperor sent Count Bertrand to recall it, for it was his reserve; but they were already in action before the order arrived. Thus did the Emperor find himself deprived of his reserve of cavalry ever since five o'clock; of that reserve which properly employed had so often given him the victory: while these twelve thousand select horse performed prodigies of valour; overthrew the more numerous cavalry opposed

\* This is a distinctive trait between the French and English. The latter would not look to see what would be the event in such circumstances, but would determine to produce it themselves, or fall in the attempt.

to them ; broke through many squares of infantry, disordered their ranks, took possession of sixty pieces of cannon, and seized six stand of colours. These trophies were presented to the Emperor by three chasseurs of the guard and three cuirassiers. The English commander believed the battle lost a second time ; and must have felt considerable uneasiness at the perilous situation in which he had chosen to place himself. Ponsonby's brigade, charged by the red lancers of the guard, was broken through, and its general killed by several lance-wounds. The Prince of Orange was severely wounded, and on the point of being taken : but in spite of all these advantages the French cavalry not being supported by the strong body of infantry, which was still engaged with Bulow, could do no more than keep its ground, till about seven o'clock ; when Bulow having been repulsed and the cavalry still maintaining itself on the flat, whence its adversaries were driven, the victory might be said to be gained. Joy was in every countenance, and hope in every heart. This sentiment was the more powerful from succeeding the apprehensions which had been felt during the flank attack of a whole army, and that had endangered their retreat for above an hour. At this moment a cannonade was distinctly heard ; it came in the direction of Wavres ; it was Blucher, and not Grouchy.—\*

The latter between twelve and one o'clock was half-way between Gembloux and Wavres, where he

\* It is not generally known that on the night of the 17th of June, 1815, the Duke of Wellington, after the army had bivouacked, rode across the country to concert with Blucher the junction of the Prussian army with the British forces by twelve o'clock the following day. The night was most tempestuous. The Duke came into the field at ten o'clock on the 18th, accompanied by two distinguished artillery officers, and it has often been remarked that his Grace repeatedly and anxiously looked at his watch during the course of the day. When the distant firing of the Prussians was heard in the afternoon, his Grace exclaimed, "That is Old Blucher at last." The state of the roads, cut up by the incessant torrents of rain, and the desire to avoid the French *corps d'armie* under Grouchy, were the causes which prevented the expected junction at 12 o'clock.—ED.



heard the terrible cannonade of Waterloo, and must know that two great armies were engaged. General Excelmans came up, and addressing the Marshal, said, "The Emperor is in action with the English army; there can be no doubt of it; a fire so terrible cannot be a skirmish. We ought to march to the scene of action. I am an old soldier of the army of Italy, and have heard General Buonaparte promulgate this principle a hundred times. If we turn to the left, we shall be on the field of battle in two hours." He hesitated, but pleaded his orders to follow Blucher, which he ought to have done the preceding day, and though he did not now know where he was. Count Gerard joined them and urged the same advice. Still nothing could move him; he remained as if spell-bound. The very fear of what might happen, the magnitude of the people, took away the power to avert it. He saw the sun shining above his head, that was no more to behold his country's independence or the face of freedom; he saw the triumphs, the struggles, the sacrifices of the last five-and-twenty years about to be annulled and made of no account, which it required but one more effort to sanction and confirm for ever; the blood that had flowed turned into laughter and scorn; an imbecile monarch forced back on an hereditary throne, like some foul Eastern idol, borne in defiance over the bleeding bodies and the prostrate necks of an abused people; liberty bound hand and foot, afraid to breathe or move, its name henceforth to become a reproach, reviled, suspected, hunted down, and trod into the earth under the hoofs of kings: he saw this done by an English general, vaunting the rights, the glory, and the generosity of his own country; he saw the greatest reputation in modern times about to become a prey to the most shallow and worthless;—

—“Saw where an eagle in his pride of place  
Was by a mousing owl hawk'd at and killed—”

He saw or should have seen all this, and could not be

prevailed upon to stir a step to prevent it. The very weight and damning sense of consequences which should cut short all hesitation and compunction, seems in minds not strong enough to cope with it, to seek relief in idle forms or in some hollow subterfuge. At one moment Marshal Grouchy appeared convinced ; but just then a report came that the Prussians were at Wavres, and he set out once more after them. It was a rear-guard which Blucher had left there : he himself had gone (where he was much wanted) to Waterloo. Marshal Grouchy found at Wavres the officer who had been dispatched from the field of battle at ten o'clock in the morning, and sent General Pajol with twelve thousand men to Limate, a bridge over the Dyle, about a league behind St. Lambert, where they arrived at seven in the evening.

Blucher had passed the night of the 17th at Wavres, with all his troops. Informed that the Duke of Wellington had decided to receive battle in front of the forest of Soignes, if he could reckon on his co-operation, the Prussian general had in the morning detached his fourth corps, which remained in line (not having been in the action at Ligny) on St. Lambert. Hearing no tidings of Grouchy, he concluded the whole French army was together : he therefore put his second corps, eighteen thousand strong, in motion, and marched himself with the first corps, reduced to thirteen thousand, towards Mont St. Jean, leaving Thielman with the third at Wavres. On his way, at six o'clock, he learnt that Grouchy had arrived before Wavres ; but it was too late to turn back, nor was he so disposed. In his mind (at least) the greater object outweighed the less. If Napoleon was victorious, Grouchy was of little consequence ; if Napoleon was beaten, Grouchy was of still less. Blucher kept his face turned towards Waterloo ; he did not shrink from, but was attracted to, the spot where the struggle was ; for "strength with strength doth sympathise." His march was

slow, the men being greatly fatigued, and the roads broken up and full of defiles. His two columns, thirty-one thousand strong, opened the communication between Bulow and the English. The former, who was retreating, halted: Wellington, who had been in a state of stupor, and had seen nothing before him but a disgraceful defeat, now saw his escape. By Blucher's arrival, the allied army was increased to one hundred and fifty thousand men, a proportion of more than two to one.

Meanwhile, the cavalry in the plain, whence it commanded a view of the field of battle, observing the movement of General Bulow, but confiding in the reserves of the guard, which it saw ready to keep that general in check, entertained (up to this period) no alarm; and even loudly cheered when it saw him driven back, waiting the arrival of the infantry of the guard to decide the victory: but it felt the greatest astonishment on perceiving the numerous columns of Blucher arrive. Some regiments fell back; the Emperor noticed this; and as it was of the utmost importance to restore firmness to the cavalry, he put himself at the head of four battalions of the infantry of the guard, and advanced on the left, in front of La Haye-Sainte, sending aides-de-camp along the whole line, to announce the arrival of succours and to say that a little patience would decide the victory. General Reille's corps was prepared to attack in front of the castle of Hougoumont. The Emperor seeing the cavalry disconcerted, and that a reserve of infantry was necessary to support it, ordered General Friant to march with the four battalions of the middle guard (the others not having come up) to meet the threatened onset. These four battalions repulsed all whom they met, at the same time that charges of cavalry bore down the English ranks. In ten minutes the other battalions of the guard arrived; the Emperor ranged them by brigades, two battalions in line and two in columns. The sun was set: General

Friant, being wounded, passed by at this moment ; he said that all went on well, that the enemy appeared to form a rear-guard to support his retreat ; but that he would be entirely broken as soon as the rest of the guard attacked him. For this a quarter of an hour was necessary. It was at this juncture that Blucher arrived at La Haye, and overthrew the corps which defended it : it fled with precipitation. Though attacked with quadruple its number, it might by a little more perseverance, and by taking advantage of the houses and the night, have prevented Marshal Blucher from forcing his way through the village. It was here that the cry of *Sauve qui peut* is said to have been first heard. As it was, the opening being made, and the line once broken, the Prussian cavalry inundated the plain. Bulow marched forward again—Count Lobau fell back unwillingly. The crowd became so great that it was necessary to change the front of the guard with its left on La Haye-Sainte and its right on La Belle-Alliance, facing the Prussians, on whom an attack was then made. At this crisis the brigade of two thousand English cavalry from Ohain marched forward and penetrated between General Reille and the guard. The disorder became dreadful throughout the field ; the Emperor having only time to put himself under the protection of one the squares of the guard. He now missed his reserve, which had hastily engaged at the close of the afternoon. General Bulow pushed on to his left, outflanking the field of battle. Had it been daylight, so that the troops could have seen the Emperor, they might have been rallied ; but nothing could be done in the obscurity of the night. The guard retreated ; the fire of their opponents was within eight yards of the French army ; and the causeways cut off. The Emperor with his staff lingered a long time on a small elevation with the regiments of the guard. Four pieces of cannon planted there kept up a brisk fire on the plain : the last discharge wounded Lord Uxbridge, who com-



manded the English cavalry. There was no longer any time to lose; the Emperor could only retreat through the fields, where cavalry, infantry, artillery were all confusedly mingled together. The staff gained the little town of Gemappes, where it was intended to rally a rear-guard; but the disorder was irremediable. It was now eleven o'clock: and the Emperor's only hope rested with Girard's division, which had been left at Ligny, and to which he had sent an order to march on Quatre-Bras to support the retreat.

Thus was lost the battle of Waterloo, the greatest and most fatal in its consequences that ever was fought in the world. It was lost in spite of every possible effort and combination of genius to win it, because all the skill and force Napoleon was master of was unable to overcome the obstinacy and courage of the British soldiers before the arrival of an overwhelming superiority of numbers, which it had been the object of all the French general's endeavours to disunite, and in which he had so far and would still have succeeded, had it not been for the unaccountable absence of Grouchy both from Waterloo and Wavres, at one or other of which places it is certain he ought to have been. The English soldiers stood the brunt of the battle the whole day (though with dreadful havoc) by their own inherent stubbornness of character and daring resistance to the enemy: the Prussians by an inroad of fresh troops (when all was supposed to be nearly over) gained the victory, of which the English general has received the credit ever since. He had the merit of standing by and leaving the issue very wisely to his men. The loss of the English in this battle was eleven thousand three hundred men, the Hanoverians three thousand five hundred; the Belgians eight thousand, the Prussians in the four days' fighting thirty-eight thousand, in all sixty thousand troops. The French loss in the different battles and during the rout was forty thousand.

The French soldiers never showed more courage, cheerfulness, nor enthusiasm than in this campaign. Their confidence in the Emperor was unabated; but they were suspicious and distrustful of their other chiefs. The treasons of 1814 were always present to their minds; and every movement which they did not comprehend created disquietude. When the first shots were fired at St. Amand, an old corporal approached the Emperor, and said to him, "Sire, distrust Marshal Soult, be assured that he betrays us." "Be tranquil," replied the Emperor, "I answer for him as for myself." Towards the middle of the engagement, an officer reported to Marshal Soult that General Vandamme had gone over to the enemy. When the battle was nearly over, a dragoon, his sabre covered with blood, rode up, crying, "Sire, come quickly to our division, General d'Henin harangues the soldiery to go over to the enemy." "Have you heard him?" "No, sire, but an officer who seeks your Majesty has seen him, and charged me to tell it you." While this was passing, General d'Henin received a cannon-shot, which carried away one of his thighs. On the 14th, at night, Lieutenant-General Bourmont, Colonel Clouet, and the staff-officer Viloutrey deserted to the enemy. Some officers, who were the bearers of dispatches, are also supposed to have disappeared. But not a single soldier deserted his station; while many who were wounded, killed themselves on the field of battle, when they learnt that the army was routed. Lieutenant-General Duhesme and Count Lobau were taken prisoners: General Cambrone of the guard remained severely wounded on the field of battle. Of twenty-four English generals, twelve were killed or dangerously wounded. General Duhesme, although a prisoner, was assassinated on the 19th by a Brunswick hussar; a crime that remained unpunished and unnoticed. He was a brave and excellent officer, firm and unshaken in good as well as in bad fortune.

Grouchy attacked and beat General Thielman at Wavres at six o'clock on the evening of the 18th. Count Gerard was wounded. General Pajol with his twelve thousand men repulsed Bulow's rear-guard, and passed the Dyle; but owing to the darkness could not continue his march. The next day, General Thielman attacked Marshal Grouchy, and was repulsed by him. The latter gave directions to pursue the enemy towards Brussels, when he received the news of the loss of the battle of Mont St. Jean and the Emperor's order to retreat on Namur. He did so, the Prussians following him. He arrived at Laon on the 26th with thirty-two thousand men. The first Prussian troops arrived about eleven in the night of the 18th, at the heights above Gemappes: they soon overpowered a handful of French soldiers, whom General Duhesme had collected, and entered the town. Among other equipages, they found the travelling carriage of the Emperor, which was usually brought into the field behind him, and was so fitted up as to contain a dressing-case, a change of clothes, a sword, cloak, and an iron bedstead.\* Napoleon arrived at Quatre-Bras about one o'clock; dismounted at a bivouac; and dispatched several officers to Marshal Grouchy to return. Girard's division left at Ligny was not to be found. Count Lobau rallied some hundreds of horse, and put himself at their head as a rear-guard; but was soon after made prisoner. The Emperor then directed his course to Charleroi, where he found that a great number of cavalry had already crossed the Sambre; he thence proceeded to Philippeville, and arrived at Laon on the 20th at four in the afternoon. Here he received dispatches from Prince Jerome, stating that he had rallied twenty-five thousand men at Avesne; that the army augmented every hour, that most of the generals were arrived, and that the loss was not so great as it was thought to

\* This carriage was afterwards shown in London.

be, more than half of the guns and stores of artillery being saved. Marshal Soult was ordered to fix himself at Laon, to complete the fortifications and secure supplies of provisions for an army of eighty or ninety thousand men, which would be united in a few days before that town. The Emperor imagining that the enemy's generals, profiting of their victory, would push on to the Somme, required Prince Jerome to bring the army from Avesne on the 22nd and give Grouchy and Count Rapp (with the fifth corps, twenty thousand men) the rendezvous under the walls of Laon. His presence with the army not being wanted for a few days, he determined to make use of this interval to go to Paris; but he meant to return to Laon on the 25th. Never! He must know this himself, unless he resolved to resort to measures of violence, which (unfortunately) were equally contrary to his nature, his habits, and his principles. Paris was the heart of France; and it was the heart of a woman. To pluck out this heart and put a man's heart into it, it would be necessary to unsheath the bloody falchion of civil discord, and renew the terrors of the revolution. But he had hitherto marched in military forms, had strode in imperial pomp; and if he had attempted to change his character, he would have faltered half way and only sunk from his dignity without producing the wished for effect. Otherwise, well would it have been to have given up everything sooner than the cause; and to let tyrants see that after having made torrents of blood flow without remorse or pity for five and twenty years to gain their object, their opponents had at least equal spirit and obduracy to shed what was left of theirs, and to turn the stalls of slavery (into which they were driven like cattle) into a slaughter-house! The chambers (half raitors, half cowards) would be against him; and without the chambers, he could only save France by making examples and by a great convulsion. It cost him a world of agony to decide; but he at length



determined to give up the attempt, doubtful and desperate as it was, not so much because the end did not justify the means, as from a want of *keeping* and decorum in his becoming the instrument of it. He yielded to the clamour that it was better to sacrifice one man than a whole nation :—as if the allies cared anything about him but from the aid he lent to France, and to a cause which they hated. If they feared one man more than a whole nation, surely he could not be reckoned as an ordinary man.

Napoleon returned to Paris on the 21st. The hubbub was complete. His presence did not lessen it. It was proposed that he should immediately go to the chambers without changing his dress and covered with dust just as he arrived from the field of battle, and that this might have some effect ; but the design was laid aside, as from the temper they were in, some personal risk was apprehended. Fouché who was in correspondence with Metternich and the royalists ran about from one party to another, fomenting the mischief, saying to the constitutionalists, “He is come back desperate, we cannot submit to the restoration of tyranny,” and then seeking out the Buonapartists and persuading them that unless they took prompt and decisive steps, the chambers would depose the Emperor and invite the allies in. In the height of the fermentation, the legislative body declared itself permanent ; and the abdication was tendered to Buonaparte which he signed the 22nd in favour of his son. By this act he became a private individual. The Duke of Wellington and Blucher no sooner heard of it than they marched upon Paris (knowing there was no longer any obstacle between them and their prey) which they entered on the 28th, bringing Louis with them, that lover of peace and liberty, who ascended his throne a second time by the help of foreign bayonets and in virtue of divine right, and who had no sooner done so than he dissolved the two chambers, thus putting an end at once to all their fine-spun

schemes of legislation and government. As to those of them who wished either openly or secretly for the return of the Bourbons, I have nothing to say ; they are not people to be reasoned with ; but those who thought they had any alternative but between Buonaparte and the Bourbons, were little short of mad. They might have been deceived the first time : but he who is twice a dupe, is more than half a hypocrite. The provisional government, composed of men like Fayette and B. Constant,\* demanding when disarmed and as a free gift from the allies the recognition of their right to choose their own government, which they had been fighting twenty-five years to deprive them of, and receiving as the only answer "Your king is at hand !"—from one whose own government existed by having sent *their* king into exile, presents a picture of folly and effrontery together which has no parallel but itself.

On the evening of Napoleon's return to Paris, he sent for M. Benjamin Constant to come to him at the Elysée about seven o'clock. The chambers had decreed their permanence (*pro tempore*) and the proposal for the abdication had reached the Emperor. He was serious, but calm. In reply to some words dropped on the disaster at Waterloo, he said, "The question no longer concerns me, but France. They wish me to abdicate. Have they calculated upon the inevitable consequences of this abdication? It is round me, round my name, that the army rallies : to separate me from it, is to disband it. If I abdicate to-day, in two days' time you will no longer have an army. These poor fellows do not understand all your subtleties. It is believed that axioms in metaphysics,

\* Fouché, who had wriggled himself into this government, was observed always to stand close by the side of the Duke of Wellington at these burlesque conferences, from whence he went to escort Buonaparte to the sea-side, and never quitted him ; but *dodged* him the whole way (like a malicious baboon) till he had seen him safe in the hands of his enemies.

declarations of right, harangues from the tribune will put a stop to the disbanding of an army? To reject me when I landed at Cannes, that I can conceive possible : to abandon me at present is what I do not understand. It is not when the enemy is at twenty-five leagues' distance that a government can be overturned with impunity. Does any one imagine that the foreign powers will be won over by fine words? If they had dethroned me fifteen days ago, there would have been some spirit in it : but as it is, I make part of what strangers attack, I make part then of what France is bound to defend. In giving me up, she gives up herself, she avows her weakness, she acknowledges herself conquered, she courts the insolence of the conqueror. It is not the love of liberty which deposes me, but Waterloo ; it is fear, and a fear of which your enemies will take advantage. And then what title has the chamber to demand my abdication? It goes out of its lawful sphere in doing so ; it has no authority. It is my right, my duty to dissolve it."

He then hastily ran over the possible consequences of such a step. Separated from the chambers, he could only be considered as a military chief ; but the army would be for him ; that would always join him who can lead it against foreign banners, and to this might be added all that part of the population which is equally powerful and easily led in such a state of things. As if chance intended to strengthen Napoleon in this train of thought, while he was speaking, the avenue of Marigny resounded with the cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* A crowd of men, chiefly of the poor and labouring class, pressed forward into the avenue, full of a wild enthusiasm, and trying to scale the walls to make an offer to Napoleon to rally round and defend him. Buonaparte for some time looked attentively at this group. "You see it is so," said he : "those are not the men whom I have loaded with honours and riches. What do these people owe

me? I found them, I left them poor. The instinct of necessity enlightens them; the voice of the country speaks by their mouths; and if I choose, if I permit it, in an hour the refractory chambers will have ceased to exist. But the life of a man is not worth purchasing at such a price: I did not return from the Isle of Elba that Paris should be inundated with blood."—He did not like the idea of flight. "Why should I not stay here?" he repeated. "What do you suppose they would do to a man disarmed like me? I will go to Malmaison: I can live there retired with some friends, who most certainly will come to see me only for my own sake." And then he described with complacency and even with a sort of gaiety this new kind of life. Then, discarding an idea which sounded like a mere irony, he went on:—"If they do not like me to remain in France, where am I to go? To England? My abode there would be ridiculous or disquieting. I should be tranquil; no one would believe it. Every fog would be suspected of landing me on the coast. At the first sight of a green coat getting out of a boat, one party would fly from France, the other would put France out of the pale of the law. I should compromise everybody, and by dint of repeating, 'Behold he comes,' I should feel the temptation to set out! America would be more suitable; I could live there with dignity. But once more what is there to fear? What sovereign can, without injuring himself, persecute me? To one I have restored half his dominions; how often has the other pressed my hand, calling me a *Great Man*! And as to the third, can he find pleasure or honour in the humiliation of his son-in-law? Would they wish to proclaim in the face of the world that all they did was through fear? As to the rest, I shall see: I do not wish to employ open force. I came in the hope of combining our last resources: they abandon me; they do so with the same facility with which they received me back. Well then, let them efface, if possible,



this double stain of weakness and levity ! Let them cover it over with some sacrifice, with some glory ! Let them do for the country what they will not do for me. I doubt it. To-day, those who deliver up Buonaparte, say that it is to save France : to-morrow, by delivering up France, they will prove that it was to save their own heads."

Such was the conversation and tone of mind of a man who but three evenings before had lost the battle of Waterloo ! If it shows greatness to attain the empire of the world, it shows still more to resign it with equanimity. The day following he abdicated. From that time his abode in Paris became uneasy, the groups and acclamations round the palace of the Elysée still continuing and exciting various apprehensions, according to men's wishes. On the 25th, Napoleon quitted the Elysée for Malmaison. The legislature proclaimed Napoleon II. on the 27th. During the 28th, the agitation and uncertainty of the capital continued, it being the general opinion that Fouché betrayed the national cause, and all true patriots wishing that Napoleon would that very night rejoin the army and repel the invaders from the soil. Fouché began to watch and lay trains for his late master ; and sent a letter to the Duke of Eckmuhl, pressing his departure for the Isle of Aix. When on the point of setting out, he sent a message to the provisional government, offering to take the command of the army, which met with the reception that might be expected. This was a weakness. He then set out with a part of his suite to Rochefort by way of Tours ; the others proceeded through Orleans and Saintes. Here Las Cases's party were reviled and insulted by some ladies of the fashionable circle of the place ; while the females of the lower classes bathed their hands in tears. This sufficiently pointed out which class profited by the two systems of government. Buonaparte arrived at Rochefort on the 3rd of July, and left it on the 15th, to go on board the Bellerophon

He here saw his brother Joseph for the last time. An offer had been made (perhaps an insidious one) by the captain of a Danish vessel to take him out of the harbour in disguise and proceed to America. The two French frigates that had been singled out by the minister of marine for that purpose were not strong enough to force their way by the English man-of-war, and would not be suffered to pass unquestioned. Captain Maitland, the commander of the *Bellerophon*, could give no answer to the question whether the English government would consider Buonaparte as a prisoner of war: but said, if he wished it, his instructions were to convey him to England, and that he had no doubt he would be well treated there. Count Lallemand, who was proscribed by the old French government, was particularly anxious to know whether persons in his situation would be delivered up on landing in England. This inquiry was answered in the negative, and the doubt was almost considered as an insult. It is an insult to doubt English honour and generosity: to believe it is a jest. Seeing no alternative in these circumstances but either to renew the war by joining General Lamarque in La Vendée or General Clausel at Bordeaux, or to surrender himself up to the English; Napoleon determined on the latter. Fouché, who accompanied him from the provisional government, was also becoming importunate. Having made up his mind on the subject, he dictated the well-known letter to the Prince Regent, announcing his intention and the motives of it, which General Gourgaud was commissioned to deliver in person, and a sloop of war immediately set out with him for that purpose. It was expressed as follows:—

“Royal Highness,

“Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the greatest powers of Europe, I have closed my political career. I come

like Themistocles to seek the hospitality of the English nation. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

This letter received no answer: nor in my opinion did it deserve one. Buonaparte had nothing in common with Themistocles, with the Prince-Regent, nor with the British people. As to their generosity, they have no doubt a disposition that way from constitutional courage; but though they mean well, they are so prone to think ill of others that they are at the mercy of every sinister report, and the goodness of their intentions is warped and poisoned by their prejudices and suspicions. On the 15th, at daylight, the French brig, *Epervier*, weighed anchor and proceeded towards the *Bellerophon*, having a flag of truce flying. Both wind and tide being contrary, Captain Maitland sent out his barge to meet her. Seeing the boats return, the captain was extremely anxious to discover with his spying-glass whether Napoleon was on board, a report having already been set about that he had escaped: at length the matter was placed beyond farther doubt as the Emperor came alongside with his suite. Count Las Cases, who had volunteered to accompany him in his exile, stood at the gangway to present Captain Maitland, to whom he said, "I come on board your ship to claim the protection of the English laws." The captain then led him to his cabin, of which he was put in immediate possession. All the officers of the *Bellerophon* were presented to the Emperor soon after: this ceremony being over, he came out of his cabin and visited every part of the ship during the morning.

## CHAPTER LVII.

## DEPARTURE FOR ST. HELENA.

His behaviour on board the Bellerophon ; the vessel ordered to Plymouth ; final resolve of the English ministers, exiling him to St. Helena ; Napoleon protests against his detention ; is removed to the "Northumberland," which sails for St. Helena ; his treatment and conduct during the voyage ; lands at St. Helena.

TOWARDS four o'clock, the Superb, an English seventy-four gun-ship bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Hotham, who commanded on the station, anchored close to the Bellerophon. The admiral came to visit the Emperor and remained to dinner. In consequence of the questions asked by Napoleon concerning his ship, he expressed a wish to know whether his Majesty would go on board the following day ; upon which the Emperor said he had no objection ; and would therefore breakfast with the admiral, accompanied by his suite. Accordingly, the next morning, the Emperor went on board the Superb. All the honours were liberally done, except those of firing cannon : every object was examined with the most minute attention. Admiral Hotham throughout evinced the refinement and grace belonging to a man of rank and breeding. On the return of the party to the Bellerophon, she got under weigh and set sail for England. This event took place on the 16th of July, a fortnight after their departure from Paris.

On leaving the Bellerophon in the morning to go on board the Superb, the Emperor stopped short in front of the guard drawn up on the quarter-deck to receive him. He made them perform several manœuvres,



giving the word of command himself. Having desired them to charge bayonets, and perceiving that this was not done altogether in the French manner, he advanced into the midst of the soldiers, put the weapons aside with his hands, and seizing a musket from one of the rear-rank, went through the exercise himself, according to the French method. A sudden movement and change of countenance among those who were present, sufficiently testified their astonishment at seeing the Emperor thus carelessly place himself amidst English bayonets. On returning from the *Superb*, his attendants were indirectly questioned on the subject, and asked whether the Emperor had ever acted in the same way with his own soldiers, while the greatest surprise was expressed at his confidence. Not one of the officers had any notion of sovereigns who could thus explain and execute their own commands; and it was easy to perceive they had no just conception of the person now before them, notwithstanding his having been so marked an object of attention for the last twenty years. The English, to indulge their own blind, headstrong prejudices, and serve the purposes of others, create a *bugbear* of the imagination; and when they come in contact with the reality, can hardly believe their senses, because it is not like!

The Emperor, however, had not been long amongst his most inveterate enemies, without exercising the influence of his real character and genius over them. The captain, officers, and crew, adopted the etiquette of his suite, showing him exactly the same attention and respect: the captain addressed him by his usual title: when he appeared on deck, every one took off his hat, and remained uncovered while he stayed—this was not the case at first. There was no entering his cabin, except by passing his attendants: no persons but those who were invited appeared at his table. Napoleon was in fact treated as an Emperor on board the *Bellerophon*. He often appeared on deck, con-

versing either with some of his suite or with the officers of the ship. Of all those who had followed Napoleon, Count Las Cases was the one who was least known to him. He now, however, frequently addressed him; and their intercourse became daily more friendly and familiar. The Count was able to make himself of use to the Emperor from his knowledge of the English language, which enabled him to act as interpreter; from his having been in the navy, so that he could explain what related to the manœuvres of the ship and the state of the weather; and he had also passed ten years in England, by which means he could furnish considerable information as to the laws, manners, and customs of the people. The first service that Las Cases rendered the Emperor was to draw up a summary under his dictation of their situation at Rochefort, and of the motives which induced him to throw himself on the faith and hospitality of England. This step was at least so far voluntary that he had at the time other resources and chances still left (however desperate)—and which assuredly he would have tried, had he known the treatment that was in reserve for him.

On the 23rd they saw Ushant at four in the morning, having passed it in the night. From the moment of approaching the Channel, ships of the line and frigates were seen sailing in various directions. The coast of England was discovered towards evening. The vessel anchored in Torbay about eight the next morning (the 24th). The Emperor had risen at six, and went on the poop, whence he surveyed the coast and anchorage. Captain Maitland immediately dispatched a messenger to Lord Keith, the commander-in-chief at Plymouth. General Gourgaud rejoined the Emperor. He had been obliged to deliver up the letter with which he was charged for the Prince-Regent, and had not only been refused permission to land, but prohibited from all communication. This was a bad omen, and the first indication of the num-

berless tribulations that followed. It was nothing short of madness to expect anything else. No sooner had it transpired that the Emperor was on board the *Bellerophon*, than the bay was covered with vessels and boats full of people. The owner of a beautiful country-seat in sight of the ship sent a present of a quantity of fruit. The concourse of boats and crowds of spectators continued without intermission. The Emperor saw them from the cabin-windows, and occasionally showed himself on deck. The French here received some letters from their friends. From the length of the passage, the French papers had had time to transmit an account of every particular that had happened, so that whatever related to Napoleon and his suite was already known in England, where they had been expected for some days before.

Orders arrived in the night of the 25th for the ship to repair immediately to Plymouth: they reached their new destination at four o'clock in the afternoon, ten days after their departure from Rochfort, twenty-seven after quitting Paris, and thirty-five from the Emperor's abdication. From this day forward things looked worse. Armed boats rowed round the ship: those whom curiosity had attracted were driven away by threats or force. Lord Keith, who was in the bay, did not come on board. Two frigates stood out from the roadstead and anchored on each side of the *Bellerophon*. Every visage seemed now turned towards the French with a sullen distrust; the most sinister rumours had reached the ship: several destinations were mentioned—imprisonment in the Tower was the least frightful, and some spoke of St. Helena. This sudden ill news threw the French into all the agonies of despair; and Las Cases declares that it turned his hair grey! The Emperor continued to appear on deck as usual. The different reports had reached him; but he disbelieved or seemed to disbelieve them. He still trusted to the generosity of the English character. As an additional

proof of this generosity (if any were wanting) the virulence of the English newspapers was let loose upon the victims of our bad faith at the moment when they were in our power: and all kinds of horrors, falsehoods, and imprecations were accumulated on their heads, to reconcile the public mind to the measures of violence and meanness about to be perpetrated towards them. The character of English generosity is not sufficiently understood. It only begins to operate when all power of resistance on the part of an enemy ceases, with every pretext for vengeance or alarm; and a lurking malignity descends even into the tomb, so loth are we to quit the shadow of that which excited our hatred and our dread—the only passion of which we are ordinarily susceptible! None can escape the influence of slander, constantly repeated; and as was designed, the demeanour of those around the French Emperor and his followers became less easy, their politeness appeared constrained, and their countenances more misgiving.

Lord Keith, after announcing himself for some time before, had only just made his appearance. The papers gave an account of the measures in contemplation; but nothing official appeared, and this kept the captives in a state of uncertainty and suspense, the most painful of all others. Meanwhile, their arrival in England had produced a singular sensation: the presence of the Emperor excited a curiosity bordering on delirium. All England seemed hurrying towards Plymouth. People were stopped on the road for want of post-horses and accommodation. The Sound was covered with an immense number of boats, for which enormous prices were given. The Emperor, to whom the statements in the newspapers were read, betrayed no decrease of composure either by his conversation or general habits. It was known that he always appeared on deck towards five in the afternoon. A short time before this hour, all the boats collected along-side of each other: there were thousands: and so close together, that the water could



no longer be seen for them. The people looked more like a multitude collected in a public square than anything else. When the Emperor came out, the noise and gestures of so many people had a most striking effect. It was evident, however, that nothing hostile was meant; and that if curiosity had brought them, they felt interested on going away. At first, the spectators merely looked towards the ship, they ended by saluting; some remained uncovered and occasionally went so far as to cheer. Several persons of both sexes came decorated with red carnations—a circumstance of which the newspapers took advantage to pour out fresh abuse and instigate farther severities.

A report had been in circulation for two days, that an under-secretary of state was coming from London officially to notify the final resolution of the English ministers with respect to the Emperor. Accordingly (on the 30th) the messenger appeared: it was Sir Charles Bunbury. He came on board, accompanied by Lord Keith, and delivered a dispatch, authorising the removal of the Emperor to St. Helena, and limiting the number of persons who were to accompany him to three, excluding, however, the Duke of Rovigo and General Lallemand, included in the list of those proscribed by the Bourbons. The bearers of this sentence spoke and understood French: they were admitted alone. Napoleon protested with firmness and warmth against the violation about to be exercised on his person. The following is the form, in which the notification was conveyed:—

*“ Communication made by Lord Keith, in the name of the English Ministers.*

“As it may, perhaps, be convenient for General Buonaparte to learn, without farther delay, the intentions of the British government with regard to him, your Lordship will communicate the following information.

“It would be inconsistent with our duty towards

our country and the allies of his Majesty, if General Buonaparte possessed the means of again disturbing the repose of Europe. It is on this account that it becomes absolutely necessary he should be restrained in his personal liberty, *so far as this is required by the foregoing important object.*

“The island of St. Helena has been chosen as his future residence; *its climate is healthy; and its local position will allow of his being treated with more indulgence than could be admitted in any other spot,* owing to the indispensable precautions which it would be necessary to employ for the security of his person.

“General Buonaparte is allowed to select amongst those persons who accompanied him to England (with the exception of General Savary and Lallemand) three officers, who, together with his surgeon, will have permission to accompany him to St. Helena: these individuals will not be allowed to quit the island without the sanction of the British government.

“Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who is named Commander-in-Chief at the Cape of Good Hope and seas adjacent, will convey General Buonaparte and his suite to St. Helena; and he will receive detailed instructions relative to the execution of this service.

“Sir G. Cockburn will, most probably, be ready to sail in a few days; for which reason it is desirable that General Buonaparte should make choice of the persons who are to accompany him without delay.”

Although this sentence had been expected, it deeply affected most of those whom it concerned. The Emperor did not however fail to appear on deck as usual, with the same countenance as before; and tranquilly surveyed the crowds which seemed more eager than ever to see him. The exclusion of Generals Savary and Lallemand was particularly afflicting; and it sounded in the circumstances of the time like their death-warrant. The rest hoped that the Emperor's choice might fall upon them; entertaining no fear but

that of being left behind. The Emperor had the papers read to him every day. Only two amongst them were favourable ; yet this gave some hope that the hatred inspired by an enemy would at length turn to more generous sentiments. The grand-marshal (Bertrand) and the Duke of Rovigo alone saw Napoleon habitually. Many of those who had followed his fortunes did not approach or speak to him more frequently than when he had been at the Tuileries. He usually sent for Count Las Cases, when there were any letters or papers to translate ; and on the evening of the 1st of August, asked him if he would accompany him to St. Helena, to which the latter cheerfully assented. While they were talking on the subject, Madame Bertrand rushed into the cabin ; and in a frantic manner entreated the Emperor not to go to St. Helena, nor take her husband with him. But observing the astonishment and calmness of Napoleon, she ran back as precipitately as she had entered. In a moment after, loud cries were heard ; and on inquiry it was found that she had attempted to throw herself overboard, and was with difficulty prevented.

Count Las Cases was personally acquainted only with General and Madame Bertrand, whom he had known in Illyria, when he had been on a mission there. He had a prejudice against Savary, which soon vanished on a nearer acquaintance with him. He was sent for again by the Emperor, who made a number of inquiries concerning St. Helena. "But after all," said he, "am I quite sure of going there ? Is a man dependent on others, when he wishes that his dependence should cease ?" They continued to walk to and fro in the cabin : Napoleon seemed calm, though strongly affected, and somewhat absent. "My friend," he continued, "I have sometimes an idea of quitting you, and this would not be very difficult : it is only necessary to give way to a little mental excitement, and I shall soon have escaped. All will be over ; and you can then tranquilly rejoin your fami-

lies. This is the more easy, since my internal convictions do not oppose any bar to it. I am one of those who conceive that the pains of the other world were only imagined to make up for the inadequate allurements which are offered to us there. God can never have willed such a contradiction to his infinite goodness, especially for an act of this kind ; what is it after all, but wishing to return to him a little sooner ?” \* Las Cases remonstrated warmly against such notions : he urged the inconsistency of any rash step with the station the Emperor had held in the world, and said there was no knowing what future events might produce. “Some of these suggestions have their weight,” said Napoleon ; “but what can we do in that desolate place ?”—“Sire,” replied his attendant, “we will live on the past : there is enough of it to satisfy us. Do we not enjoy the life of Cæsar and that of Alexander ? We shall possess still more, you will re-peruse yourself, sire !”—“Be it so !” rejoined Napoleon, “we will write our memoirs. Yes, we must be employed ; for occupation is the scythe of time. A man ought to fulfil his destiny : this is my grand doctrine : let mine also be accomplished !” Resuming from this instant an air of ease and even gaiety, he passed on to subjects totally unconnected with his situation. †

Orders had arrived during the night of the 3rd for the *Bellerophon* to sail at an early hour. As she was too old for the voyage, and the *Northumberland* was

\* The idea is to be found in Werter. “And wouldst thou, O God ! banish this child from thine awful presence ?”

† The following is an order of the day issued by the First Consul to his guard against suicide, dated 22 Floreal, year X.

“The grenadier Gobain has committed suicide from love ; he was in other respects an excellent soldier. This is the second incident of the same nature that has occurred within a month. The First Consul directs it to be inserted in the order-book of the guard :—That a soldier ought to know how to vanquish the pangs and melancholy of the passions ; that there is as much true courage in bearing up against mental sufferings with constancy, as in remaining firm on the wall of a battery. To give ourselves up to grief without resistance, or to kill ourselves to escape affliction, is to abandon the field of battle before the victory is gained.”



known to be fitting out at Portsmouth or Chatham to convey them to St. Helena, this sudden removal and their proceeding up the Channel occasioned a variety of surmises among those on board. At this period Napoleon signed a protest against his forcible detention, which was sent to Lord Keith.\* On leaving Plymouth Sound the vessel stood to eastward; but the sea was rough, and the wind blew contrary, and no progress was made during the day. In the evening, while conversing with Las Cases, the Emperor gave him in charge a girdle containing a diamond necklace of great value, which Hortense had forced him to accept on leaving Malmaison. This deposit the count was enabled to return to him (when suddenly torn from Longwood) through the courage and fidelity of an Englishman—a perfect stranger to him. On the 6th they met the Northumberland, with two frigates full of troops, which were to compose the garrison of St. Helena. The three ships came to an anchor close by them; the precautions lest any boats should approach were still continued. A report was now in circulation which cleared up the mystery of their so

\* “I solemnly protest in the face of heaven, and of all men, against the violation of every sacred right towards me, since it is by force that my person and my liberty are disposed of. I voluntarily delivered myself up to the Bellerophon; I am therefore no prisoner, but the guest of England.

“Once embarked on board the Bellerophon, I was under the safeguard of the English people. If the government, when issuing orders to the commander of the vessel to receive me, with all my retinue, only sought to entrap me, it has broken the ties of honour, and disgraced the British flag.

“If this order is to be put into effect, in vain will the English henceforth proclaim their integrity, their laws, and their liberty to Europe: hospitality thus violated on board the Bellerophon must forever compromise the good faith of England.

“I appeal therefore to history; which will record that an enemy, who, for twenty years made war against the British nation, came freely in his misfortune to demand an asylum under the safeguard of their laws. What proof more striking could be given of his esteem and his confidence? But in what manner have the English replied? They tendered the hand of hospitality to that enemy; and when he delivered himself up, they sacrificed him!

“On board the Bellerophon at sea, 4th of August, 1815.

“NAPOLEON.”

suddenly quitting Plymouth, which was, that a public officer had proceeded from London with a writ of habeas corpus to claim the person of the Emperor in the name of the law. This might probably allude to an attempt of the kind actually made at the time by Mr. Capel Lofft, an English constitutional lawyer and friend of liberty, but which proved abortive.

Admirals Keith and Cockburn came on board the *Bellerophon*, and communicated to the Emperor the instructions relative to his passage to and stay at St. Helena. According to these, the money, valuables, arms, &c., belonging to the Emperor and his suite were to be taken from them, which was done shortly after. This measure occasioned great disgust and irritation. Constrained to limit his suite to three persons, Napoleon chose Bertrand, Montholon, and Las Cases. But Gourgaud, in despair at being left behind, made interest to be admitted as a fourth; and Las Cases was considered as in a purely civil capacity. The Emperor addressed a new protest to Lord Keith, which Las Cases took on board the *Tonnant*, where the admiral, a fine-looking old man, received him with great politeness; but said he would give an answer in writing. This did not satisfy the envoy. He stated that Napoleon was unwell, having swelled legs; he explained his repugnance to have his effects searched and tossed about, assuring the admiral that he would prefer seeing them thrown into the sea: finally, he demanded whether those employed in the search would go so far as to deprive the Emperor of his sword. The admiral replied that it would be respected; but that Napoleon was the only person exempted, as all his followers would be disarmed. A secretary who was writing near them observed to Lord Keith aside that the order stated that Napoleon himself was to be disarmed—this was truly English: upon which the admiral drily answered, "Mind your own business, sir, and leave us to ourselves." This was also English.

Admiral Cockburn, aided by an officer of the customs, went through the examination of the Emperor's effects : they seized four thousand napoleons, leaving fifteen hundred for present use. No one but the valet de chambre, Marchand, attended during the examination. Meantime, the moment of quitting the Bellerophon arrived. The door of the cabin being opened, the Duke of Rovigo bursting into tears threw himself at the feet of his old master ; who still calm and collected, embraced the duke, and continued his way towards the accommodation-ladder, graciously saluting all those who happened to be on the quarter-deck. He reached the Northumberland between one and two o'clock on the 7th of August.\* He remained on deck conversing familiarly and cheerfully with a number of English who approached him, particularly

\* With a slow step Buonaparte mounted the gangway, and on feeling himself firm on the quarter-deck, he raised his hat, when the guard presented arms, and the drum rolled. The officers of the Northumberland, who were uncovered, stood considerably in advance. Those he approached, and saluted with an air of the most affable politeness. He then addressed himself to Sir George Cockburn, and hastily asked for the "capitaine de vaisseau," who was immediately introduced ; but, finding that he did not speak French, he successively spoke to several others, till an officer of artillery replied to him in that language. In a few minutes, he intimated a desire, though more by gesture than by words, to enter the cabin, where he continued for about an hour.

His dress was that of a general of French infantry, when it formed a part of his army. The coat was green, faced with white ; the rest was white, with white silk stockings, and a handsome shoe, with gold oval buckles. He was decorated with a red ribbon and a star, with three medals suspended from a button-hole. One of them represented the iron crown, and the others different gradations of the legion of honour. His face was pale, and his beard of an unshaven appearance. Indeed, his general aspect justified the conjecture that he had not passed the preceding night in sound repose. His forehead was thinly covered with dark hair, as well as the top of his head, which was large, and had a singular flatness : what hair he had behind was bushy, and I could not discern the slightest mixture of white in it. His eyes, which were gray, were in continual motion, and hurried rapidly to the various objects around him. His teeth were regular and good ; his neck was short, but his shoulders of the finest proportion. The rest of his figure, though a little blended with the Dutch fulness, was of a very handsome form.

with Lord Lowther and a Mr. Littleton. At the moment of getting under weigh, a cutter ran down a boat full of spectators, among whom were two women. They were at length under sail for St. Helena. Those of the attendants whom Napoleon was not allowed to take with him were the last to leave the ship. Their departure gave rise to an affecting scene. The Emperor retired to the cabin allotted to him about seven o'clock.

The English ministry had strongly censured the deference shown to the Emperor on board the *Bellerophon*, and issued fresh orders in consequence ; so that a totally different style of behaviour was adopted in the *Northumberland*. The crew betrayed a ridiculous appearance of anxiety to be covered before the Emperor : it had been strictly enjoined to give him no other title than that of *General*, and only to treat him as such. This was the ingenious device of the English ministers, and this title they thought proper to confer by way of insult and reproach on him whom they had recognised as First Consul ; whom they had so often styled head of the French government ; with whom they had treated as Emperor at Paris, when Lord Lauderdale was sent over to negotiate a peace, and probably had even signed the articles of a treaty at Chatillon. Hence, in a moment of wrath, the Emperor in allusion to this regulation, observed : "They may call me what they please, but they cannot prevent me from being *myself*!" The Emperor who intended (had he landed in England) to have taken the name of Colonel Duroc or Muiron, no longer thought of it now that his former titles were disputed.

The ship was in the greatest confusion from the short notice at which she had sailed ; and for the two first days the crew were employed in restoring order and getting ready for the voyage. The following particulars will afford an idea of that part of the *Northumberland* occupied by the Emperor and his



suite.—The space abaft the mizenmast contained two public and two private cabins: the first was a dining-room about ten feet broad, and extending the whole width of the ship, lighted by a porthole at each end and a skylight above. The drawing-room took up all the remaining space, except two cabins on the right and left, each having an entrance from the dining or mess-room, and another from the drawing-room. The Emperor occupied that on the left, in which his camp-bedstead had been put up; that on the right was appropriated to the admiral. It was peremptorily enjoined that the drawing-room should be in common and not given up to the Emperor:—was this to provide for his greater safety? Surely he who was kept a prisoner because, if at large, Europe could not contain him, might have been allowed a drawing-room to himself, though it was a thing of no great importance. The form of the dining-table resembled that of the mess-room. The Emperor sat with his back to the drawing-room or after-cabin, and looking towards the head of the ship; on his left sat Madame Bertrand, and on his right the admiral, who with Madame Montholon filled up one side of the table. At the end next that lady was Captain Ross, who commanded the ship, and opposite him M. Montholon and the admiral's secretary. The side of the table facing the Emperor was occupied by the grand marshal, the colonel of the 53rd regiment, Las Cases, and Gourgaud. The admiral invited one or two of the officers to dinner every day. The band of the 53rd, newly formed, played during dinner-time. There were two courses, ill supplied; and the taste of the hosts was very different from that of the guests. It would not however answer any purpose to be nice. The vessel made as much sail as the wind would permit, in order to get out of the Channel; and stood along the coast of England, to procure additional supplies of sea-stock. On the 10th of the month they cleared the Channel, and lost sight of land. They had now entered upon

the dreary unknown course, to which fate had doomed them. This circumstance could make little difference to the Emperor; who, wherever he went, had the eye of the world still upon him, as he will have that of future ages. In little more than a month, he had abdicated the throne, and placed himself in the hands of the English, who were now hurrying him to a barren rock in the midst of the ocean—to prove that he had never occupied one, nor a Stuart been driven from that of England!—Since his late reverses, whatever he did was cavilled at. He was blamed for hesitating to abdicate a second time, and then for making the sacrifice; and now he was censured for want of magnanimity in tamely suffering himself to be transported to St. Helena. But was he to contend with a sentinel in the cabin of a ship; or to attempt to set fire to the powder-magazine; or kill himself, or some one else with his own hand? He had done all he could for glory and his country; and had now only to endure with the same fortitude with which he had acted. Conquered by fate, he must submit to her award, and be passive under the worst blows that pride and malice could inflict.

The course of the ship was shaped to cross the Bay of Biscay, and double Cape Finisterre. The wind was fair, though light, and the heat excessive. Nothing could be more monotonous than the time they now passed. The Emperor breakfasted in his own cabin at irregular hours. He sent for one of his attendants every morning to know what was going on; the distance run, the state of the wind, and other particulars connected with their progress. He read a great deal, dressed towards four o'clock, and then came into the public cabin: here he played at chess with one of the party: at five o'clock the admiral having come out of his cabin a few minutes before, announced that dinner was on the table. It is well known that Napoleon was scarcely ever more than fifteen minutes at dinner: here the two courses alone

took up nearly an hour and a half. This was a serious annoyance to him, though he never noticed it: his features, gestures, and manner always evinced perfect equanimity. Neither the new system of cookery, the difference or quality of the dishes, ever met with his censure or observation: he never expressed any wish or objection on the subject. He was waited on by two valets, who stood behind his chair. At first the admiral was in the habit of offering to help the Emperor; but the acknowledgment of the latter was expressed so coldly, that the practice was given up. The admiral continued very attentive; but thenceforth only pointed out to the servants what was preferable: they alone minded these matters, to which the Emperor appeared wholly indifferent. He was generally silent, remaining in the midst of conversation as if unacquainted with the language, though it was French. If he spoke, it was to ask some technical or scientific question; or to address a few words to those whom the admiral occasionally asked to dinner.

The Emperor, already tired by the length of the dinner, could not have endured the English custom of sitting drinking afterwards; he rose, therefore, from the first day, immediately after coffee had been handed round, and went on deck, followed by the grand marshal and Las Cases. This disconcerted Admiral Cockburn, who expressed his surprise to his officers; but Madame Bertrand, whose maternal language was English, replied with spirit—"Do not forget, sir, that your guest is a man who has governed a large portion of the world; and that kings once contended for the honour of being admitted to his table."—"Very true," rejoined the admiral; and from that time did his utmost to comply with the Emperor's habits. He shortened the time of sitting at table, ordering coffee for Napoleon and those who accompanied him, even before the rest of the company had finished their dinner. The moment Napoleon had taken his coffee, he left the cabin; upon which every

body rose till he had quitted the room, and then continued to take their wine for another hour. The Emperor remained walking on deck till dark, which became his regular practice. On returning to the after-cabin, he sat down to play *vingt-un* with some of his suite; and generally retired in about half an hour. On the morning of the 15th, all his suite asked permission to be admitted to his presence, and entered his cabin at the same time. He was not aware of the cause of this visit: it was his birthday, which seemed to have altogether escaped his recollection. They had been accustomed to see him on that day on a larger stage and in far different circumstances. What a contrast; and what a train of reflections it must have called up! Usually, the Emperor lost at play: this day he won a considerable sum: while those present were congratulating him on his singular good fortune, an English officer observed, that it was the anniversary of his birthday.

On the 16th they doubled Cape Finisterre; and up to the 21st, passing the Straits of Gibraltar, continued their course along the coast of Africa towards Madeira. The Emperor commonly remained in his cabin the whole morning: from the extreme heat, he wore a very slight dress. He could not sleep well, and frequently rose in the night. Reading was his chief occupation. He often sent for Count Las Cases to translate from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and such other books as were on board, whatever related to St. Helena or the countries by which they were sailing. This led to the mention of the *Historical Atlas*, a work by Las Cases, with which Napoleon was so much pleased that he said, had he known of it sooner, he would have had it introduced into all the schools and Lyceums in France. In the walks on deck after dinner Las Cases was frequently left alone with the Emperor, as Bertrand had to attend his wife, who suffered greatly from sea sickness. Napoleon used to start a subject of conversation, or



revive that of some preceding day ; and when he had taken eight or nine turns the whole length of the deck, he would seat himself on the second gun from the gangway on the larboard side. The midshipmen soon observed this habitual predilection, so that the cannon was thenceforth called the *Emperor's gun*. It was here that Napoleon often conversed for hours together, and communicated to his faithful follower a number of particulars concerning himself and others, most of which have been inserted in the course of the preceding work.

On the 22nd they came within sight of Madeira, and at night arrived off the port. They stopped to take in provisions for a day or two. The Emperor was indisposed. A sudden gale arose ; and the air was filled with small particles of sand and the suffocating exhalations from the deserts of Africa. In the evening of the 24th they made way again, and sailed on smoothly and rapidly ; the time seeming long as it passed, and brief in the retrospect from the want of variety. The Emperor added to his amusements by a game at picquet. He was but an indifferent chess-player, and there was no very good one on board. He asked jestingly, "How he frequently beat those who beat better players than himself?" *Vingt-un* was given up, as they played too high at it ; and Napoleon had a great aversion to gaming. On the 27th they passed the Canaries without seeing the famous peak of Teneriffe, and on the 29th they crossed the tropic. One night a negro threw himself overboard to avoid a flogging, which occasioned a great noise and bustle. A midshipman, an interesting youth between ten and twelve, meeting Las Cases descending into the cabin, and thinking he was going to inform Napoleon of the cause, caught hold of his coat, and in a tone of great concern exclaimed, "Ah, sir, do not alarm the Emperor ! Tell him the noise is owing to an accident !" In general the midshipmen on board behaved with marked respect and attention to the Emperor : they

watched his motions with an anxious eye, and either by signs or words directed the sailors to avoid incommoding him. He sometimes noticed this conduct, and remarked that youthful hearts were always prone to enthusiasm. On the 1st of September they found themselves in the latitude of the Cape de Verd islands: the admiral expected to see them on the right, but they were on his left. Every thing now promised a prosperous passage: they were already far advanced on their course. But the time hung heavy, and nothing but occupation could lighten it. Las Cases had undertaken to teach his son English; and the Emperor also expressed a wish to learn. He, however, soon grew tired and laid it aside; nor was it resumed till long after. His manners and habits were always the same: never did a wish or a murmur escape his lips; he invariably appeared contented, patient, and good-humoured. The admiral, who had assumed a certain distance at first, gradually laid aside his reserve, and took a greater interest in his captive. He pointed out the danger incurred by coming on deck after dinner, owing to the damp of the evening: the Emperor would then sometimes take his arm and prolong the conversation, which never failed to gratify him exceedingly. Napoleon sometimes talked on naval affairs, on the French resources in the south, and on the improvements he had contemplated in the ports and harbours of the Mediterranean—to all which the admiral listened with deep attention, and as if fearful of interruption, and is said to have carefully noted down every particular.

Meanwhile, Napoleon observed that Las Cases was busily employed; and suspecting the cause, obtained a sight of his journal, with which he was not displeased. He however took notice that some of the military details and anecdotes which were set down gave but a meagre and unsatisfactory idea of the subject of war. This first led to the proposal of his writing his own *Memoirs*, which was discussed at various times after-

wards. At length, the Emperor came to a determination ; and on Saturday the 9th of September, he called his secretary into his cabin and dictated to him for the first time some particulars of the siege of Toulon, which are to be found in the campaigns of Italy. On approaching the line, they fell in with what are called the trade-winds, that blow constantly from the east. The course of the ship is regulated by these winds. The heat had been very moderate after leaving Madeira. On the 16th there was a considerable fall of rain to the great joy of the sailors, who were in want of water. The rain began to fall heavily, just as the Emperor had got upon deck to take his afternoon walk. But this did not disappoint him of his usual exercise ; he merely called for his famous grey greatcoat, which the crew regarded with much interest. The English were fond of talking with the French officers, and they mutually surprised each other by the opposition of their views and sentiments. One of the principal officers of the ship one day said—" I suppose you would be very much alarmed if we were to land you on the coast of France ?"—" Why so ?"—" Because the King would make you pay dearly for having left your country to follow another sovereign, and for wearing a cockade which he has prohibited."—" And is this language," was the answer, " becoming an Englishman ? You must be strangely degenerated. You are, it is true, far removed from the period of your Revolution, to which you so justly apply the epithet *glorious*. But we who are nearer to ours, by which we have gained so much, may tell you that every word you utter is heresy." The English were also very fond of asking questions concerning the Emperor, and the libels that had been published against him. This led to an examination and exposure of several of them. No man had ever been more assailed by calumny than Napoleon, which is not to be wondered at : but he would never permit any one to reply to the attacks that were

made upon him. "Whatever pains," he said, "might have been bestowed on such answers, they would only have given additional weight to the accusations they were intended to refute. Facts were the most convincing answers. A fine monument, another good law, or a new victory were sufficient to defeat a thousand such falsehoods. Declamation passes away, but deeds remain."

The Emperor now began regularly to dictate the campaigns of Italy. For the first few days he viewed the occupation with indifference; but the regularity and promptitude with which his amanuensis presented his daily task, together with the progress that was made, soon excited an interest; and at length the pleasure he derived from this occupation rendered it in a manner necessary to him. He was sure to send for Las Cases about eleven o'clock every morning, and he seemed to await the hour with impatience. He had what was dictated on the preceding day read to him; and he then dictated farther with great rapidity and earnestness. In this way the time passed till four o'clock arrived, when his valet was summoned. He then proceeded to the state cabin and spent the time till dinner in playing at piquet or chess. After dinner, the Emperor never failed to allude to his morning dictation, as if pleased with the occupation and amusement it afforded him. Oh, mighty heart! that having done and suffered all, could ever summon resolution to turn its thoughts from the image of the past, or form another wish or purpose, and that flung itself into the dreary void before it, sustained by the greatness of its own nature; and becoming to itself, as it was to others, an abstraction, an idea, a name in history, could be amused with casual trifles, and sit down contented under the loss of the empire of the world as if it had been a game at chess!

On the 23rd of September they passed the line. This was a day of great merriment and disorder



among the crew; it was the ceremony which the English sailors call the "Christening." No one is spared; and the officers are generally more roughly handled than any one else. The admiral, who had previously amused himself with an alarming description of this ceremony, now very courteously exempted his guests from the inconvenience and ridicule attending it. The Emperor was scrupulously respected through the whole of this saturnalian festivity. On being informed of the decorum which had been observed with regard to him, he ordered a hundred Napoleons to be presented to the grotesque Neptune and his crew, which the admiral opposed, perhaps from motives of prudence as well as politeness. One afternoon, about this period, the sailors had caught an enormous shark; and Napoleon going too near it out of curiosity, had like to have met with a serious accident.

The west wind which had blown for some time still continued, and drove them from their course. The Emperor every morning continued his dictation, in which he daily took more interest. He had at first nothing to guide him but a wretched work, entitled, "Wars of the French in Italy." The Emperor glanced through it, and his memory soon supplied all deficiencies. When he commenced his stated task, he complained that the circumstances to which he wished to recur were no longer familiar to him. After considering a few moments he would rise and walk about, and then begin to dictate, when he became quite another man, and everything seemed to come as if by inspiration,—places, dates, phrases—nothing stopped him.

Owing to the haste with which they had been hurried from England, the painting of the ship had been only lately finished; and this circumstance confined Napoleon, whose sense of smell was very acute, to his room for two days. They were now, in the beginning of October, driven into the Gulf of Guinea,

where they met a French vessel bound for the Isle of Bourbon. They spoke with the captain, who expressed his surprise and sorrow when he learnt that Napoleon was on board. The wind continued unfavourable, and the ship made little progress. The sailors grumbled at the admiral, who had gone out of the usual course. At length they approached the termination of their voyage. The weather cleared up and the wind became favourable; but this change did not take place till twenty-four hours before their arrival. On the 14th, the admiral had informed them that he expected to come within sight of St. Helena that day. They had scarcely risen from table when their ears were saluted with the cry of "Land!" This was within a quarter of an hour of the time that had been fixed on. The Emperor went on the forecastle to see the island; but it was still hardly distinguishable. At daybreak the next morning they had a tolerably clear view of it: it looked considerable at first, but seemed to diminish as they approached. At length, about seventy days after their departure from England, and a hundred and ten after their quitting Paris, they cast anchor about noon. They found in the harbour several vessels of the squadron which had separated from them, and which they thought they had left behind. The Emperor, contrary to custom, dressed early, and went upon deck: he went forward to the gangway to view the island. He beheld a kind of village surrounded by numerous barren hills towering to the clouds. Every platform, every aperture, the brow of every hill, was planted with cannon. The Emperor viewed the prospect through his glass. His countenance underwent no change. He soon left the deck; and sending for Las Cases, proceeded to his day's work. The admiral, who had gone ashore very early, returned about six much fatigued. He had been walking over various parts of the island, and at length thought he had found a habitation that would suit his captives. The

place stood in need of repairs, which might occupy two months. His orders were not to let the French quit their wooden dungeon till their prison on shore was ready to receive them. He was, however, incapable of such a piece of barbarity, and undertook, on his own responsibility, to set them ashore next day.

On the 16th, after dinner, the Emperor, accompanied by the Grand-Marshal, got into a boat to go ashore. As he passed, the officers assembled on the quarter-deck, and the greater part of the crew on the gangways. The Emperor, before he stepped into the boat, sent for the captain of the vessel, and took leave of him, desiring him at the same time to convey his thanks to the officers and crew. These words appeared to produce the liveliest sensation in all by whom they were understood, or to whom they were interpreted. The remainder of his suite landed about eight. They found the Emperor in the apartments which had been assigned to him: a few minutes after, he went up stairs to his chamber. He was lodged in a sort of inn in the town of St. Helena, which consists only of one very short street or row of houses, built in a narrow valley between two rocky hills.

## CHAPTER LVIII.

## RESIDENCE AT ST. HELENA.

Amusements ; characteristic remarks of Napoleon ; house built for his reception ; arrangements of his establishments ; conversations with the English admiral.

THE Emperor, the Grand-Marshal, and the Admiral riding out to visit Longwood, which had been chosen for the Emperor's residence, on their return saw a small villa with a pavilion attached to it about two miles from the town, the residence of Mr. Balcombe, a merchant of the island. This spot pleased the Emperor; and the admiral was of opinion that it would be better for him to remain here than to return to the town, where the sentinels at his door, with the crowds collected round it, in a manner confined him to his chamber. The pavilion was a sort of summer-house on a pointed eminence, about thirty or forty paces from the house, where the family were accustomed to resort in fine weather to amuse themselves; this was the obscure retreat hired for the temporary abode of the Emperor; and he took possession of it immediately. There is a carriage-road from the town; and the valley is here less rugged in its aspect. Las Cases was soon sent for. As he ascended the winding path leading to the pavilion, he saw Napoleon standing at the threshold of the door. His body was slightly bent, and his hands behind his back: he wore his usual neat and simple uniform and his celebrated little hat. Las Cases paused to look at him with that feeling of respect which greatness



and misfortune inspire! In none of his campaigns had he been so badly lodged. The summer-house contained only one room on the ground-floor, with neither curtains nor shutters, and scarcely a seat in the room. The Emperor was alone: the servants were preparing his bed. He took a fancy to walk a little; but there was no level ground on any side of the pavilion, which was surrounded by huge pieces of rock. He took the arm of his companion; and began to converse in a cheerful strain. Night was advancing, profound silence, undisturbed solitude reigned around:—here then was a man who had governed the world, stripped of everything but his unfading renown, and with all his grandeur concentrated in himself alone; and there were persons who, not satisfied with this, were disposed to crush him still further and insult over his fall! When Napoleon was about to retire to rest, the servants found that one of the windows was open close to the bed: they barricaded it as well as they could, so as to exclude the air, of the effects of which the Emperor was very susceptible. Las Cases ascended to an upper room, about seven feet square, with only a bed and a mattress on the floor, which served for himself and his son. From this retreat they could hear the sound of the Emperor's voice and distinguish his words. The valets-de-chambre lay stretched in their cloaks across the threshold of the door. Such is the description of the first night Napoleon passed at the Briars.

They breakfasted without a table-cloth or plates; and the remains of the preceding day's dinner furnished their repast. An English officer was lodged in the house as their guard; and two inferior officers marched up and down before the door with considerable state, to watch their motions. The Emperor next proceeded to his dictation, which occupied him for several hours; and then took a walk in the garden, where he was met by the two Miss Balcombes, lively and innocent girls about fourteen or fifteen years of

age, who presented him with flowers, and overwhelmed him with the most whimsical questions. Napoleon was amused by their familiarity, to which he had been little accustomed. "We have been to a masked ball," said he, when the young ladies had taken their leave.

The next day a chicken was brought for breakfast, which the Emperor undertook to carve himself, and was surprised at his succeeding so well, it being a long time since he had done so much. The coffee was so bad, that on tasting it he thought himself poisoned, and sent it away. He happened to be using a snuff-box set with ancient medals, having Greek inscriptions. He gave it to Las Cases to translate one of the names, but presently laughed and said, "I see you are no better a scholar than myself." It was then handed to young Las Cases, a boy of twelve or thirteen years of age, who easily read the names of Mithridates, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and some others. This led Napoleon to remark on the excellent education he had given to the youth of France. He said, if he had thought only of himself, and of securing his own authority, he should have hid learning under a bushel, instead of doing everything in his power to diffuse and improve knowledge. The plan of his university, he added, had been spoiled by others. In the evening, the Emperor went to visit Mr. Balcombe. The young ladies, and an English gentleman who was there, fell into some droll anachronisms respecting persons they had read of in history and in the newspapers of the day. On the 21st the admiral came to visit the Emperor, and might have been kept waiting outside the door, as there was no one but Las Cases to open it for him. Among other privations, Napoleon could not procure a bath, which was so necessary to his health. In the evening, the whole of his suite met, and were assembled round him, when he made some bitter reflections on their situation. The English ministers had treated him as a prisoner

of war : he was not one ; or if he were, the right over him ceased with the war itself. His detention and the mode of it was equally an act of violence and duplicity. The Emperor transmitted a paper stating these arguments (and desiring to hear news of his wife and son) to the English ministry, by the captain of the vessel which was about to set sail on its return to Europe.

The mornings were passed in business : in the evening the Emperor sometimes strolled to the neighbouring habitation, where the young ladies made him play at whist. The "Campaign of Italy" was nearly finished : and Las Cases proposed that the other Frenchmen who were lodged in the town should come up every morning to assist in writing out the "Campaign of Egypt," the "History of the Consulate," &c. The suggestion pleased the Emperor, so that from that time one or two of his suite came regularly every day to write to his dictation. They then staid to dinner, and thus afforded the Emperor a little more amusement than he had received hitherto. A tent, the gift of the colonel of the 53rd regiment, was spread out so as to form a prolongation of the pavilion. Their cook took up his abode at Briars. The table-linen was taken from the trunks ; the plate was set forth ; and the first dinner after these new arrangements was a sort of *fête*. One day at dinner, Napoleon casting his eye on one of the dishes of his campaign-service, on which the imperial arms were engraved, "How they have spoiled that !" he exclaimed ; and he could not refrain from observing, that the king was in great haste to take possession of the imperial plate, which certainly did not belong to him. One day he drew out a cabinet, in which were a number of medallions, given him by the Pope and other potentates ; some letters of Louis XVIII. which he had left behind him on his writing-table in the suddenness of his flight from the Tuileries on the 20th of March ; and a number of other letters found

in the portfolio of M. Blacas, intended to calumniate Napoleon. He now never dressed till about four o'clock : he then walked in the garden, which he particularly liked on account of its solitude : the English soldiers having been removed at Mr. Balcombe's request. A little arbour in it was covered with canvas, and a chair and table placed in it : and here the Emperor afterwards dictated a great part of his "Memoirs." In the evening, when he did not go out, he generally contrived to prolong the conversation till eleven or twelve o'clock. He avoided retiring to bed too early ; as when he did so, he awoke in the night, and was obliged to rise and read, to divert his mind from sorrowful reflections.

It was now November. Napoleon one morning had a misunderstanding with Bertrand about a letter of complaint to the governor, which had not been delivered. "If you thought it improperly expressed, why did you not say so ? This did not require more than twenty-four hours to deliberate upon ; but it is now a fortnight." His good humour, however, soon returned ; and in the evening, to show it had left no disagreeable impression on his mind, he repeated more than once, "It was after we had made it up with the grand-marshal—it was before the misunderstanding with the grand-marshal." The Emperor, in conversing on the subject, expressed doubts of the accounts of the prodigious armies of Xerxes and Darius, and of the brilliant victories obtained by the Greeks over them. He believed, on the contrary, in the numerous armies of Tamerlane and Gengiskan, and the hordes of barbarians who overran Europe in the middle ages : and said the situation of Russia was admirably calculated to bring about another such catastrophe. He observed, that a conqueror to succeed must be ferocious, thinking probably that he had shown too much mildness. They had hitherto had no books to assist them in their labours, and were glad to obtain from



Major Hudson, a resident in the island, the volumes of the "Annual Register," from 1793 to 1807.

The Emperor had been dictating in the garden to Generals Montholon and Gourgaud; and on walking out, found himself fatigued and indisposed. He was annoyed at seeing some females advancing to throw themselves awkwardly in his way: he turned aside to avoid them. He had three horses at his disposal; and it was suggested that riding might be beneficial to him; but he replied that he never could reconcile himself to the idea of riding with an English officer constantly at his side; adding, that everything in life must be reduced to calculation, and that if the vexation arising from seeing his jailors were greater than the advantage he might derive from riding, it was of course advisable to renounce the amusement altogether. The horses were accordingly sent back. The Emperor closed the day with a walk. After some broken conversations, he looked at his watch, and was glad to find it was near midnight. He said that sometimes he could not reflect without dismay on the many years he might still have to live, and on the inutility of a protracted old age; and that if he were sure France was tranquil and happy and not needing his aid, he should have lived long enough.

Thus time passed with little variety or interruption. The weather at this time of the year became delightful, and Napoleon insensibly recovered from his indisposition. One day, his usual task being done, he strolled out in a new direction. He proceeded towards the town till he came within sight of the road and shipping. As he was returning, he met Mrs. Balcombe and a Mrs. Stuart, a very pretty woman about twenty, who was on her way back from Bombay to England. The Emperor conversed with her respecting the manners and customs of India, and the inconveniences of a long sea-voyage, particularly to females. He also spoke of Scotland, which was Mrs. Stuart's

native country ; said a great deal about Ossian, and complimented the lady on the climate of India not having spoiled her clear Scottish complexion. At this moment, some slaves carrying heavy boxes passed by on the road ; Mrs. Balcombe desired them to keep back ; but the Emperor interfered, saying, " Respect the burden, madam ! " At these words, Mrs. Stuart who had been attentively observing the Emperor's features, said in a low tone of voice to her friend :— " Heavens ! what a countenance, and what a character ! How different from what I had been led to expect ! "—Napoleon shortly after repeated the same walk and went into the house of Major Hudson who had lent him the " Annual Register, " and where he saw some beautiful children at play at the gate. This visit occasioned considerable alarm to the constituted authorities. The governor gave a ball, to which the French were invited ; and Las Cases about the same time rode over to Longwood with Madame Bertrand in a carriage drawn by six oxen, to see what advance had been made in the preparations for their reception there. His report on his return was not very favourable. They were to have remained only a few days at Briars ; and they had now been six weeks there, during which time Napoleon had been nearly as much confined as if on board the vessel. His health began to be impaired by it. Las Cases gives it as his opinion that the Emperor did not possess that constitution of iron that is usually ascribed to him ; and that it was the strength of his mind, not of his body, that carried him through the labours of the field and of the cabinet. In speaking on this subject, Napoleon himself observed that nature had endowed him with two peculiarities : one was the power of sleeping whenever he needed repose, at any hour or in any place : another advantage, as he considered it, was his being incapable of committing any injurious excess either in eating or drinking. " If, " said he, " I go the least beyond my mark, my stomach in-

stantly revolts." He was subject to nausea from very slight causes, and to colds from any change of air.

Mr. Balcombe's little garden, in which they so often walked, was superintended by an old negro. The first time they saw him, the Emperor according to his usual custom desired several questions to be put to him; and his answers excited a strong interest in his favour. He was a Malay Indian, and had been forced from his home by the crew of an English vessel and sold at St. Helena, where he had continued ever since in slavery. His story bore every mark of truth. The Emperor expressed a wish to purchase him, and send him back to his own country; but when they left Briars, poor Toby, sharing the fate of all earthly things, was forgotten. The Emperor generally stopped near his hut, and after entering into talk with him, as if wishing to study the feelings of the old slave, closed the conversation by giving him a Napoleon. He became much attached to the Emperor and called him the *good gentleman*. These meetings with the old Indian were mostly followed by novel, spirited, and characteristic remarks on the part of the Emperor. "Poor Toby," he would say, "has been torn from his family, from his native land, and sold to slavery: could anything be more miserable for himself, or more criminal in others! If this crime be the act of the English captain alone, he is one of the vilest of men; but if it be that of the whole of the crew, it may have been committed by men, perhaps not so base as might be imagined: for vice is always individual, and scarcely ever collective. Joseph's brethren could not bring themselves to slay him; while Judas, a cool, hypocritical, calculating villain, betrayed his master. A philosopher has affirmed that men are born wicked: it would be both difficult and idle to attempt to discover whether the assertion be true. This, at least, is certain, that the great mass of society is not wicked; for if the majority were determined to be criminal and to

violate the laws, who would have the power to restrain or prevent them? This is the triumph of civilization; for this happy result springs from its bosom, and arises out of its nature. Sentiments are for the most part traditional; we feel them because they were felt by those who preceded us: thus we must look to the development of the human reason and faculties for the only key to social order, the only secret of the legislator. Only those who wish to deceive the people and rule them for their own personal advantage, would desire to keep them in ignorance; for the more they are enlightened, the more they will feel convinced of the utility of laws and of the necessity of obeying them; and the more steady, happy, and prosperous will society become. If, however, knowledge should ever be dangerous in the multitude, it can only be when the government, in opposition to the interests of the people, drives them into an unnatural situation, or dooms the lower classes to perish for want. In such a case, knowledge would inspire them with spirit to defend themselves, or to become criminal.

“My code alone, from its simplicity, has been more beneficial to France than the whole mass of laws which preceded it. My schools and my system of mutual instruction are preparing generations yet unborn. Thus, during my reign, crimes were rapidly diminishing; while, on the contrary, with our neighbours in England, they have been increasing to a frightful degree. This alone is sufficient to enable any one to form a decisive judgment of the respective governments.

“Look at the United States, where, without any force or effort, everything goes on prosperously; every one is happy and contented; and this is because the public wishes and interests are in fact the ruling power. Place the same government at variance with the will and interests of the inhabitants, and you would soon see what disturbance, trouble, and con-



fusion, and, above all, what an increase of crime would ensue.

“When I acquired the supreme direction of affairs, it was wished that I might become a Washington. Words cost nothing; and no doubt those who were so ready to express the wish, did so without any knowledge of times, places, persons, or things. Had I been in America, I would willingly have been a Washington, and I should have had little merit in so doing; for I do not see how I could reasonably have acted otherwise. But had Washington been in France, exposed to discord within, and invasion from without, I would have defied him to have been what he was in America; at least, he would have been a fool to attempt it, and would only have prolonged the existence of evil. For my own part, I could only have been a *crowned Washington*. It was only in a congress of kings, in the midst of kings yielding or subdued, that I could become so. Then and there alone, I could successfully display Washington’s moderation, disinterestedness, and wisdom. I could not reasonably attain to this but by means of the *universal Dictatorship*. To this I aspired; can that be thought a crime? Can it be believed, that to resign this authority would have been beyond the power of human nature? Sylla, glutted with crimes, dared to abdicate, pursued by public execration! What motive could have checked me, who would have been followed only by blessings? But it remained for me to conquer at Moscow? How many will hereafter regret my disasters and my fall! But to require prematurely of me that sacrifice, for which the time had not arrived, was a vulgar absurdity; and for me to have proclaimed or promised it, would have been taken for hypocrisy and quackery: that was not my way. I repeat, it remained for me to conquer at Moscow!”

On another occasion, pausing before Toby, he said: —“What, after all, is this poor human machine? There is not one whose exterior form is like another,

or whose internal organization resembles the rest ! And it is by disregarding this truth that we are led to the commission of so many errors ! Had Toby been a Brutus, he would have put himself to death ; if an Æsop, he would now, perhaps, have been the governor's adviser ; if an ardent and zealous Christian, he would have borne his chains in the sight of God, and blessed them. As for poor Toby, he endures his misfortunes very quietly ; he stoops to his work, and spends his days in innocent tranquillity." Then, after looking at him for a few moments in silence, he turned away and said, "Certainly there is a wide step from poor Toby to a King Richard !—and yet," continued he, as he walked along, "the crime is not the less atrocious ; for this man, after all, had his family, his happiness, and his liberty ; and it was a horrible act of cruelty to bring him here to languish in the fetters of his slavery." Then, suddenly stopping short, he added, "But I read in your looks that you think he is not the only example of the sort at St. Helena !" And whether he felt offended at being placed on a parallel with Toby, whether he thought it necessary to raise my spirits, or whatever else might be his reason, he went on with dignity and animation :— "My dear Las Cases, there is not the least resemblance here : if the outrage is of a higher class, the victims also furnish very different resources. We have not been exposed to corporeal sufferings ; or, if that had been attempted, we have souls to disappoint our tyrants ! Our situation may even have its charms ! The eyes of the universe are fixed upon us ! We are martyrs in an immortal cause. Millions of human beings are weeping for us : our country sighs, and glory mourns our fate ! We here struggle against the oppression of the Gods, and the prayers of nations are for us !" After a pause of a few seconds, he continued :—"Besides, this is not the source of my real sufferings. If I considered only myself, perhaps I should have reason to rejoice. Misfortunes are not

without their heroism and their glory. Adversity was wanting to my career. Had I died on the throne, enveloped in the dense atmosphere of my power, I should to many have remained a problem; but now misfortune will enable all to judge of me without disguise."

The Emperor, among other things, amused himself by reading the "New Eloise," which he criticised at first very favourably, and afterwards more severely; and with giving an account to those about him of his different generals. There was now a talk of their removal to Longwood, which had been got nearly ready: they removed there on the 10th of December, 1815. The Emperor invited Mr. Balcombe to breakfast with him that morning, and conversed with him in a very lively and cheerful manner. About two, Admiral Cockburn was announced; he advanced with an air of embarrassment. In consequence of the restraints imposed upon him at Briars, and the manner in which those of his suite residing in the town had been treated, the Emperor had discontinued receiving the visits of the admiral; yet on the present occasion he behaved towards him as though nothing had happened. At length they left Briars, and set out for Longwood. The Emperor rode the horse which had been brought for him from the Cape: he was a small, sprightly, and tolerably handsome animal. The Emperor wore his uniform of the chasseurs of the guard: his graceful manner and handsome countenance were particularly remarked. The admiral was very attentive to him. The road was lined with persons collected to see him pass. At the entrance of Longwood, they found a guard under arms, who rendered the prescribed honours to their illustrious captive. The Emperor's horse, unused to this kind of parade, was startled at the sound of the drum; and refused to proceed without the help of the spur. The admiral took great pains to point out the minutest

details at Longwood. He had himself superintended all the arrangements, among which was a bath. The Emperor was satisfied with everything, and the admiral seemed highly pleased. He had anticipated petulance and disdain; but the Emperor manifested perfect good humour.

They were now settled in their new abode, and could tell the limits of their prison. Longwood, which was originally a farm belonging to the East India Company, and was afterwards given as a country residence to the Deputy Governor, is situated on one of the highest parts of the island. The difference between the temperature of this place and the valley below is very great. It stands on a level height of some extent, and near the eastern coast. Continual and frequently violent winds blow regularly from the same quarter. The sun, though rarely seen, nevertheless exercises its influence on the atmosphere, which is apt to produce disorders in the liver. Heavy and sudden falls of rain inundate the ground; and there is no settled course of the seasons. The sun passes over their heads twice a year. Notwithstanding the abundant rains, the grass is either nipped by the wind or dried up by the heat. The water which is conveyed up to Longwood by pipes, is so unwholesome as to be unfit for use till it has been boiled. The trees which at a distance impart a smiling aspect to the country, are merely gum-trees, a wretched kind of shrub, affording no shade. On one hand, the horizon is bounded by the ocean: but the rest of the scene presents only a mass of huge barren rocks, deep gulfs, and desolate valleys; and in the distance appear the green and misty chain of mountains, above which towers Diana's Peak. In short, Longwood can be agreeable only to the traveller after the fatigues of a long voyage, to whom the sight of any country is a relief. Las Cases seems to hint that they had paid dear for this pleasing illusion: but it was not from the reports of such



travellers that they were sent to St. Helena. Of that at least we may be sure.

Workmen had been employed for two months in preparing Longwood for their reception: the result of their labours, however, amounted to little. The entrance to the house was through a room which had been just built, and which was intended to answer the double purpose of an ante-chamber and a dining-room. This apartment led to another, which was made the drawing-room: beyond this was a third room, running in a cross direction, and very dark. This was intended to be the depository of the Emperor's maps and books, but it was afterwards converted into the dining-room. The Emperor's chamber opened into this apartment on the right hand side. This chamber was divided into two equal parts, forming the Emperor's cabinet and sleeping-room: a little external gallery served for a bathing-room. Opposite the Emperor's chamber, at the other extremity of the building, were the apartments of Madame Montholon, her husband, and her son, which have been since used as the Emperor's library. Detached from this part of the house was a little square room on the ground floor, contiguous to the kitchen, which was assigned to Las Cases. His son was obliged to ascend to his through a trap-door, and by the help of a ladder; it was a loft in which there was hardly room for his bed. The windows and beds had no curtains. The furniture was mean and scanty. Bertrand and his family were left at a distance of two miles, at a place called *Hut's-Gate*. General Gourgaud slept under a tent, as well as Mr. O'Meara, and the officer commanding the guard. They were surrounded by a kind of garden, which was so only in the name. In front, and separated from the house by a tolerably deep ravine, was encamped the 53rd regiment, different parties of which were stationed on the neighbouring heights. The domestic establishment of the

Emperor consisted of eleven persons, whose names are inscribed below.\*

On the 12th Colonel Wilks, formerly governor of the island, and who had been succeeded by the admiral, came to visit the Emperor: on the 14th the *Minden* sailed for Europe, by which letters were forwarded to London and Paris. As soon as all his suite were assembled at Longwood, Napoleon determined to settle his establishment, and to assign to each the employment fitted to their respective capacities. Most of them were strangers to one another; and there was little affinity between them in age, character, or pursuits. Their attachment to the Emperor was the only thing they had in common: he was the centre around which they revolved: and it was his good temper and love of justice that kept them together and prevented disagreements from breaking out amongst them, or soon reconciled their differences. On his first arrival, he went to visit the barracks occupied by some Chinese living on the island, and a place called Longwood Farm. He complained to Las Cases that they had been of late idle: but by degrees their hours and the employment of them became fixed and regular. The "Campaign of Italy" being now finished, the Emperor corrected it and dictated on other subjects. This was their morning's work. They dined late, Madame Montholon being seated on the Emperor's right, Las Cases on his left, and Gourgaud, Montholon, and Las Cases's son sitting opposite. The smell of the paint not being yet gone off, they re-

- \* Marchand, native of Paris, valet-de-chambre.
- St. Denis, called Aly, native of Versailles, the same.
- Noverraz, Swiss, the same.
- Santini, Corsican, the same.
- Archambault, sen., and Archambault, jun., born at Fontainebleau, grooms.
- Gentilini, native of Elba, footman.
- Cypriani, Corsican, died at St. Helena, maitre d'hôtel.
- Pierron, native of Paris, butler.
- Lepage, cook.
- Rousseau, native of Fontainebleau, steward.

mained not more than ten minutes at table, and the dessert was prepared in the adjoining apartment, where coffee was served up, and conversation commenced. Scenes were read from Moliere, Racine, and Voltaire: and regret was always expressed at their not having a copy of Corneille. They then played at *reversis*, which had been the Emperor's favourite game in his youth. The recollection was pleasing to him, and he thought he could amuse himself at it for any length of time, but was soon undeceived. His aim was always to make the *reversis*—that is, to win every trick. Character develops itself in the smallest things. He read a libel on himself (which it was not difficult to meet with even at St. Helena) and contrasted the compliments which had passed between himself and the Queen of Prussia with the brutal behaviour ascribed to him in the English newspapers. On the other hand, two common sailors had at different times, while he was at Longwood and at Briars, in spite of orders and at all risks, made their way through the sentinels to gain a sight of Napoleon and to testify their regard for him. On seeing their emotion and the interest they took in him, he exclaimed—"This is fanaticism! Yes, imagination rules the world!" By degrees the prejudices of the English who came in contact with him wore off; and they wondered at the gross imposition which had been so long and so successfully practised upon them. Even the admiral, in his frequent disputes with the French, did not hesitate to declare that "the Emperor was by far the most good-natured, candid, just, and reasonable of the whole set." His being open to conviction in so material a point might perhaps be thought to render his removal necessary, to make room for a successor who had no such "compunctious visitings" of common sense or feeling.

The instructions of the English ministers with regard to the treatment of the Emperor at St. Helena

were dictated in that disgraceful spirit of vindictive meanness, which was to be expected in the circumstances and from the persons concerned. An English officer was to be constantly at the Emperor's table, so as to preclude the satisfaction of familiar conversation. This order was not carried into effect. An officer was also to accompany the Emperor in all his rides: this order was dispensed with within certain prescribed limits, because the Emperor had refused to ride out at all on such conditions. Almost every day brought with it some new cause of uneasiness and petty aggravation of his situation; and the motives assigned for these vexations often assumed the appearance of irony. Thus sentinels were posted beneath the Emperor's windows and before his doors; and this (he was told) was for his own safety. The French were cut off from all free communication with the inhabitants of the island; they were put into a kind of close custody, and were assured that this was done to free the Emperor from all annoyance. The passwords and orders were incessantly changed; so that those whom they concerned lived in continual perplexity and apprehension of being exposed to some unforeseen insult. Buonaparte addressed a complaint to the admiral through M. Montholon. The answer explained the whole question. "*No such thing as an Emperor was known at St. Helena.*" No! Emperors and kings are born and not made, ever since an Elector of Hanover was made King of England! From that period the two races of men and kings are supposed to go on in parallel and opposite lines for ever; and it was for having made a breach in this order that Buonaparte was first to be hunted down and then made to feel his fall with every refinement of studied insult, to wipe out the stain of the unheard-of equality he had assumed with natural-born-tyrants—or the chosen kings of a free people! In these circumstances, the only resource was in resignation, as satisfaction was placed beyond their



reach. Las Cases is in doubt (from not having a sufficient knowledge of the royal mind) whether to address a direct complaint to the Prince Regent would not have been to furnish a gratification to that prince, as well as to convey a recommendation of him who had incurred their displeasure. In the midst of these altercations, the admiral wished to introduce some ladies (who had arrived by the "Doris") to the Emperor; but he refused, not liking this alternation of affronts and civilities. He however agreed to receive the officers of the 53rd regiment at the request of the colonel. After this officer took his leave, the Emperor prolonged his walk in the garden. He stopped awhile to look at a flower in one of the beds, and asked his companion if it was not a lily? It was indeed a magnificent one. The thought that he had in his mind was obvious. He spoke of the number of times he had been wounded; and said he had been imagined never to have been exposed to these sort of accidents from his having kept them secret as much as possible.

It was near the end of December. One day after a walk and a *tumble* in the mud, the Emperor returned and found a bundle of English newspapers, which the grand-marshal translated to him. This occupied him till late, and he forgot his dinner in discussing the contents. After dinner was served, Las Cases wished to continue the translation, but Napoleon would not let him proceed on account of the weak state of his eyes. "We must wait till tomorrow!" he said. Such was his consideration for every one. The admiral came in person to visit him; and the interview took a very favourable turn. After some animated discussion, it was settled that the Emperor should henceforth ride freely about the island; that the officer should follow him only at a distance; and that visitors should be admitted to the Emperor, not with the permission of the admiral as the inspector of Longwood, but with that of the grand-marshal,

who was to do the honours of the establishment. These concessions were presently recalled ; but their having been made in an unguarded moment was enough to show that the admiral was not a man fit for his place, any more than gyves are to be trusted to, which yield to the warm touch of the limbs which they are to gall and confine ! On the 30th of this month, Piontkowsky, a Pole, who had been left behind, but whose entreaties overcame the obduracy of the English government, joined the Emperor. On new-year's day, all their little party was assembled ; and Napoleon, entering into the feelings of the occasion, begged that they might breakfast and pass it together. This interest and complacency, still left for the smallest things, showed how little the greatest had cost him ! Every day furnished some new trait of this kind ; but having given some idea of the Emperor's situation and of his general mode of life, which admitted of slight variation, it is necessary to hasten forward.

The English officer having insisted on accompanying Napoleon in his rides, in consequence of some new orders or of his own obstinacy, he gave up the exercise for some time, during which he was glad of any book to amuse himself with. "Time," he said, "is the only thing of which we have too much here." Among others, the collection called the *Antigallican* was thrown in his way, at which he laughed heartily. Las Cases observes, that the calumnies in this work were so gross and absurd, that with the exception of the most vulgar class of English, its poison carried its own antidote with it. It would be difficult on this principle to say which was the most vulgar class of English society ! They heard by the papers successively of the insurrection in Spain and the death of Porlier, the execution of Ney and the escape of Lavalette. All these events interested Napoleon exceedingly, and he made a variety of remarks on them : he had by this time, with Las Cases's assistance,

learnt to read a little in the English newspapers himself.

After some mixed conversation one evening, the Emperor inquired, "What was the day of the month?" It was the 11th of March. "Well," said he, "it is a year ago to-day; it was a brilliant day: I was at Lyons. I reviewed some troops; I had the mayor to dine with me, who by the way has boasted since that it was the worst dinner he ever made in his life." The Emperor became animated: he paced the chamber quickly. "I was again become a great power," he continued; and a sigh escaped him, which he immediately checked with these words, in an accent and with a warmth which it is difficult to describe:—"I had founded the finest empire upon earth, and I was so necessary to it, that spite of all my last reverses, here, upon my rock, I seem still to remain master of France. Look at what is going on there; read the papers; you will find it so in every line. Let me once more set my foot there: they will see what France and what I can do! What a fatality that my return from the Isle of Elba was not acquiesced in; that every one did not perceive that my reign was desirable and necessary to the balance and repose of Europe! But both kings and people feared me; they were wrong, and may pay dearly for it. I returned a new man; they could not believe it: they could not imagine that a man might have sufficient strength of mind to alter his character or to bend to the power of circumstances. I had, however, given proofs of this, and some pledges to the same effect. Who is ignorant that I am not a man of half-measures? I would have been as sincerely the monarch of the constitution and of peace as I had been of absolute sway and great enterprises. What could the kings apprehend? Did they still dread my ambition, my conquests, my universal monarchy? But my power and my resources were no longer the same; and besides, I had only defeated and con-

quered them in my own defence: this is a truth which time will more fully develope every day. *Europe never ceased to make war upon France, her principles, and me; and we were compelled to destroy, to save ourselves from destruction.* The coalition always existed openly or secretly, avowed or denied; it was permanent: it only remained with the allies to make peace: for ourselves, we were worn out; the French dreaded making new conquests. But even the French mistrusted me: they had the insanity to discuss when there was nothing to do but to fight; and to divide when they should have united on any terms. And was it not better to run the risk of having me again for master, than to expose themselves to that of submitting to a foreign yoke? Would it not have been easier to rid themselves of a single tyrant than to shake off the chains of all the nations united? And whence did they derive this mistrust of me? Because they had already seen me concentrate every effort in myself, and direct them with a vigorous hand. But do they not learn at the present day to their cost, how necessary that was? Well! the danger was in any case the same: the contest terrible, and the crisis imminent. In this state of things, was not absolute power almost indispensable? The welfare of the country obliged me even to declare it openly on my return from Leipsic. I should have done so again on my return from Elba. I was wanting in consistency, or rather in confidence in the French, because many of them no longer placed it in me, and it was doing me a great wrong. If narrow and vulgar minds only saw in all my efforts the care of my own power, ought not those of greater scope to have known, that under the circumstances in which we were placed, my power and the country were but one? Did it require such great and incurable mischiefs to enable them to comprehend me? History will do me more justice: it will point me out as the man of self-denials and disinterestedness. To



what temptations was I not exposed in the army of Italy? England offered me the crown of France at the time of the treaty of Amiens: I refused peace at Chatillon: I disdained all personal stipulations at Waterloo—and why? Because all this had no reference to my country, and I had no ambition distinct from her, that of her glory, her ascendancy, her majesty. And that is the reason why, in spite of so many calamities, I remain so popular in France. It is a sort of instinct of after-justice on their part.”

The Emperor asked whether, if he addressed a letter to the Prince Regent, it would be forwarded? The admiral replied, that it would be opened first; and on this condition the Emperor declined writing. Las Cases complains, among other things, that the animals sent them as food had often died a natural death. One day, the discourse turning on the height and splendour of the imperial power—“For all that,” interrupted Napoleon, “Paris is so extensive and contains so many people of all sorts, and some so eccentric, that I can conceive there may be some who never saw me, and others who never even heard my name mentioned. Do you not think so!” And it was curious to observe with what whimsical ingenuity he maintained this assertion. All present loudly insisted that there was not a town or village in Europe, perhaps not even in the world, where his name had not been pronounced. One person in particular added—“Sire, before I returned to France at the treaty of Amiens, your Majesty being then only First Consul, I determined to make a tour in Wales, as one of the most extraordinary parts of Great Britain. I climbed the wildest mountains, some of them of prodigious height: I visited cabins that seemed to belong to another world. As I entered one of these secluded dwellings, I observed to my fellow-traveller, that in this spot one might expect to find repose and escape the din of revolution. The cottager suspecting us to be French from our accent, imme-

diately inquired the news from France, and what Buonaparte, the First Consul, was about?"\* "Sire," said another, "we had the curiosity to ask the Chinese officers whether our European affairs had been heard of in their empire? 'Certainly,' they replied, 'but in a confused manner, because we are totally uninterested in those matters; but the name of your Emperor is famous there, and connected with grand ideas of revolution and conquest; just as the names of those who have changed the face of that part of the world have arrived in ours, such as Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, and others.'" So is it that single objects strike the mind at a distance from their height and elevation, and that the whole world is filled with the greatness and renown of an individual! Bertrand, Las Cases, and the Emperor one day making a confession of their political faith, at the end of it, "Well then," exclaimed Napoleon, "it seems I am the only one among you who has ever been a republican!"—Such were the diversions of St. Helena.

\* In 1801, an old woman, living servant with a celebrated poet in Cumberland, had never heard of the French Revolution. The poet himself and his friends seem since to have forgotten that such an event had ever taken place.

## CHAPTER LIX.

## SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe, the new governor ; severe regulations and restrictions ; Napoleon's bed-chamber ; remonstrates against the treatment of the governor ; his reply to the " declaration of the allies ;" arrival of the allied commissioners ; more restrictions imposed ; Napoleon's remarks on a calumnious assertion of Lord Castlereagh ; on the distress in England in 1817 ; his opinion of the battle of Waterloo.

ON the 14th of April, 1816, the new governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, arrived. It was not enough to provide Napoleon with a prison : it was thought necessary to be nice in the choice of a jailer. To judge how little any new restrictions or severities were required for the mere purposes of security, the following sketch of his situation may suffice.

A space of about twelve miles in circumference was allotted to Napoleon, within which he might ride or walk, being accompanied by a British officer. Within this space was placed the camp of the 53d at Deadwood, about a mile from Longwood-House, and another at Hut's Gate, opposite Bertrand's, close to whose door there was an officer's guard. A subaltern's guard was posted at the entrance of Longwood, a few hundred paces from the house ; and a line of sentinels and piquets was placed round the limits. At nine o'clock the sentinels were drawn in, and stationed in communication with each other ; surrounding the house in such a manner that no person could come in or go out without being seen and scrutinized by them. At the entrance of the house double sentinels

were placed, and patrols were continually passing backward and forward. After nine, Napoleon was not at liberty to leave the house, unless in company with a field officer; and no person whatever was allowed to pass without the countersign. This state of affairs continued until daylight. Every landing-place in the island, and indeed every place which presented the semblance of one, was furnished with a piquet, and sentinels were even planted upon every *goat-path* leading to the sea, though in truth the obstacles presented by nature in almost all the paths in that direction would of themselves have proved insurmountable to so unwieldy a fugitive as Napoleon.

From the various signal-posts on the island, ships are frequently discovered at twenty-four leagues' distance, and always long before they can approach the shore. Two ships of war constantly cruised, one to windward and the other to leeward, to which signals were made the instant a vessel was discovered from the posts on shore. Every ship, except a British man-of-war, was accompanied down to the road by one of the cruisers, who remained with her until she was either permitted to anchor or was sent away. No foreign vessels were allowed to anchor, except under circumstances of great distress, in which case no one was permitted to land, and an officer and party from one of the ships of war was sent on board to take charge of them, and to prevent any improper communication. Every fishing-boat belonging to the island was numbered, and moored every evening at sunset under the superintendence of a lieutenant in the navy. No boats, except guard-boats, which rowed about the island all night, were suffered to be out after sunset. The orderly-officer was also instructed to ascertain the actual presence of Napoleon twice within the twenty-four hours, which was done with as much delicacy as possible. In fact, every human precaution to prevent escape, short of actually incarcerating or chaining him, was adopted under Sir George Cockburn.



But this was not enough. The lines of circumvallation were drawn around him, from which he had no chance of escape; but within them he retained his habitual good-humour, a freedom from interruption, and an appearance of outward ease and independence. This did not answer the desired object. It was therefore resolved to pass those lines; to infix stings in the victim of jealousy and revenge; and to irritate and if possible drive him to some act of desperation by incessant petty annoyances and insults, to resent or to submit to which was equal indignity. Nothing could atone for the height to which Buonaparte had raised himself, but making him drink the cup of scorn and bitterness to the very dregs. It was not enough to make him a prisoner, unless he could at the same time be treated as a felon and a runaway slave. A man was picked out of the whole navy and army for this service, equally devoid of decency and humanity, and in whom the feeling of the insolence of office was happily seconded by a crawling servility. There was not a common English sailor or a drummer-boy that would not have shown more magnanimity and sense of justice than the English government and its chosen agent. But the mere rabble had never felt the galling contrast between merited and accidental elevation to supreme power and distinction. Or else the case was plain. Either there was nothing in Napoleon to make it necessary to take all these precautions against him as an object of dread and alarm to the whole world; and as if he alone, once at liberty and left to himself, were a match for all Europe in arms—or if he were that mighty and almost preternatural being that wielded such power and whose name was a spell that worked miracles, then that very power and renown that rendered him formidable ought (at least) to have screened him from being treated with ignominy and contempt.

As soon as Sir Hudson Lowe had landed, and had been installed governor in the customary forms, a

message was sent to Longwood, that the new governor would visit Napoleon at nine o'clock on the following morning. Accordingly, a little before nine, Sir Hudson Lowe arrived, in the midst of a pelting storm of wind and rain, accompanied by Sir George Cockburn and a numerous staff. As the hour fixed upon was unseasonable, and one at which Napoleon had never received any one, intimation was given that he was indisposed and could receive no visitors that morning. This appeared to disconcert Sir Hudson Lowe, who, after pacing up and down before the windows of the drawing-room for a few minutes, demanded at what hour on the following day he could be introduced? Two o'clock was fixed upon for the interview, at which time he arrived, accompanied as before by the admiral and his staff. They were at first ushered into the dining-room, behind which was the saloon, where they were to be received. A proposal was made by Sir George Cockburn to Sir Hudson Lowe, that the latter should be introduced by him as the most official and proper manner of resigning the charge of his prisoner to him, for which purpose they should enter the room together. This was acceded to by Sir Hudson Lowe. At the door of the drawing-room stood Noverraz, one of the French valets, whose business it was to announce the names of the persons introduced. After waiting a few minutes, the door was opened, and the governor called for. As soon as the word governor was pronounced, Sir Hudson Lowe started up and stepped forward so hastily that he entered the room before Sir George Cockburn was well apprised of his intention. The door was then closed; and when the admiral presented himself, the valet, not having heard his name called, told him that he could not enter. Sir Hudson Lowe remained about a quarter of an hour with Napoleon, during which time the conversation was carried on in Italian; and subsequently the officers of his staff were introduced. The admiral did not again apply for admittance.

The day after, Mr. O'Meara, who had been retained as his surgeon from the time he had left the *Belleophon* (at the Emperor's own request) took him some newspapers which had been lent him by the admiral. Napoleon said, "I believe that he was rather ill-treated when he came up with the new governor: what does he say about it?" The reply was, that the admiral conceived it to be an insult and felt greatly offended, though some explanation had been given by General Montholon on the subject. Napoleon answered, "He should have sent me word that he wanted to see me; but he wished to embroil me with the new governor, and for that purpose persuaded him to come up here at nine o'clock in the morning, though he well knew that I had never received any persons, nor ever would, at that hour." He continued: "I, in my misfortunes, sought an asylum among you; and instead of that, I have found contempt, ill-treatment, and insult. Shortly after I came on board his ship, as I did not wish to sit at table for two or three hours, guzzling down wine to make myself drunk, I rose from table, and walked out upon deck. While I was going out, he said in a contemptuous manner, 'I believe the *General* has never read Lord Chesterfield:' meaning that I was deficient in politeness, and did not know how to conduct myself at table. If Sir George had wanted to see Lord St. Vincent or Lord Keith, would he not have sent beforehand, and asked at what hour it might be convenient to see them? And should not I be treated with at least as much respect as either of these? Putting out of the question, that I have been a crowned head, I think," said he, laughing, "that the actions I have performed are at least as well known as anything they have done."

General Montholon came in at this moment with a paper sent by Sir Hudson Lowe, which the servants were required to sign, such being the pleasure of the Prince Regent. The improved system of domiciliary

visits and annoyance under the new governor, began from the first instant. Napoleon's faithful domestics were told that they might return to Europe, as if he kept them with him against their will ; or if they did not choose to detach themselves from him, they were to be frightened into it by being compelled to sign a declaration, that they were ready to remain under the new and more severe restrictions which were about to be imposed upon him. They, however, all signed the paper ; but Sir Hudson, not satisfied with the success of his experiment, insisted on seeing them himself, to know whether M. Montholon had not played him a trick. The next thing was that Mr. Brook, the colonial secretary, Major Gorrequer, Sir Hudson's aide-de-camp, and other official persons, went round to the different shopkeepers in the town, ordering them in the name of the governor, not to give credit to any of the French or to sell them any article, unless for ready money, under pain of not only losing the amount of the sum so credited, but of suffering such other punishment as the governor might think fit to award. They were further directed to hold no communication whatever with them, without special permission from the new governor, under pain of being turned off the island.

Many of the officers of the 53rd, who were in the habit of calling on Madame Bertrand at Hut's-gate, received hints that their visits were not pleasing to the authorities lately arrived ; and the officer of the Hut's-gate guard was ordered to report the names of all persons entering Bertrand's house. Sentinels were placed in different directions to prevent the approach of visitors, several of whom, including some ladies, were turned back. A sense of reluctance or rather fear to associate with the exiles, very different from the feeling which existed a few days before, appeared to become pretty general among the inhabitants. Several of the officers of the 53rd went to Hut's-gate to take leave of Countess Bertrand, as they declared the impossi-



bility there was for men of honour to comply with the new regulations. It was expected and required that all persons who visited at Longwood or at Hut's-gate should make a report to the governor or to Sir Thomas Reade of the conversations they had held with the French. Several additional sentinels were posted around Longwood House and grounds. What was all this for? Not for the better security of Buonaparte's person, but to prevent a report from getting abroad in Europe and from wounding the ear of princes, that he was not either in temper or manners the monster we had described him.

The weather was extremely wet and foggy (with high winds) for several days, during which Napoleon did not stir out of doors. Messengers and letters continually succeeded one another from Plantation-house. The governor was apparently very anxious to see Napoleon, and evidently distrustful, although the residents at Longwood were assured of his actual presence by the sound of his voice. He had some communications with Count Bertrand on the necessity which he said there was, that some of his officers should see Napoleon daily. He also came to Longwood frequently himself, and, finally, after some difficulty, succeeded in obtaining an interview with Napoleon in his bed-chamber, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. Some days before, he sent for Mr. O'Meara, asked a variety of questions concerning the captive; walked round the house several times and before the windows, measuring and laying down the plan of a new ditch, which he said he would have dug *in order to prevent the cattle from trespassing*. On his arrival at the angle, formed by the meeting of two of the old ditches, he observed a tree, the branches of which considerably overhung it. This appeared to excite serious alarm in his excellency's breast, as he desired Mr. O'Meara to send instantly for Mr. Porteous, the superintendant of the Company's gardens. A few minutes after the messenger was dispatched, the governor who had his

eyes constantly fixed upon the tree, desired Mr. O'Meara in a hasty manner to go and fetch Mr. Porteous immediately himself. On his return, he found Sir Hudson Lowe walking up and down, contemplating the object which appeared to be such a source of alarm to him. In a hurried manner, he ordered Mr. Porteous to send some workmen instantly to have the tree grubbed up; and before leaving the ground, directed Mr. O'Meara, in an under-tone, to see that "it was done." After this commencement, we need not wonder at the sequel. We have here an invaluable description of the wrong side of an Englishman's character. He sees bug-bears and objects of suspicion in every thing: of these he is bent to make the worst; and there is no real evil which he will not undergo or inflict upon others, to get rid of the wilful phantoms he conjures up, or rather to furnish food for his habitual gloom and terrors. This account (as far as it goes) seems to bring Sir Hudson Lowe within a known class again, and not to make him out a *lusus nature* in point of wanton cruelty and meanness. What follows is of a piece. On the 4th of May, Sir Hudson Lowe went to see Count Bertrand, with whom he had a long conversation, which did not appear to be of a nature very pleasing to him, as on retiring he mounted his horse, muttering something, and evidently out of humour. He had told the count that the French made a great many complaints without any reason; that considering their situation, they were very well treated, and ought to be thankful instead of making complaints, and abusing the liberal conduct which was practised towards them. This is the true English character, which does not consist so much of passion or malice, as of headstrong self-will, which makes us do whatever we please, and of insensibility to the feelings of others, which makes us think whatever we do is right; and the more wrong it is, the more we are convinced of the truth and justice of the grounds on which we have acted, and the unreasonableness of

others in not becoming parties to their own condemnation.

On the 5th, Napoleon sent for his surgeon to come to him about nine o'clock. He was introduced into his bed-chamber, a description of which is worth giving here. It was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering-paper, and destitute of surbase. Two small windows, without pullies, looked towards the camp of the 53rd regiment, one of which was thrown up, and fastened by a piece of notched wood. There were window-curtains of white long-cloth, a small fire-place, a shabby-grate and fire-irons to match, with a paltry mantel-piece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantel-piece hung the portrait of Maria-Louisa, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of his mother. A little more to the right hung also the portrait of the Empress Josephine; and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederick the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right, the Consular watch, engraved with the cypher B, hung by a chain of the plaited-hair of Maria-Louisa, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. The floor was covered with a second-hand carpet, which had once decorated the dining-room of a lieutenant of the St. Helena artillery. In the right-hand corner was placed the little plain iron camp-bedstead, with green silk curtains, on which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a paltry second-hand chest of drawers; and an old book-case with green blinds stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs painted green were standing here and there about the room. Before the back-door there was a screen covered with nankeen; and between that and the fire-place, an old-

fashioned sofa, covered with white long-cloth, on which Napoleon reclined, dressed in his white morning-gown, white loose trowsers and stockings all in one, a chequered red handkerchief upon his head, and his shirt-collar open without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table, with some books, at the foot of which lay in confusion upon the carpet a heap of those which he had already perused, and at the opposite side of the sofa was suspended Isabey's portrait of the Empress Maria-Louisa, holding her son in her arms. In front of the fire-place stood Las Cases, with his arms folded over his breast and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty Emperor of France, nothing remained but a superb wash-hand stand containing a silver basin and water-jug of the same metal, in the left-hand corner. The object of Napoleon in sending for O'Meara on this occasion was to question him whether in their future intercourse he was to consider him in the light of a spy and a tool of the governor or as his physician? The doctor gave a decided and satisfactory answer on this point, and it was for adhering to his resolution in spite of the tampering and threats that were used to influence him, that he was afterwards dismissed the island in disgrace—"Dishonour honourable!" Napoleon continued: "During the short interview that this governor had with me in my bed-chamber, one of the first things he proposed was to send you away" (to O'Meara), "and that I should take his own surgeon in your place. This he repeated twice, and so earnest was he to gain his object, that though I gave him a flat refusal, when he was going out he turned about and again proposed it." [This in an Italian would point to a doubtful conclusion: in an Englishman it was merely pertinacity and want of feeling.] "I never," added the Emperor, "saw such a horrid countenance. He sat on a chair opposite the sofa, and on the little table between us there was a cup of coffee.



His physiognomy made such an unfavourable impression on me that I fancied his looks had poisoned it, and I ordered Marchand to throw it out of the window: I could not have swallowed it on any account." Las Cases, who probably was not prejudiced in his favour, describes Sir Hudson as of the middle height, thin, red-haired, with large white bushy eye-brows, a sinister look, and freckled.

On the 11th, a proclamation was issued by the governor, "forbidding any persons on the island from sending letters to or receiving them from General Buonaparte or his suite, on pain of being immediately arrested and dealt with accordingly." This had never been done in the former governor's time, though Sir Hudson pretended that he changed nothing. This prohibition could not be one of policy—for no one would think of conveying improper intelligence by letters which any one might open—it was to aggravate and irritate, which was Sir Hudson's mission. Nothing escaped his importunity and desire to interfere and show his power, whether in official or other matters. "The governor," said Napoleon, "has just sent an invitation to Bertrand for General Buonaparte to come to Plantation-house to meet Lady Moira. I told Bertrand to return no answer to it. If he really wanted me to see her, he would have put Plantation-house within the limits; but to send such an invitation, knowing I must go in charge of a guard if I wished to avail myself of it, was an insult.—It appears," added he, "that this governor was with Blucher, and is the writer of some despatches to his government descriptive of part of the operations in 1814. I pointed them out to him the last time I saw him; and asked him, 'Is that you, sir?' He replied *Yes*. I told him they were full of misrepresentations and nonsense. He shrugged up his shoulders, appeared confused, and said, 'I thought I saw all that.' If those letters were the only accounts he transmitted, he betrayed his country." A few days

after, in consequence of another visit from the governor, he expressed himself thus:—"Here has been this ill-favoured wretch to torment me again. Tell him that I never want to see him, and that I hope he may not come again to annoy me with his hateful presence, unless it be with orders to despatch me. He will then find my breast ready for the blow; but till then, let me be rid of his odious countenance; I cannot reconcile myself to it." Buonaparte's aversion to this man appears to have been instinctive, and as just as it was involuntary.

From this time the whole of his intercourse with the governor and his agents was nothing but a series of petty affronts, carried more and more into outrage as the irritation increased, or of ineffectual remonstrances against compulsory submission to them. "Your government," said he, "are mistaken, if they imagine that by seeking every means to distress me, such as sending me here, depriving me of all communication with my nearest and dearest relatives, so that I am ignorant if one of my blood exist, isolating me from the world, imposing useless and vexatious restrictions which are daily getting worse, sending out the dregs of mankind as keepers, they will weary out my patience, and drive me to commit suicide. Even if I ever had entertained a thought of the kind, the idea of the gratification it would afford them would prevent me from completing it. And then that *palace*," he added, laughing, "which they say they are sending out for me, is so much money thrown into the sea. I would much rather they had sent me four or five hundred volumes of books than all their furniture and houses. Besides, it will take some years to build it; and before that time, I shall be no more."

Napoleon, notwithstanding, from the elasticity and buoyancy of his spirits, soon recovered his gaiety when out of the presence of his tormentor, and inquired after the news and other matters as usual. He was informed that some ladies he had received a

few days before were highly delighted with his manners ; especially as from what they had read and heard, they had been prepossessed with a very different opinion. " Ah !" said he, laughing, " I suppose they imagined I was some ferocious horned animal." It was this re-action of opinion which ministers dreaded ; and they therefore set a person over him, who would persist in the original prejudice, with meanness and malice to boot, in spite of the evidence of his senses. Soon after came the *declaration of the allies* and the *acts of parliament*, authorizing the detention of Napoleon Buonaparte as a prisoner of war and disturber of the peace of Europe. Against the bill when brought into the House of Lords, there were two protests, those of Lord Holland and of the Duke of Sussex. These official documents did not tend to soothe the temper or raise the spirits of the French to endure the petty insults and harassing privations of their jailer, who seemed to think it his duty not only to confine their persons, but to circumscribe their comforts ; to grudge them the smallest interval of ease, and to suppose that a moment's oblivion of their sufferings or situation was a crime equally in him and in themselves. It is peculiar to the English to consider *their* enemies as self-convicted criminals. Among other instances of this vulgar assumption and want of decorum, he refused to forward a political pamphlet, because it was addressed "*To Napoleon the Great* ;"\* when a complaint was made of the want of trees at Longwood, he jeeringly said " he would plant some ;" and declared that " he thought Ali Pacha a more respectable scoundrel than General Buonaparte." Having afforded a clue to the principle, I shall avoid the details as much as I can,

\* Sir Hudson alleged as a reason for keeping back the work, that something was said in it against Lord Castlereagh. On the same principle, he was only allowed a sight of the "Times" and those English newspapers in which he was abused. The "Edinburgh Review" was carefully kept out of his way.

though they will for ever remain a stain upon English history and on the English character, which cannot be excused from having had its full share in them. The Emperor had not only the impertinence and injustice of the English to endure, but the misgivings and unmanageable humours of his own people to contend with. As men are apt in such circumstances, they sometimes disagreed among themselves; and part of their petulance and ill-temper fell upon their chief. He took these little incidents deeply to heart. On one occasion, he said in bitterness, "I know that I am fallen; but to feel this among you! I am aware that man is frequently unreasonable and susceptible of offence. Thus, when I am mistrustful of myself, I ask, should I have been treated so at the Tuileries? This is my sure test." How well all his words and actions seem to accord with the expression of that fine marble bust, that vies in grandeur and simplicity with those of the great men handed down to us from antiquity!

To the "Declaration of the Allies" he desired Gourgaud to give the following masterly reply:—

#### OFFICIAL DOCUMENT.

"General,—I have received the treaty of the 2nd of August, 1815, concluded between his Britannic Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, which was annexed to your letter of the 23rd of July.

"The Emperor Napoleon protests against the purport of that treaty; he is not the prisoner of England. After having placed his Abdication in the hands of the representatives of the nation, for the benefit of the constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his son, he proceeded voluntarily and freely to England, for the purpose of residing there as a private person, in retirement, under the protection of the British laws. The viola-



tion of all laws cannot constitute a right in fact. The person of the Emperor Napoleon is in the power of England ; but neither, as a matter of fact, nor of right, has it been, or is it, at present, in the power of Austria, Russia, and Prussia ; even according to the laws and customs of England, which has never included, in its exchange of prisoners, Russians, Austrians, Prussians, Spaniards, or Portuguese, although united to these powers by treaties of alliance, and making war conjointly with them. The convention of the 2nd August, made fifteen days after the Emperor Napoleon had arrived in England, cannot, as a matter of right, have any effect ; it merely presents the spectacle of the coalition of the four principal powers of Europe, for the oppression of a single man ; a coalition which the opinion of every people disavows, as do all the principles of sound morality. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia not possessing, either in fact or by right, any power over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, were incapable of enacting anything with regard to him. If the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor of Austria, that prince would have remembered the relations formed by religion and nature between a father and a son, relations which are never violated with impunity. He would have remembered that four times Napoleon re-established him on his throne ; at Leoben in 1797, and at Luneville in 1801, when his armies were under the walls of Vienna ; at Presburgh in 1806, and at Vienna in 1809, when his armies were in possession of the capital and of three-fourths of the monarchy. That prince would have remembered the protestations which he made to him at the bivouac of Moravia in 1806, and at the interview at Dresden in 1812. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor Alexander, he would have remembered the ties of friendship contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurt, and during

twelve years of daily intercourse ; he would have remembered the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon the day subsequent to the battle of Austerlitz, when having it in his power to take him prisoner, with the remains of his army, he contented himself with his word, and let him effect his retreat ; he would have remembered the dangers to which the Emperor Napoleon personally exposed himself to extinguish the fire of Moscow and preserve that capital for him ; unquestionably that prince would not have violated the duties of friendship and gratitude towards a friend in distress. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been even in the power of the King of Prussia, that sovereign would not have forgotten that it was optional with the Emperor, after the battle of Friedland, to place another prince on the throne of Berlin ; he would not have forgotten, in the presence of a disarmed enemy, the protestations of devotedness and the sentiments which he expressed to him in 1812, at the interviews at Dresden. It is accordingly evident from the 2nd and 5th articles of the said treaty, that being incapable of any influence whatever over the fate and the person of the Emperor Napoleon, who is not in their power, these princes refer themselves in that respect to the future conduct of his Britannic Majesty, who undertakes to fulfil all obligations.

“These princes have reproached the Emperor Napoleon with preferring the protection of the English laws to theirs. The false ideas which the Emperor Napoleon entertained of the liberality of the English laws, and of the influence of a great, generous, and free people on its government, decided him in preferring the protection of these laws to that of his father-in-law, or of his old friend. The Emperor Napoleon always would have been able to obtain the security of what related personally to himself, whether by placing himself again at the head of the army of the Loire, or by putting himself at the head of the army

of the Gironde, commanded by General Clauzel; but looking for the future only to retirement and to the protection of the laws of a free nation, either English or American, all stipulations appeared useless to him. He thought that the English people would have been more bound by his frank conduct, which was noble and full of confidence, than it could have been by the most solemn treaties. He has been deceived; but this delusion will for ever excite the indignation of real Britons, and with the present as well as future generations, it will be a proof of the perfidy of the English administration. Austrian and Russian commissioners are arrived at St. Helena; if the object of their mission be to fulfil part of the duties, which the Emperors of Austria and Russia have contracted by the treaty of the 2nd of August, and to take care that the English agents in a small colony, in the middle of the ocean, do not fail in the attentions due to a prince connected with them by the ties of affinity and by so many relations, the characteristics of these two sovereigns will be recognised in that measure. But you, sir, have asserted that these commissioners possessed neither the right nor the power of giving any opinion on whatever may be transacted on this rock.

“ The English ministry have caused the Emperor Napoleon to be transported to Saint Helena, two thousand leagues from Europe. This rock, situated under the tropic at the distance of five hundred leagues from every kind of continent is, in that latitude, exposed to a devouring heat; it is, during three-fourths of the year, covered with clouds and mists; it is at once the driest and wettest country in the world. This is the most injurious climate to the Emperor's health. It is hatred which dictated the selection of this residence as well as the instructions, given by the English ministry to the officers who command in this country; they have been ordered to call the Emperor Napoleon General, being desirous of compelling him to acknowledge that he never reigned in France,

which decided him not to take an incognito title, as he had determined, on quitting France. First Magistrate for life, under the title of First-Consul, he concluded the preliminaries of London and the treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain. He received as ambassadors, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Merry, and Lord Whitworth, who resided in that quality at his court. He sent to the King of England, Count Otto and General Andreossi, who resided as ambassadors at the court of Windsor. When, after the exchange of letters between the ministers for foreign affairs belonging to the two monarchies, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris, provided with full powers from the King of England, he treated with the plenipotentiaries provided with full powers from the Emperor Napoleon, and resided several months at the court of the Tuileries. When afterwards at Chatillon, Lord Castlereagh signed the ultimatum, which the allied powers presented to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, he thereby recognised the fourth dynasty. That ultimatum was more advantageous than the treaty of Paris ; but France was required to renounce Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, which was contrary to the propositions of Frankfort and to the proclamations of the allied powers ; and was also contrary to the oath by which, at his consecration, the Emperor had sworn the integrity of the empire. The Emperor then thought these national limits were necessary to the security of France as well as to the equilibrium of Europe ; he thought that the French nation, in the circumstances under which she found herself, ought rather to risk every chance of war than to give them up. France would have obtained that integrity, and with it preserved her honour, had not treason contributed to the success of the allies. The treaty of the 2nd of August and the bill of the British parliament style the Emperor, Napoleon Buonaparte, and give him only the title of general. The title of *General Buonaparte* is, no



doubt, eminently glorious ; the Emperor bore it at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcole, at Leoben, at the Pyramids, at Aboukir ; but for seventeen years he has borne that of First Consul and of Emperor ; it would be an admission, that he has been neither first magistrate of the republic, nor sovereign of the fourth dynasty. Those who think that nations are flocks, which, by divine right, belong to some families, are neither of the present age, nor of the spirit of the English legislature, which has several times changed the succession of its dynasties, because the great alterations occasioned by opinions, in which the reigning princes did not participate, had made them enemies to the happiness of the great majority of that nation. For kings are but hereditary magistrates, who exist for the happiness of nations, and not nations for the satisfaction of kings. It is the same spirit of hatred, which directed that the Emperor Napoleon should not write nor receive any letter without its being opened and read by the English ministers and the officers of Saint Helena. He has, by that regulation, been interdicted the possibility of receiving intelligence from his mother, his wife, his son, his brothers ; and when, wishing to free himself from the inconvenience of having his letters read by inferior officers, he desired to send sealed letters to the Prince Regent, he was told, that open letters only could be taken charge of and conveyed, and that such were the instructions of the ministry. That measure stands in need of no comment ; it will suggest strange ideas of the spirit of the administration by which it was dictated ; it would be disclaimed even at Algiers ! Letters have been received for general officers in the Emperor's suite ; they were opened and delivered to you ; you have retained them, because they had not been transmitted through the medium of the English ministry ; it was found necessary to make them travel four thousand leagues over again, and these officers had the misfortune to know, that there existed on this

rock news from their wives, their mothers, and their children, and that they could not be put in possession of it in less than six months! The heart revolts. Permission could not be obtained to subscribe to the *Morning Chronicle*, to the *Morning Post*, or to some French journals: some broken numbers of the *Times* have been occasionally sent to Longwood. In consequence of the demand made on board of the *Northumberland*, some books have been sent; but all those which relate to the transactions of late years, have been carefully kept back. It was since intended to open a correspondence with a London bookseller for the purpose of being directly supplied with books which might be wanted, and with those relative to the events of the day; that intention was frustrated. An English author having published in London an account of his travels in France, took the trouble to send it as a present to the Emperor, but you did not think yourself authorized to deliver it to him, because it had not reached you through the channel of your government. It is also said, that other books, sent by the authors, have not been delivered, because the address of some was—*To the Emperor Napoleon*, and of others—*To Napoleon the Great*. The English ministry are not authorized to order any of these vexations. The law, however unjust, considers the Emperor Napoleon as a prisoner of war; but prisoners of war have never been prohibited from subscribing to the journals, or receiving books that are printed; such a prohibition is exercised only in the dungeons of the inquisition.

“The island of St. Helena is ten leagues in circumference; it is everywhere inaccessible; the coast is guarded by brigs, posts within sight of each other are placed on the shore, and all communication with the sea is rendered impracticable. There is but one small town, James Town, where the vessels anchor, and from which they sail. In order to prevent the escape of an individual, it is sufficient to guard the

coast by land and sea. By interdicting the interior of the island, one object only can be in view, that of preventing a ride of eight or ten miles, which it would be possible to take on horseback, and the privation of which, according to the consultations of medical men, is abridging the Emperor's days.

“The Emperor has been placed at Longwood, which is exposed to every wind; a barren piece of ground, uninhabited, without water, and incapable of any kind of cultivation. The space contains about twelve hundred uncultivated fathoms. At the distance of eleven or twelve hundred fathoms, a camp was established on a small eminence; another has been since placed nearly at the same distance in an opposite direction, so that in the intense heat of the tropic, whatever way the eye is directed, nothing is seen but encampments. Admiral Malcolm, perceiving the utility of which a tent would be to the Emperor in that situation, has had one pitched by his seamen at the distance of twenty paces from the house; it is the only spot in which shade is to be found. The Emperor has, however, every reason to be satisfied with the spirit which animates the officers and soldiers of the gallant 53rd, as he had been with the crew of the Northumberland. Longwood House was constructed to serve as a barn to the Company's farm; some apartments were afterwards made in it by the deputy-governor of the island; he used it for a country house; but it was in no respect adapted for a residence. During the year it has been inhabited, it has been always in want of repair, and the Emperor has been constantly exposed to the inconvenience and unwholesomeness of a house in which workmen are employed. His bedchamber is too small to contain a bedstead of ordinary size; but every kind of building at Longwood would prolong the inconvenience arising from the workmen being employed. There are, however, in this wretched island some beautiful situations, with fine trees,

gardens, and tolerably good houses, among others Plantation House; but you are prevented by the positive instructions of the ministry from granting this house, which would have saved a great deal of expense laid out in building, at Longwood, huts covered with pitched paper, which are no longer of any use. You have prohibited every kind of intercourse between us and the inhabitants of the island; you have, in fact, converted Longwood House into a secret prison; you have even thrown difficulties in the way of our communication with the officers of the garrison. The most anxious care would seem to be taken to deprive us of the few resources afforded by this miserable country, and we are no better off here than we should be on Ascension Rock. During the four months you have been at St. Helena, you have, sir, rendered the Emperor's condition worse. It was observed to you by Count Bertrand, that you violated the law of your legislature, that you trampled upon the privileges of general officers, prisoners of war. You answered, that you knew nothing but the letter of your instructions, and that they were still worse than your conduct appeared to us.

“ I have the honour, &c. &c.,

(Signed)

“ COUNT DE MONTHOLON.

“ P.S. I had, sir, signed this letter when I received yours of the 17th, to which you annex the estimate of an annual sum of 20,000*l.* sterling, which you consider indispensable to meet the expenses of the establishment of Longwood, after having made all the reductions which you have thought possible. The consideration of this estimate can, in no respect, concern us; the Emperor's table is scarcely supplied with what is necessary; all the provisions are of a bad quality and four times dearer than at Paris. You require a fund of twelve thousand pounds sterling from the Emperor, as your government only allows you eight thousand pounds for all these expenses. I have



had the honour of telling you, that the Emperor had no funds ; that no letter had been received or written for a year, and that he was altogether unacquainted with what is passing or what may have passed in Europe. Transplanted by violence to this rock, at the distance of two thousand leagues, without being able to receive or to write any letter, he now finds himself at the discretion of the English agents. The Emperor has uniformly desired and still desires to provide himself for all his expenses of every nature, and he will do so, as speedily as you shall give possibility to the means, by taking off the prohibition laid upon the merchants of the island, of carrying on his correspondence, and releasing it from all kind of inquisition on your part or on that of any of your agents. The moment the Emperor's wants shall be known in Europe, the persons who interest themselves for him will transmit the necessary funds for his supplies.

“The letter of Lord Bathurst, which you have communicated to me, gives rise to strange ideas! Can your ministers then be so ignorant as not to know that the spectacle of a great man struggling with adversity is the most sublime of spectacles? Can they be ignorant that Napoleon at St. Helena, in the midst of persecutions of every kind, against which his serenity is his only shield, is greater, more sacred, more venerable, than on the first throne of the world, where he was so long the arbiter of kings? Those who fail in respect to Napoleon, thus situated, merely degrade their own character and the nation which they represent!”

Admiral Malcolm brought out some books for the Emperor, which had been ordered at Madeira : he was overjoyed at receiving them, and assisted in unpacking the cases himself. He was also much pleased with the countenance and manners of the new admiral. The four allied commissioners arrived at the same time. Montchenu, the French com-

missioner, was an old French emigrant, at whom Napoleon laughed a good deal. Madame Bertrand wanted to see him, to inquire after her mother's health, and Las Cases after that of his wife, as he had seen both a little before his departure from Paris; but Sir Hudson Lowe would not permit it. Captain Hamilton took leave on his return to England, and was addressed by Napoleon in these words:—"Your government desire to know what I want: tell them I demand my liberty or death." A great deal of *fuss* was now made about the reduction of the expenses of the household. Napoleon said, "I cannot understand this: your ministers go to an expense of sixty or seventy thousand pounds to send me out houses and furniture, which I do not want; and yet grudge me a bottle of wine, and want to starve my servants. If necessary, I will go and mess with the 53rd regiment: there is not a soldier among them that would refuse me a share of his rations." Soon after, these privations and vexations not having been taken in good part, other restrictions were imposed of a still more irksome and disgraceful nature (for it is our way to clench one wrong by a greater), such as that the Emperor should be prohibited "from going off the high road; from going on the path leading to Miss Mason's; from entering into any house, and from conversing with any person whom he might meet in his rides or walks." The governor afterwards said, that this last intimation was meant as a civility, lest he should be stopped by one of the orderlies in the midst of a conversation which might appear too long and growing dangerous. This interpretation was much approved of by Sir Thomas Reade. The same person, when Buonaparte declined receiving the visit of Sir Thomas Strange, remarked, "If I were governor, I'll be d—d if I would not make him feel that he was a prisoner. If he did not comply with what I wanted, I'll be d—d if I would not take his books from him, which I'll advise the governor to do."

He is a d—d outlaw and prisoner; and the governor has a right to treat him with as much severity as he likes, and nobody has any business to interfere with him in the execution of his duty." Anything more characteristic than this speech was never put together. Oaths, malignity, meanness, abuse, right, and duty are blended in as fine a confusion as one could wish. Such were the persons sent out to represent the boasted heroism and generosity of the English nation and government!

The next piece of refinement was the requiring all the officers and domestics belonging to the Emperor's suite to sign a paper conforming to the new regulations; followed by a determination to send them off the island, because, though they readily subscribed to the conditions, they insisted on substituting the words "the Emperor Napoleon" for "Napoleon Buona-parté," in speaking of their great master. Sir Hudson congratulated himself on this dilemma, and said it was a trick which they were glad to avail themselves of, to get sent back. When they found that this threat was seriously meant to be put in execution, they all signed Sir Hudson's shiboleth, except one of the domestics,\* Santini. Napoleon, to avoid similar difficulties in future, offered (as he had formerly intended) to take the name of Meuron or Duroc. But nothing was ever done about it, as it would have deprived the governor of one of the sources of ill-blood and litigation between them. In answer to an observation that many were surprised at his having retained the title after his abdication, he said, "I abdicated the throne of France, but not the title of Emperor. I do not call myself Napoleon, Emperor of France, but the Emperor Napoleon. Sovereigns generally retain their titles. Thus Charles IV. of Spain retains the title of King and Majesty, after

\* He was a Corsican, and in his moody fits, professed a determination to shoot the governor, from which he was with some difficulty dissuaded. He was afterwards sent off the island.

having abdicated in favour of his son. If I were in England, I would not call myself Emperor. But they want to make it appear that the French nation had no right to choose me as its sovereign. If they had not a right to make me Emperor, they were equally incapable of making me General. Your nation," continued he, "called Washington a leader of rebels for a long time, and refused to acknowledge either him or the constitution of his country: but his successes obliged them to change their tone, and acknowledge both. It is success which makes the great man. It would appear truly ridiculous in me, were it not that your ministers force me to it, to call myself Emperor, situated as I am here; and would remind one of those poor wretches in Bedlam, who fancy themselves kings amidst their chains and straw."

The answer which he gave about this period to a question put to him by Mr. O'Meara is admirable, and may relieve the nauseous detail of official cruelty and chicane. It being remarked that it had excited considerable surprise that during the height of his glory he had never given a dukedom in France to any person, he replied—"Because it would have produced great discontent among the people. If for example I had made one of my marshals Duke of Burgundy, instead of giving him a title derived from one of my victories, it would have excited great alarm in Burgundy, as they would conceive that some feudal rights and territory were attached to the title; and the nation hated the old nobility so much that the creation of any rank resembling them would have given universal umbrage, which I, powerful as I was, durst not venture upon. I instituted the new nobility to crush the old, and to satisfy the people, as the greater part of those I created had sprung from themselves, and every private soldier had a right to look up to the title of duke. I believe that I acted wrong in doing even this, as it impaired the system of equality, which pleased the people so much; but if I had



created dukes with French titles, it would have been considered as a revival of the old feudal privileges, with which the nation had been cursed so long."

Even the allied commissioners were scandalized at the conduct of the English governor; and expressed great dissatisfaction at not having yet seen Napoleon. Count Balmaine in particular observed, that they appeared to be objects of suspicion: that had he been aware of the manner in which they would be treated, he would not have come out. That the Emperor Alexander had great interest in preventing the escape of Napoleon, but that he wished him to be well treated and the respect due to him: for which reason he (Count Balmaine) had only asked to see him as a private person, and not officially as a commissioner. That they should be objects of ridicule in Europe, as soon as it was known they had been so many months at St. Helena, without ever once seeing the individual, to ascertain whose presence was the sole object of their mission. That the governor always replied to their questions, that Buonaparte had refused to see any persons whatever. The botanist, a man of science, who had come out with them, held similar language, and remarked, that Longwood was the vilest abode in the world, and in his opinion the worst part of the island.

The Imperial plate was now sold in parcels, to procure provisions; the wine was so bad that it seemed to have been poisoned: but Sir Thomas Reade declared, that as it had been sent out for his use, General Buonaparte was bound to drink it. Four of the servants, with the Pole, Piontkowsky, were sent away to save expence and add a new indignity: and it being represented to Sir Hudson Lowe, that in consequence of his confinement to the house and so many harassing circumstances, the health of the Emperor declined, he pretended at first to take off the restrictions which kept Buonaparte within doors, said the sentinels had no right to stop him; then that the

orders which had been given to that effect had been recalled, neither of which was true ; and the whole object of this insidious show of indulgence and barefaced tissue of falsehoods seemed to be, to get Buonaparte collared, and perhaps struck down by one of the private soldiers, so that the question might be brought to a violent issue, or that he might refuse ever to stir out of his room again. Sir Hudson Lowe acknowledged to O'Meara, that his appointment had another object in view besides the securing Buonaparte's person. What this object was, he did not say, nor was it (according to his statement) entrusted to his Majesty's government in general : he only communicated on the subject with Lord Bathurst, who probably communicated with Mr. Croker, who might communicate with some higher person. Is it allowed to guess what this object was ? It was to reverse (if it were possible) the perspective of time and history ; to degrade Buonaparte in his own eyes and in those of all who came near him ; not to suffer a fallen enemy to brood in silence and solitude on past achievements and past misfortunes ; but to afford a consolation to offended pride in seeing one who had performed the greatest things, and who had waged the most stupendous warfare in a mighty cause, engaged in a contest with one of its own underlings about the most petty and contemptible vexations. Those who have no other merit than that of being born to power, have of course a right to wreak their utmost vengeance on all those who challenge competition with them by great actions or immortal renown. The next thing would have been (had not Sir Hudson answered the purpose equally well) to have caged Buonaparte with a baboon to "mow and chatter at him ;" or to have had him up to the halberts for not pulling off his hat to the governor or his aide-de-camp : and there are people to be found who would have approved of his treatment mightily.

Las Cases was removed from the island in 1817,

and O'Meara a year after ; because the one assisted him in his literary occupations and soothed his personal feelings, while the other refused to be made a tool of the governor in prying into and making a ministerial version of his sufferings. It was wished that the iron should enter his soul, without alleviation or sympathy. I shall here put together a few particulars of his manner of passing his time under these circumstances, when he could escape the importunity of English loyalty and patriotism, and retire into the recesses of his own mind or the society of the few friends who were left him.

He passed the mornings in writing, and the evenings in reading or conversation. He grew fonder of Racine ; but his favourite was Corneille. He called his pieces *head-quarter* tragedies, in distinction from *waiting-maids' gossip* ; and repeated that had he lived in his time, he would have made him a prince. He had a distaste to Voltaire ; and found great fault with his dramas, perhaps justly, as conveying opinions rather than sentiments. He criticised his *Mahomet*, and said he had made him merely an impostor and a tyrant, without representing him as a great man. This was from Voltaire's religious and political antipathies ; for those who are free from common prejudices, get others of their own in their stead, to which they are equally bigoted, and which they are for bringing forward on all occasions. When the evening passed off in conversation without having recourse to books, he considered it a point gained. Some one having asked which was the greatest battle that had been fought by the Emperor, he replied, it was difficult to answer that question without inquiring what was meant by the greatest battle. " Mine," continued he, " cannot be judged of separately : they formed a portion of extensive plans. They must therefore be judged of by their results. The battle of Marengo, which was so long undecided, procured for us the command of all Italy. Ulm annihilated

a whole army: Jena threw the whole Prussian monarchy into our hands; Friedland opened the Russian empire to us; and Eckmuhl decided the fate of a war. The battle of the Moskwa was one in which the greatest talent was displayed, and by which the fewest advantages were obtained. Waterloo, where everything failed, would, had it succeeded, have saved France and given peace to Europe." Madame Montholon having asked what troops might be accounted the best, "Those which gain victories, madam," replied the Emperor. "But," added he, "soldiers are capricious and inconstant; like you ladies. The best troops were the Carthaginians under Hannibal; the Romans under the Scipios; the Macedonians under Alexander; and the Prussians under Frederic." He thought, however, he might safely affirm, that the French troops were of all others those which could most easily be rendered the best, and preserved so. "With my complete guard of forty or fifty thousand men, I would have pledged myself to march through Europe. It is perhaps possible to produce troops as good as those that composed my army of Italy and Austerlitz; but certainly nothing can ever surpass them. The Emperor, who had dwelt for a considerable time on a subject so interesting to him, suddenly recollecting himself, asked what it was o'clock. Being told it was eleven, "Well," said he, rising, "we at least have the merit of having got through the evening without the help either of tragedy or comedy."

It was the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. The circumstance was mentioned by some one present; and the recollection of it produced a visible impression on the Emperor. "Incomprehensible day," said he, in a tone of sorrow—"Concurrence of unheard-of fatalities! Grouchy, Ney, D'Erlon—was there treachery or only misfortune? Alas! poor France!" (Here he covered his eyes with his hands.) "And yet," said he, "all that human skill could do



was accomplished! All was not lost until the moment when all had succeeded." A short time afterwards, referring to the same subject, he exclaimed, "In that extraordinary campaign, thrice, in less than a week's space, I saw the certain triumph of France and the determination of her fate slip through my fingers. Had it not been for the desertion of a traitor, I should have annihilated the enemy at the outset of the campaign. I should have destroyed him at Ligny, if my left had done its duty. I should have destroyed him again at Waterloo, if my right had not failed me. Singular defeat, by which, notwithstanding the most fatal catastrophe, the glory of the conquered has not suffered, nor the fame of the conqueror been increased; the memory of the one will survive his destruction; the memory of the other will perhaps be buried in his triumph!"

It has been generally supposed, that Napoleon was a believer in the doctrine of predestination, which, if true, would have been a blemish on his understanding. The following conversation with Las Cases pretty clearly settles that point. "Pray," said he, "am I not thought to be given to a belief in predestination?"—"Yes, sire; at least by many people."—"Well, well! let them say on: one may sometimes be tempted to act a part, and it may occasionally be useful. But what are men? How much easier is it to occupy their attention and to strike their imaginations by absurdities than by rational ideas? But can a man of sound sense listen for one moment to such a doctrine? Either predestination admits the existence of free-will, or it rejects it. If it admits it, what kind of predetermined result can that be which a simple resolution, a step, a word, may alter or modify *ad infinitum*? If predestination, on the contrary, rejects the existence of free-will, it is quite another question; in that case, a child need only be thrown into its cradle as soon as it is born; there is no necessity for bestowing the least care upon it; for if it be

irrevocably decreed that it is to live, it will grow though no food should be given to it. You see that such a doctrine is not to be maintained: predestination is but a word without meaning. The Turks themselves, the patrons of predestination, are not convinced of the doctrine, or medicine would not exist in Turkey; and a man residing in a third floor would not take the trouble of going down stairs, but would immediately throw himself out of the window. You see to what a string of absurdities that will lead."

Las Cases observes, that whenever the Emperor took up any subject, if he became in the least animated, his language was fit to be printed. On one occasion, when an English ministerial newspaper spoke of the large treasures which Napoleon must possess, and which he no doubt concealed, he answered, "They are immense, it is true, but they are all exposed to light;" and he then enumerated in eloquent terms the great public works he had executed, and the vast improvements he had bestowed on France. At another time, the Emperor reading in an English newspaper that Lord Castlereagh had said, in a public assembly in Ireland, that Napoleon had declared at St. Helena, that he never would have made peace with England but to deceive her, take her by surprise, and destroy her; and that if the French army was attached to the Emperor, it was because he gave the daughters of the richest families of the empire to his soldiers, moved with a just indignation, he spoke as follows:—"These calumnies uttered against a man who is so barbarously oppressed, and who is not allowed to make his voice heard in answer to them, will be disbelieved by all well-educated and well-disposed persons. When Napoleon was seated on the first throne in the world, then no doubt his enemies had a right to say whatever they pleased; his actions were public, and were a sufficient answer to them; at any rate, that conduct now belonged to public opinion and history; but to utter new and unfounded calum-

nies against him at the present moment is an act of the utmost meanness and cowardice, and which will not answer the end proposed. Millions of libels have been and are still published every day; but they are without effect. Sixty millions of men of the most polished nations in the world raise their voices to confute them; and fifty thousand Englishmen who are now travelling on the continent, will on their return home publish the truth to the inhabitants of the three kingdoms of Great Britain, who will blush at having been so grossly deceived. As for the bill, by virtue of which Napoleon has been dragged to this rock, it is an act of proscription similar to those of Sylla, and still more atrocious. The Romans unrelentingly pursued Hannibal to the utmost extremities of Bithynia; and Flaminius obtained from King Prusias the death of that great man; yet at Rome Flaminius was accused of having acted thus in order to gratify his personal hatred. It was in vain that he alleged in his defence that Hannibal, yet in the vigour of life, might still prove a dangerous enemy, and that his death was necessary: a thousand voices were raised and answered, that acts of injustice and ungenerous deeds can never be beneficial to a great nation; and that upon such pretences as that now set forth, murder, poisoning, and every species of crime might be justified. The succeeding generations reproached their ancestors with this base act; they would have given anything to have had the stain effaced from their annals; and since the restoration of letters amongst modern nations, every subsequent age has added its imprecations to those pronounced by Hannibal at the moment when he drank the fatal cup: he cursed Rome, who, whilst her fleets and legions covered Europe, Asia, and Africa, satiated her vengeance against one man alone and unprotected, because she feared or pretended to fear him. The Romans, however, never violated the rights of hospitality. Sylla found an asylum in the house of Marius.

Flaminius did not, before he proscribed Hannibal, receive him on board his ship, and declare that he had orders to treat him favourably: the Roman fleet did not convey him to the port of Ostia; and Hannibal, instead of placing himself under the protection of the Romans, preferred trusting his person to a king of Asia. At the moment when he was banished, he was not under the protection of the Roman flag; he was under the banners of a king, who was an enemy to Rome. If in future ages a king of England should be one day brought before the awful tribunal of the nation, his defenders will urge in his behalf the sacred character of a king, the respect due to the throne, to all crowned heads, to the *anointed of the Lord!* But his accusers will have a right to answer thus:—One of the ancestors of this king whom you defend, banished a man that was his guest, in time of peace; afraid to put him to death in the face of a nation governed by positive laws and by regular and public forms, he caused his victim to be exposed on the most insalubrious point of a rock situated in another hemisphere in the midst of the ocean; where this guest perished after a long agony, a prey to the climate, to want, to insults of every kind! Yet that guest was also a great sovereign, raised to the throne on the shields of thirty-six millions of citizens; he was master of almost every capital in Europe; the greatest kings composed his court; he was generous towards all; he was during twenty years the arbiter of nations; his family was allied to every reigning family, even to that of England; he was twice the *anointed of the Lord*, twice consecrated by the august ceremonies of religion!” And did not Buonaparte perceive that all these titles were so many damning clauses against him; that it was necessary to pull down and scatter in the dust every trace of that scaffolding which had raised one of the people to an equality with thrones, with the *anointed of the Lord*; and to show by every act of indignity and degradation the immea-



surable distance which subsisted between the meanest of kings and the greatest of men? How then (judging by this rule) must the *common herd* look in the comparison? And to what consideration or mercy must the race at large be entitled? To just as much as they have received since the period we are speaking of, namely, that of "the deliverance of mankind" with their leader into the hands of the four great powers!

Napoleon could pass with equal spirit and facility from the Prince-Regent to Irus the beggar. "After dinner" (this was in October 1816) "he resumed the reading of the *Odyssey*: we had arrived at the passage describing the combat between Ulysses and Irus, on the threshold of the palace, both in the garb of beggars. The Emperor very much disapproved of this episode, which he pronounced to be mean, incongruous, and beneath the character of the chief. 'And yet,' continued he, 'independently of all the faults which in my opinion this incident presents, I still find in it something to interest me. I fancy myself in the situation of Ulysses, and then I can well conceive his dread of being overpowered by a wretched mendicant. Every prince or general has not the broad shoulders of his guards or grenadiers: every man has not the strength of a porter. But Homer has remedied all this by representing his heroes as so many Colossuses: we have no such heroes now-a-days. What would become of us,' he added, glancing his eye round, 'if we lived in those good times when bodily prowess constituted real power? Why Noverraz (his valet-de-chambre) would wield the sceptre over us all! It must be confessed that civilization favours the mind entirely at the expense of the body.'"

Las Cases, who had written an historical ATLAS, often wondered at Napoleon's apparently voluntary power of recalling names and dates. He seemed to possess a stock of information on several points which remained within him in reserve as it were to burst

forth with splendour on particular occasions, and which in his moments of carelessness appeared to be not only slumbering but nearly altogether unknown to him. He himself accounted for the clearness of his ideas and the faculty he possessed of being able to protract his application to business for any length of time, by saying that the different affairs were put up in his head as in a closet. "When I wish to interrupt a train of ideas, I close the drawer which contains it, and open that which contains another, they do not mix together, and do not fatigue or inconvenience me." He had never been kept awake, he said, by an involuntary pre-occupation of mind. "If I wish to sleep, I shut up all the drawers and I am asleep." So that he had always slept when he wanted rest, and almost at will. The following traits as given by Las Cases will be curious to the reader and are characteristic of the man. "In the common intercourse of life and his familiar conversation, the Emperor mutilated the names most familiar to him, even ours: yet I do not think this would have happened to him on any public occasion. I have heard him many times, during our walks, repeat the celebrated speech of Augustus in Corneille's tragedy; and he has never missed saying, 'Take a seat, Sylla,' instead of Cinna. He would frequently create names according to his fancy; and when he had once adopted them, they remained fixed in his mind, although we pronounced them properly a hundred times a day in his hearing; but he would have been struck, if we had used them as he had altered them.\* It was the same thing with respect to orthography: in general, he did not attend to it: yet if our copies had con-

\* This might be enlarged upon as one of the causes that brought him to St. Helena. Does not this account of him in his latter years forcibly throw us back to the description of his early childhood, with his stockings down about his heels, and fighting with all those who noticed it, or repeating the verses—

"Napoleone a mezza calzetta  
Fa l'amore à Giacominetta?"

tained any faults of spelling, he would have complained of it. One day the Emperor said to me, 'You do not write orthographically, do you?' This question gave rise to a sarcastic smile from a bystander, who thought it was meant to convey a reproach. The Emperor who saw this continued: 'At least, I suppose you do not; for a man occupied with public or other important business, a minister for instance, cannot and need not attend to orthography. His ideas must flow faster than his hand can trace them: he has only time to place his points, he must put words in letters and phrases in words; and let the scribes make it out afterwards.' He indeed left a great deal for the copyists to do: he was their torment: his handwriting actually resembled hieroglyphics; he often could not decipher it himself. My son was one day reading to him a chapter of the 'Campaign of Italy:' on a sudden, he stopped short, unable to make out the writing. 'The little blockhead,' said the Emperor, 'cannot read his own hand-writing.'—'It is not mine, Sire.'—'And whose, then?'—'Your Majesty's.'—'How so, you little rogue, do you mean to insult me?' The Emperor took the manuscript, tried a long while to read it, and at last threw it down, saying, 'He is right: I cannot tell myself what is written.' He has often sent the copyists to me to try to read to them what he had been unable to decipher."

Not long after their arrival at St. Helena, Madame Bertrand was delivered of a son, and when Napoleon went to visit her, she said, "I have the honour of presenting to your Majesty the first French subject who has entered Longwood without the permission of Lord Bathurst." At the end of 1816, he first received a letter from his mother, saying, "she was well, and wished to join him at St. Helena;" but it was given to him opened, and Napoleon, hurt at this circumstance, having twice read it, tore it in fragments, and threw it on the floor. A bust of his son was at first detained from him; and forwarded at last in the most

ungracious manner. His attachment to the little Napoleon is acknowledged by all who had opportunities of judging: indeed the mere furniture of his room proved the value he set on this and other similar ties and recollections. He himself appealed to his behaviour to the two Empresses, and their affection for him, as a full answer to all the misrepresentations of his private character.

The conversations which are recapitulated in Mr. O'Meara's work have less sentiment and flow of diction; but are perhaps still more distinguished by acuteness and solidity. Napoleon would naturally assume a difference of tone more or less confidential with these two persons. In the remarks occasioned by the arrival of Lord Amherst on his return from the embassy to China, he figures as a diplomatist.

"I told the Emperor" (says O'Meara), "that Lord Amherst (the late British Ambassador to China) was expected in a few days. He said he thought the English ministers had acted wrong in not ordering him to comply with the customs of the place he was sent to, as otherwise they ought not to have sent him at all. I observed that the English would consider it as debasing to the nation, if Lord Amherst had consented to prostrate himself in the manner required. That if such a point were conceded, the Chinese would probably not be contented, and would require similar ceremonies to be performed to those insisted upon by the Japanese, and so disgracefully complied with by the Dutch. Napoleon replied, 'It is quite a different thing. One is a mere ceremony, performed by all the great men of the nation to their chief: the other is a national degradation required of strangers, and of strangers only. It is my opinion that whatever is the custom of a nation, and is practised by the first characters of that nation towards their chief, cannot degrade strangers who perform the same. Different nations have different customs. In England, you kiss the king's hand at court. Such a thing in France



would be looked upon as ridiculous, and the person who did it would be held up to public scorn : but still the French ambassador who performed it in England would not be considered as having degraded himself. In England, some hundred years back, the king was served kneeling : the same ceremony now takes place in Spain. In Italy you kiss the Pope's toe ; yet it is not considered as a degradation. A man who goes into a country must comply with the ceremonies in use there ; and it would have been no degradation whatever for Lord Amherst to have submitted to such ceremonies before the Emperor of China as are performed by the first mandarins of that empire. You say that he was willing to render such homage as was paid to his own king. You have no right to send a man to China to tell them that they are to perform certain ceremonies because such are practised in England. If I had sent an ambassador to China, I would have ordered him to make himself acquainted with the ceremonies performed by the first mandarins before the Emperor, and if required, to do the same himself, and no more. You ought to have treated those barbarians like children, and to have humoured them, as if you had sent an ambassador to the moon. I recollect having had a conversation on the subject at Tilsit with the Emperor Alexander, when we were very good friends. He asked my opinion and advice : I gave it him nearly as I have done to you. He was perfectly convinced ; and wrote a reprimand to his ambassador for not having complied with the ceremonies required from him.' I observed that it was likely Lord Amherst would wait upon him. Napoleon replied, ' If he is to be presented by the governor, or if the latter sends one of his staff with him, I will not receive him : if he comes with the admiral, I shall. Neither will I receive the new admiral, if he is to be introduced by the governor. In his last letter there is an insult to us. He says, that we may go round by Miss Mason's, but

that we must not go off the main road. Where is the main road? I never could find any. If I were by any accident to quit it for a few yards, I should be exposed to be shot at by a sentinel. I would not receive my own son, if he were to be presented by him.'

" 'I always had a high opinion of your seamen,' said Napoleon one day, in a conversation arising out of our expedition to Algiers. 'When I was returning from Holland along with the Empress Marie-Louise, we stopped to rest at Givet. During the night, a violent storm of wind and rain came on, which swelled the Meuse so much that the bridge of boats over it was carried away. I was very anxious to depart; and ordered all the boatmen in the place to be assembled, that I might be enabled to cross the river. They said that the waters were so high that it would be impossible to pass before two or three days. I questioned some of them, and soon discovered that they were fresh-water seamen. I then recollected that there were English prisoners in the barracks; and ordered that some of the oldest and best seamen among them should be brought before me to the banks of the river. The waters were very high, and the current rapid and dangerous. I asked them if they could join a number of boats together, so that I might pass over. They answered that it was possible, but hazardous. I desired them to set about it instantly. In the course of a few hours they succeeded in effecting what the others had pronounced to be impossible; and I crossed before the evening was over. I ordered those who had worked at it to receive a sum of money each, a suit of clothes, and their liberty. Marchand was with me at the time.' "

In the beginning of 1817 the papers were full of the distresses felt in this country. Buonaparte often adverted in forcible terms to this subject, and on one occasion said—"All your miseries I maintain to be owing to the imbecility and ignorance of Lord Castlereagh, and his inattention to the real interests of

his country. What would those Englishmen who lived a hundred years ago say, if they could rise from their graves, be informed of your amazing successes, cast their eyes upon England, witness her distress, and be told that in the treaty of peace not a single article for the benefit of England had been stipulated; that on the contrary you had given up conquests and commercial rights necessary to your existence? When Austria gained ten millions of inhabitants, Russia eight, Prussia ten, when Holland, Bavaria, Sardinia, and every other power obtained an increase of territory, why not England, who was the main organ of all the success? Instead of establishing a number of independent maritime states, such as Hamburgh, Stralsund, Dantzic, Genoa, to serve as *entrepôts* for your manufactures, with conditions either secret or otherwise, favourable to your commerce, you have basely given up Genoa to the King of Sardinia, and united Belgium to Holland. You have rendered yourselves hateful to the Italians and Belgians, and have done irreparable injury to your trade. For although it is a great point for you that Belgium should be separated from France, it is a serious disadvantage that she should be united to Holland. Holland has no manufactures, and consequently would become a warehouse for yours, from whence a prodigious influx might be kept up on the continent. Now, however, that Belgium has been made a part of Holland, this last will naturally prefer taking the manufactures of its own subjects to those of a stranger, and all Belgium may be called a manufacturing town. Independent of this, in case of any future war with France, Holland must join the latter through fear of losing the provinces of Belgium. It would have been much better to have given it to Austria; or why not have made it an independent country, and placed an English prince on the throne? Now let us see the state you are actually in. You are nearly as much shut out from the continent as when I reigned and promulgated the continental system. I ask you

what peace dictated by me, supposing that I had been victorious, could have been worse in its effects for England than the one made by Lord Castlereagh, when she was triumphant? The hatred which your ministers bore to me has precipitated them into an abyss. You recollect I told you some time ago, that I thought it bad policy to leave the English troops in France, and make Lord Wellington commander-in-chief. You now see the ill effects of it. Prussia denies entrance to your merchandize. What can you do? You can neither pretend to intimidate, nor proceed to extremities, as Prussia would fall upon Lord Wellington and his forty thousand men. While you retain your troops upon the continent, you will never be independent. Had you, after the grand blow was struck, when I was disposed of, withdrawn your troops from the continent, you would not have drawn down the hatred and jealousy of the continental powers, especially at seeing Lord Wellington commander-in-chief, and they never would have dared to shut their ports against you. You could then have sent your ships, blockaded their ports, and have declared, 'If you do not permit my merchandize to enter, no other shall either go in or come out!' They would soon have listened to reason. Now, your hands are tied; your meddling in continental affairs and trying to make yourselves a great military power, instead of attending to the sea and commerce, will yet be your ruin as a nation. You were greatly offended with me for having called you a *nation of shopkeepers*. Had I meant by this that you were a nation of cowards, you would have had reason to be displeased, even though it were ridiculous and contrary to historical facts; but no such thing was ever intended. I meant that you were a nation of merchants, and that all your great riches and your grand resources arose from commerce, which is true. What else constitutes the riches of England? It is not extent of territory nor a numerous population. It is



not mines of gold, silver, or diamonds. Moreover, no man of sense ought to be ashamed of being called a shopkeeper. But your Prince and your ministers appear to wish to change altogether the character of the English, and to render you another nation; to make you ashamed of your shops and your trade, which have made you what you are, and to sigh after nobility, titles, and crosses; in fact, to assimilate you with the French. What other object can there be in all those *cordons*, crosses, and honours, which are so profusely showered? You are all gentlemen now, instead of the plain old English character. Nothing is to be seen or heard of in England at present but 'Sir John' and 'My lady.' All those things did very well with me in France, because they were conformable to the spirit of the nation; but believe me, it is contrary both to the spirit and interest of England. Stick to your ships, your commerce, and counting-houses, and leave *cordons*, crosses, and cavalry uniforms to the continent, and you will prosper. Lord Castlereagh himself was ashamed of your being called a nation of merchants, and frequently said in France, that it was a mistaken idea to suppose that England depended upon commerce, or was indebted to it for her riches; and added, that it was not by any means necessary to her. How I laughed when I heard of this false pride! He betrayed his country at the peace. I do not mean to say that he did so from his heart, but he betrayed it by grossly neglecting its interests. He was in short the agent of the allied sovereigns. Perhaps he wanted to convince them that you were not a nation of merchants, by showing clearly that you would not drive any advantageous bargain for yourselves, but magnanimously give up everything that other nations might cry, 'Oh! how nobly England has behaved!' Had he attended to the interests of his own country, had he stipulated for commercial treaties and advantages, to indemnify her for the waste of blood and the enormous sacrifices she

had made, why then they might have said, 'What a mercenary people!' They are truly a nation of shopkeepers; see what bargains they want to make!' and Lord Castlereagh might not have been so well received in the drawing-room. Talent he may have displayed in some instances," continued the Emperor, "and *great pertinacity in accomplishing my downfall*;\* but as to a knowledge of or attention to the interests of his own country, he has manifested neither the one nor the other. Probably for a thousand years, such another opportunity of aggrandizing England will not occur. In the position of affairs, nothing could have been refused you. But now, after such romantic and unparalleled successes, after having been favoured by God and by accidents in the manner you have been, after effecting impossibilities, as I may say—effecting what the most sanguine mind could never have entertained the most distant idea of, what has England gained? The *cordons* of the allied sovereigns for Lord Castlereagh! When a nation has been favoured so much as yours has been, and misery exists in that nation, it is owing to the imbecility of its ministers. The transition from war to peace cannot explain it. It is of too long a continuance. England has played for all or nothing. She has gained all, performed wonders, yet has nothing; and her people are starving and worse off than they were in the midst of the war; while France, who has lost everything, is doing well, and the wants of her people abundantly supplied. France has got fat, notwithstanding the liberal bleedings she has had; while England is like a man who has had a false momentary strength given to him by intoxicating liquors, but who, after their effect ceases, sinks into a state of debility.—I see no other way now to extricate you from your difficulties than by reducing the interest of the national debt, confiscating the greatest part of

\* That was the only thing he was charged with.

the revenues of the clergy, abolishing all the sinecures, diminishing considerably the army, and establishing a system of reduction altogether. Let those who want priests pay them. Your sinking-fund is a bubble. Impose a heavy tax on absentees. It is too late now for you to make commercial treaties. The opportunity is gone; and your nation is indebted to your drivellers of ministers for all the calamities which will befall it, and which are to be entirely attributed to their criminal neglect."

It is plain by the tenour of these observations, that Napoleon had not arrived at that pitch of philosophy by which our ministerial writers proved, that the "waste of blood" was only a seasonable draining of the superfluous population, and that the debt and taxes take nothing from, if indeed they do not add to the wealth and prosperity of the country. He had not received the new light on *absenteeism*. Buonaparte probably thought, that a loan of ten millions to Austria was a loss of ten millions to England, and that it was no answer to say that it would come back to us on the tide of commerce, as it would enable them to buy so much more goods of us—with our own money. As well might you advise a shopkeeper to give five pounds to a beggar at his door, because the beggar may come in and purchase goods to that amount with it. He would lose so much either in goods or money. The individual shopkeeper would not be gulled by this argument, though the nation of shopkeepers were, who in spite of their ledgers and arithmetic could easily have been persuaded that two and two made five in their hatred of Buonaparte; for however great their love of themselves, their hatred of others is a much stronger principle. Mr. Southey somewhere accounts for the distress of the country in 1817 (and probably at present) by the phrase of "the transition from war to peace," and emphatically observes, that "the war was a customer to the manufacturers of Birmingham and Sheffield alone, to the

amount of twenty millions a year." Be it so : but if this were all, and this were really a benefit and source of riches to the country, why not continue to be a customer to these manufacturers of steel and brass in peace as well as war ; and having bought and paid for so many cannon and so much gunpowder, fire them off in the air as well as against the French ? The manufacturers of Birmingham and Sheffield would flourish equally in either case. If the encouraging and paying for labour were the only thing to be considered, and not the manner in which that labour is directed so as to produce a supply of the wants and comforts of life, then it would not signify whether a hundred men (and by parity of reason a million) were employed in building houses and making necessary articles of furniture, or in digging a hole in the ground and filling it up again, in raising so much corn or in throwing it into the sea when raised. Men may be equally employed and paid for doing good, for doing mischief, or for doing neither one nor the other ; but the benefit to the community is not the same. A sword, however well-tempered or expensively wrought in the workshops of Birmingham and Sheffield, is not good to eat, or to drink, or to clothe one's-self with, or to shelter any one from the cold or wet—it is merely good to defend one's-self against an enemy, and however necessary the sword may be for this purpose, it is still an expensive article, though the money is well laid out. But if the enemy is a mere *bugbear*, then those who have raised it and occasioned all this waste of blood and treasure, ought to pay dearly for their folly and their guilt. Either war is a losing trade, or the government who have so long carried it on must have been bad husbands of the resources put into their hands ; for otherwise they must have been able to return those who lent them their wealth, both principal and interest, long since. The government wasted the principal in a lavish war expenditure (this was the period of our dram-drinking)



—the people have now to make up the interest (this is the collapse). The millions sunk in the war were sunk in the sea. The lives lost, the limbs amputated, the ships dismantled, the cannon spiked, the gunpowder blown in the air, will fetch nothing in the market. Suppose not only what the fundholders have already advanced, but all they have left in money, houses, goods were thrown away in sham sea fights, or in mock crusades for religion and social order (not quite so innocent a thing), or shipped off to the continent—would this be no loss to the country, that is, would it not ruin the wealthier classes if not made up to them, or if made up to them by taxes and the hard labour of the poorer, would it not proportionably oppress and impoverish the later? To say the contrary is not sophistry, but impudence; yet it has been called *science*. We cannot *have our cake, and eat it*. We have insisted on our pound of flesh, like Shylock; but we must forego our three thousand ducats. We have restored the Bourbons—and to make slaves of others, have made beggars of ourselves. The minister has followed Buonaparte's advice with respect to Catholic emancipation: we shall see whether his next attempt will be upon the tithes or funds. I doubt the fact and the consequences.\*

Napoleon expressed his opinion of the battle of Waterloo in these terms:—

“The plan of the battle,” said he, “will not in the eyes of the historian reflect any credit on Lord Wellington as a general. In the first place, he ought

\* War tends to increase the natural inequality of property, by an arbitrary accumulation of wealth, by contracts, monopolies, grants, pensions, &c. It is pretended that this is no detriment to the community, because the wealth remains in the country, and is laid out by rich individuals in giving employment to the poor. Suppose a thousand pounds thus accumulated in the hands of an individual: it is spent in hiring labourers to build him a fine house, or to make fine furniture, or a hot-house, or an ice-house, &c. Had it remained in the pockets of ten or twenty individuals, it would have been equally laid out by them in employing labourers to procure comforts for themselves, instead of pampering an individual.

not to have given battle with the armies divided. They ought to have been united and encamped before the 15th. In the next, the choice of ground was bad; because if he had been beaten he could not have retreated, as there was only one road leading through the forest in his rear. He also committed a fault which might have proved the destruction of all his army, without its ever having commenced the campaign, or being drawn out in battle; he allowed himself to be surprised. On the 15th I was at Charleroi, and had beaten the Prussians without his knowing anything about it. I had gained forty-eight hours of manœuvres upon him, which was a great object; and if some of my generals had shown that vigour and genius which they had displayed in other times, I should have taken his army in cantonments without ever fighting a battle. But they were discouraged, and fancied that they saw an army of a hundred thousand men everywhere opposed to them. I had not time enough myself to attend to the *minutiae* of the army. I counted upon surprising and cutting him up in detail. I knew of Bulow's arrival at eleven o'clock; but I did not regard it. I had still eighty chances out of a hundred in my favour. Notwithstanding the great superiority of force against me, I was convinced that I should obtain the victory. I had about seventy thousand men, of whom fifteen thousand were cavalry. I had also two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; but my troops were so good, that I esteemed them sufficient to beat a hundred and twenty thousand. Of all those troops, however, I only reckoned the English as being able to cope with my own. The others I thought little of. I believe that of English there were from thirty-five to forty thousand. These I esteemed to be as brave and as good as my own troops; the English army was well known latterly on the continent; and besides, your nation possesses courage

and energy. As to the Prussians, Belgians, and others, half the number of my troops were sufficient to beat them. I only left thirty-four thousand men to take care of the Prussians. The chief causes of the loss of that battle were, first of all, Grouchy's great tardiness and neglect in executing his orders; next the *grenadiers à cheval* and the cavalry under General Guyot, which I had in reserve, and which were never to leave me, engaged without orders and without my knowledge; so that after the last charge, when the troops were beaten, and the English cavalry advanced, I had not a single corps of cavalry in reserve to resist them; instead of one which I esteemed to be equal to double their own number. In consequence of this, the English attack succeeded, and all was lost. There was no means of rallying. The youngest general would not have committed the fault of leaving an army entirely without reserve which however occurred here, whether in consequence of treason or not, I cannot say. These were the two principal causes of the loss of the battle of Waterloo."

"If Lord Wellington had entrenched himself," continued he, "I would not have attacked him. As a general, his plan did not show talent. He certainly displayed great courage and obstinacy: but a little must be taken away even from that, when you consider that he had no means of retreat, and that, had he made the attempt, not a man of his army would have escaped. First, to the firmness and bravery of his troops, for the English fought with the greatest courage and obstinacy, he is principally indebted for the victory, and not to his own conduct as a general; and next, to the arrival of Blucher, to whom the victory is more to be attributed than to Wellington, and more credit due as a general; because he, although beaten the day before, assembled his troops, and brought them into action in the evening. I believe, however," continued Napoleon, "that Wellington is a

man of great firmness. The glory of such a victory is a great thing ; but in the eye of the historian, his military reputation will gain nothing by it."

These opinions got vent in Europe, and it was thought necessary to stop that vent ; for anything that tended to strip the truth of its disguises, or to show that Buonaparte had common sense, common decency, and common humanity, went to divert the public mind from the great object of fear and hatred that had been so long held up to it, and to expose that system of violence and fraud by which mankind had been mocked and robbed of their dearest and just-discovered birthrights. It was therefore judged expedient to deprive the Emperor of the society of those who might serve as a medium of communication between him and the rest of the world, to insulate him more and more, and to leave him to perish on his rock almost alone. Las Cases was first disposed of. He had been foolish enough to write a letter on silk, addressed to Lucien Buonaparte, complaining of the treatment they received, and entrusted it to a Mulatto servant (a creature of Sir Hudson Lowe's) to be forwarded to Europe. He was of course detected ; and this was made a ground for sending him, with his son, after six weeks' confinement, first to the Cape and then to England, where he was not suffered to land ; but ran through Europe, trying in vain to interest the legitimate rulers in favour of his and their former master. Napoleon's mother at the same time addressed a letter to the Congress of Allied Sovereigns on the same subject, which was beneath her own and her son's dignity. There is no appeal from or to deliberate injustice and arbitrary power. It can answer no end but to gratify pride and tyranny, by a voluntary as well as involuntary submission to them. It ought of all things to be avoided. Las Cases sent out a bust of young Napoleon to the Emperor by a gunner who was going by way of St. Helena to India. This was made a state crime and misprision of treason against



the constituted authorities of the island. Sir Hudson took the bust from the man, concealed it for some time, would not let the gunner land, but sent him on to the Cape, and detained from him for several months three hundred francs which Napoleon had ordered to be transmitted to the poor fellow after he had received the present. His expressions of grief and indignation on this occasion were most poignant. "Look at that bust," he exclaimed. "The man who would give an order to break that image" (alluding to a report that Sir Thomas Reade had done so), "would plunge a knife into the heart of the original, if it were in his power." Though the governor was unwilling to let Napoleon see the bust of his son, he lost no time in forwarding to him the newspapers containing an account that he had been deprived, by a decree of the allies, of the succession to the Duchies of Parma and Placentia. Napoleon at first seemed vexed, but afterwards appeared reconciled to it. It was not always possible from his countenance to tell how news affected him. "I could listen," said he, "to the intelligence of the death of my wife, of my son, or of all my family, without a change of features. Not the slightest emotion or alteration of countenance would be visible. Everything would appear indifferent and calm. But when alone in my chamber, then I suffer. Then the feelings of the man burst forth." His health declined; and he declared his conviction (in the beginning of 1818) that he should not hold out long. His illness was in fact attributable to the want of exercise, owing to the restrictions on his rides, imposed apparently for that very purpose. The governor and his surgeon had many disputes on this subject, as well as on that of the latter's turning spy, which Sir Hudson loudly insisted on as a duty he owed to his king and country. Against all these expostulations Mr. O'Meara held out like an Englishman of the old, not of the new school. An idea may be formed of the scandalous length to which the

caprice and insolence of the governor were carried by the following specimen:—"The governor replied that it was my duty to inform him of whatever circumstances came to my knowledge, and of the subject of my conversations with General Buonaparte; for if I did not, it was easily in his power to prohibit me from holding any communication with him, except on medical subjects, and then only when sent to for that purpose. I answered that it would be acting the part of a spy, an informer, and a *mouton*. That I never understood the government had placed me about Napoleon for other than medical purposes, that my duty did not require me to commit dishonourable actions, and that I would not do so for any person. Sir Hudson remained silent for a few moments, eyeing me furiously, and asked what was the meaning of the word *mouton*? I replied, '*Mouton* means a person who insinuates himself into the confidence of another for the purpose of betraying it.' Sir Hudson then broke out into a paroxysm of rage; said that I had given him the greatest possible insult in his official capacity that could be offered, and concluded with ordering me to leave the room; saying that he would not suffer any person who had made use of such language to sit in his presence. I told him that I did not voluntarily come into it, nor even would have entered his house, unless compelled to do so. He walked about in a frantic manner, repeating in a boisterous tone, 'Leave the room, sir,' which he continued bawling out for some time after I had actually quitted it." This state of things could not last very long. Buonaparte not unreasonably conjectured that Sir Hudson's object in setting O'Meara to watch and report his conversation was not merely to debar him of his society as a companion, but to lessen his confidence in him as a physician, and deprive him of medical aid altogether, so that the struggle might be sooner over. Mr. O'Meara was soon after ordered home, and took leave of Buonaparte on the 25th of

July, 1818. His instructions were to see the Emperor no more; but these he resolutely disobeyed, as the state of Napoleon's health required that he should prescribe a regimen for him, and prepare the medicines which it would be proper for him to take in the absence of a surgeon, an absence likely to be of long duration, as he was perfectly sure he would accept of none recommended by Sir Hudson Lowe. He accordingly went instantly to Napoleon's apartment, and communicated to him the order he had received. "The crime," said he, "will be the sooner completed. I have lived too long for them. Your ministers are very daring. When the Pope was in France, sooner would I have cut off my right hand than have signed an order for the removal of his surgeon." He gave him introductions to his family in Europe, and desired that none of them should come to St. Helena to witness the privations and humiliations under which he laboured. He begged to have information sent him respecting the education of his son, and embracing him, said, "Adieu, O'Meara, we shall meet no more." On his return to Europe, Mr. O'Meara published his "Journal;" and it was one of the first works that tended effectively to remove the veil which had been spread over the character and sentiments of him who was the subject of it. General Gourgaud and Madame Montholon had returned to Europe some time before.\*

\* I add the following to the previous list of particulars:—

"Shortly afterwards I met Captain Balston, of the Hon. Company's sea-service, who reminded me of our former acquaintance. By him I was informed that a gentleman had arrived from China, with a letter of introduction to me from Mr. Urmston, of Macao, with whom I had been on terms of intimacy. On seeing the gentleman afterwards, I found that his name was Manning, and that he was the person of whom I was in search. He wore a long black beard, and had travelled through the kingdom of Thibet, as far as the frontiers of China. I told him that the Emperor had expressed great curiosity about the Grand Lama, and that if he came up to Longwood there was every probability that he would see him. Mr. Manning related that he had been a prisoner in France, and had

been released by Napoleon, and furnished with a passport, as soon as the Emperor had learned that he was a person travelling for information which might ultimately benefit society; that as a mark of his gratitude for this favour, he had sent some little presents to the governor for him, with a request that they might be forwarded, and that he would ask a pass for the purpose of endeavouring to see him.

“Mr. Manning, accompanied by Captain Balston, came up to Count Bertrand's. The former told me that he had been directed by the governor, for what reason he could not divine, not to communicate to the count that he had sent a few presents to him for Napoleon. After they had been about an hour at Count Bertrand's, Napoleon came in, accompanied by General Montholon. He accosted Captain Balston first, and observed, ‘Oh, I have seen you here before!’ He then asked Mr. Manning some questions. Manning related that he had been in France in 1805 (I think), and was one of the persons who had been detained; that he had written a letter to him (Napoleon), stating that he was travelling for the benefit of the world at large, which had procured his release. ‘What protection had you?’ asked Napoleon. ‘Had you a letter from Sir Joseph Banks to me?’ Manning replied, that he had no protection whatever, nor letter from Sir Joseph Banks, nor had he any friends to interest themselves in his behalf; that he had written a letter to him, stating his situation. ‘Was it merely your simple letter which obtained your liberty?’ asked Napoleon. ‘It was my simple letter,’ replied Manning, ‘that induced you to grant it me, for which I am very grateful, and beg to thank you.’ Napoleon asked him where he had lived, &c., and looked at the map of the countries in the Atlas of Las Cases, asking a variety of questions about the route he had taken; whether he had seen the Grand Lama; the manners, customs, &c. of the countries he had passed through.

“Manning gave a clear and concise reply to every question; said that he had seen the Lama, whom he described to be an intelligent boy of seven years old, and had performed the same ceremonies in his presence as were done by others who were admitted to it. Napoleon said, ‘How did you escape being taken up as a spy?’ ‘I hope,’ replied Manning, ‘that there is nothing in my countenance which would indicate my being a spy;’ at which Napoleon laughed, and said, ‘How came it to pass, that you being profane, according to their ideas, could gain admission to the presence of the Lama?’ Mr. Manning answered, that he honoured and paid respect to all religions, and thereby gained admission. Napoleon desired to know if he had passed for an Englishman, and observed that the shape of his nose would indicate his being an European? The other replied that he had passed for a native of Calcutta, but he believed it was known that he was an Englishman; that there were some races of men there who had a similar formation of nose. Napoleon then observed with a smile, that ‘*Messieurs les voyageurs* frequently told *contes*, and that the existence of the Grand Lama had been denied by several.’ Manning answered, ‘*Je ne suis pas du nombre de ces voyageurs là*; that truth was not falsehood:’ at which Napoleon



laughed, and asked many other questions. Manning related that the chief part of the revenues of the Grand Lama arose from presents made to him by the princes and others who believed in him ; that temporally, however, he was subject to the Chinese ; that he never married, neither did his priests ; that the body into which, according to their belief, the spirit passed, was discovered by signs known only to the priests. Napoleon then asked several questions about the Chinese language, the late embassy, if the Russians had ever penetrated in that direction, and whether he intended to publish an account of his travels ; after which he asked Balston some questions about his ship, wished them a good morning, and departed."—*A Voice from St. Helena*, vol. ii. p. 90.

## CHAPTER THE LAST.

## THE DEATH OF NAPOLEON.

Dr. F. Antommarchi sent out as physician to Napoleon ; arrives in St. Helena, finds Napoleon in a very weak state ; his conversation with the doctor ; Napoleon confined to his room, and daily becomes worse ; the last days of Napoleon ; his death ; funeral ceremony.

IN the beginning of 1819, Dr. F. Antommarchi, a native of Corsica, and professor of anatomy at Florence, was chosen at the desire of Cardinal Fesch and Madame Mere, and by permission of the English government, to be sent out as physician to Napoleon at St. Helena. Two priests and two domestics accompanied him. They travelled slowly through Germany and arrived in London, April 19, 1819. Here numberless delays were opposed to his departure, and offers and insinuations thrown out to detain him in England. He frequently saw O'Meara and Mr. Stokoe, the surgeon of the Conqueror, who, after attending Napoleon a few times in the preceding winter and reporting the danger of his situation, was prevented by Sir Hudson Lowe (for what purpose it is difficult to imagine) from repeating his visits and sent home. All those who approached Napoleon became interested in his fate, which was a heinous crime in the eyes of his jailers and *lèze-majesté* against the new doctrines of legitimacy. Not to shock the exclusive pretensions of kings, or give the lie to the stories which had been circulated of him, he ought to have been a scarecrow that disgusted and frightened away all those who came near him. The contrast was however so striking and scan-

dalous, as to be a constant theme of irritation and alarm. After a number of disappointments, and an inconvenient passage in a trading-vessel, which was hardly supplied with necessary provisions, Antommarchi and his companions arrived at St. Helena on the 18th of September. He was well received by Sir Hudson Lowe, who invited him to dine with his staff; but with difficulty obtained access to Napoleon, who from this circumstance, as well as from his having brought no letters either from the cardinal or his mother, began to entertain doubts of the character in which Antommarchi came out. After some interrogatories, however, and from the accident of his being a fellow-countryman, he was presently installed in the Emperor's good opinion and in his new office. The state of Napoleon's health did not correspond with the previous accounts which Sir Hudson had given of it: he was ill and suffering greatly, though not in imminent danger. The blow had been given to his constitution by the climate, and by the seclusion imposed on him by the insults and violence to which he was liable if ever he stirred out. These odious and vexatious restrictions were obstinately refused to be taken off (at the remonstrance of his physician) being considered (together with the probable contingency which they involved) as the *sine qua non* of the repose of Europe and the safety of thrones. The Emperor overwhelmed Antommarchi with questions concerning his mother and family, the Princess Julia and Las Cases, whom he had seen in passing through Frankfort; expatiated with satisfaction on the retreat which he had at one time meditated in Corsica; entered into some discussions with the doctor on his profession; and then directed his attention to the details of his disorder. While he examined the symptoms, the Emperor continued his remarks. They were sometimes serious, sometimes lively. Kindness, indignation, gaiety were expressed by turns in his words and in his countenance,

“ Well, doctor !” he exclaimed, “ what is your opinion? Am I to trouble much longer the digestion of kings ?” —“ You will survive them, Sire.” —“ Ay, I believe you : they will not be able to subject to the ban of Europe the fame of our victories : it will traverse ages ; it will proclaim the conquerors and the conquered, those who were generous, and those who were not so : posterity will judge ; I do not dread its decision.” —“ This after-life belongs to you of right. Your name will never be repeated with admiration, but it must recal those warriors without glory so basely leagued against a single man. But you are not near your end ; you have yet a long career to run.” —“ No, doctor ! the English plot is taking effect ; I cannot hold out long under this frightful climate.” —“ Your excellent constitution is proof against its pernicious effects.” —“ It once did not yield to the strength of mind with which nature has endowed me ; but the transition from a life of action to a complete seclusion has ruined all. I have grown fat, my energy is gone, the bow is unstrung.” —I did not, says Antommarchi, try to combat an opinion but too well-founded. I diverted the conversation to another subject, and began to talk of the situation and wishes of Europe, and asked Napoleon if he would be unfaithful to his own glory and act as an accomplice in the project which England was putting in force against him. “ Be it so,” cried he, “ your independence, your freedom please me. You have quitted all to bring me the succours of art. It is but just that I should do something in return ; I resign myself to your direction. Let medicine give the order, I submit to its decisions. I entrust my health to your care. I owe you the detail of the habits I have acquired, of the affections to which I am subject.

“ The hours at which I obey the injunctions of nature are in general extremely irregular. I sleep, I eat according to circumstances, or the situation in which I am placed : my sleep is ordinarily sound and



tranquil. If pain or any accident interrupt it, I leap on the floor, call for a light, walk, set to work, and fix my attention on some object: sometimes I remain in the dark, change my apartment, lie down in another bed, or stretch myself on the sofa. I am up at two, three, four in the morning: I call for some one to keep me company, amuse myself with recollections or business, and wait for the return of day. I go out as soon as it appears, take a stroll, and when the sun shows itself, I re-enter and go to bed again, where I remain a longer or a shorter time, according as the day promises to turn out. If it is bad, and I feel irritation and uneasiness, I have recourse to the method I have just mentioned. I change my posture, pass from my bed to the sofa, from the sofa to the bed, seek and find a degree of freshness, and am the better for it. I do not describe to you my morning costume; it has nothing to do with the sufferings I endure, and besides I do not wish to deprive you of the pleasure of your surprise when you see it. These ingenious contrivances carry me on to nine or ten o'clock; sometimes later. I then order the breakfast to be brought, which I take from time to time in my bath, but most commonly in the garden. Either Bertrand or Montholon keep me company, often both of them. Physicians have the right of regulating the table; it is fit I should give you an account of mine. Behold what it consists of: a basin of soup, two plates of meat, one of vegetables, a salad when I can take it, compose the whole service: half a bottle of claret, which I dilute with a good deal of water, serves me for drink: I drink a little of it pure towards the end of the repast. Sometimes, when I feel fatigued, I substitute champagne for claret: it is a certain means of giving a fillip to the stomach." Antommarchi asked what kind of vegetables he most frequently used. These were the commonest, particularly lentils, the demand for which had set the whole island in commotion. One of his favourite dishes was a roast leg of

mutton ; and he liked the brownest part, or that which was most done, best.

The doctor having expressed his admiration of a temperance so rare, he replied—"In my marches with the army of Italy, I never failed to put into the bow of my saddle a bottle of wine, some bread, and a cold fowl. This provision sufficed for the wants of the day; I may even say that I often shared it with others. I thus gained time; the economy of my table turned to account on the field of battle. For the rest I eat fast, masticate little, my meals do not consume my hours. This is not what you will approve the most; but in my present situation, what signifies it? I am attacked with a liver complaint,\* a malady which is general in this horrible climate. I must submit; and expiate on this rock the glory with which I have covered France, the blows which I have inflicted on England. See also how they use their power. For more than a year, they have prohibited me the succours of medicine. I am deprived of the physicians who possessed my confidence. My executioner finds my agony too long. He hastens, he urges it: he invokes my death by all manner of means. There is not anything, even the air which I breathe, which his sordid soul does not grudge me. Would you believe it, that his attempts have been incessant, open, so that I might even have been despatched by an English bayonet? Montholon was ill: he refused to have any communication with Bertrand: he wanted to open a correspondence direct with me. He sent his satellites here twice a day; Reade, Wynyard, his confidential agents, besieged these miserable cabins, and would have forced their way into my chamber. I had my doors barricadoed: I loaded my pistols, my guns (they are so still), and threatened to blow out the brains of the first person who should be rash enough to violate my retreat. They withdrew, crying out as

\* This afterwards proved to be an error.

loud as they could bawl, that they wanted to see Napoleon Buonaparte ; that Napoleon Buonaparte must come out ; that they would find means to compel Buonaparte to appear. I thought these scandalous scenes at an end ; but they were repeated every day with greater violence. There was a succession of surprises, of menaces, of vociferations, of letters filled with outrages. The servants threw these placards into the fire, but the exasperation was at its height, a catastrophe might take place every moment : never had I been so exposed. It was the 16th of August (1819) : these Saturnalia had continued since the 11th. I gave the governor to understand that my part was taken, my patience exhausted, that the first of his emissaries who should pass the threshold of my door would be laid dead at my feet. He took me at my word, and gave over his attempts. It is the worst trait of the barbarity of the English government to have selected such a man ; but iniquity finds out and makes itself known. An administration has only to meditate a crime, and it soon discovers a miscreant to second and carry it into effect. I abdicated freely and voluntarily in favour of my son and of the constitution. I came to England still more willingly, because I wished to live there retired and under the protection of its laws. Its laws ! Does an aristocracy know any ? Is there a crime which deters it : a right which it does not trample under foot ? All its leaders were prostrated before my eagles. Out of one part of my conquests I made crowns for some ; I replaced others on the thrones which victory had shattered : I have shown clemency, magnanimity towards all. All have abandoned me, betrayed me, and have basely joined to rivet my chains : I am at the mercy of a freebooter."—"I sought," continues Antommarchi, "to calm the Emperor. He had not gone out for eighteen months : I pointed out the danger of his long inaction, and urged him no longer to shut himself up in his chamber, but to come and take the fresh air."—

“No, no!” was his answer—“insult has for a long time confined me to these huts: at present the want of strength keeps me here. See, if you can discover anything wrong in this leg: I feel that it gives way under me.” I indeed found there was some reason for his apprehension. “You do not press hard enough,” he said: “Come, say, is nature in intelligence with this *Calabrian*? Is the climate about to surrender to the ministers the corpse which they expect?” I answered, that it was only a passing weakness, which might go off again.”

Antommarchi, having gained his confidence, now became companion as well as physician to the Emperor, and sometimes read with him. He eagerly turned over the newspapers when they arrived, and commented freely on their contents. “It is amusing,” he would say, “to see the sage measures resorted to by the allies to make people forget my tyranny. Poor Europe! What convulsions are preparing for her!” On one occasion, he felt more languid than ordinary, and lighting on the “*Andromache*” of Racine, he took up the book, began to read, but soon let it drop from his hands. He had come to the famous passage where the mother describes her being allowed to see her son once a day.

“Je passais jusqu’aux lieux où l’on garde mon fils,  
Puisqu’ une fois le jour, vous souffrez que je voie  
Le seul bien qui me reste et d’Hector et de Troie :  
J’allais, seigneur, pleurer un moment avec lui ;  
Je ne l’ai point encore embrassé d’aujourd’hui.”

He was moved, covered his face with his hands, and saying that he was too much affected, desired to be left alone. He grew calmer, fell asleep; and when he awoke, desired Antommarchi to be called again. He was getting ready to shave, and the doctor was curious to witness the operation. He was in his shirt, his head uncovered, with two valets at his side, one holding the glass and a towel, the other the rest of the apparatus. The Emperor spread the soap over



one side of his face, put down the brush, wiped his hands and mouth, took a razor dipped in hot water, and shaved the right side with singular dexterity. "Is it done, Noverraz?"—"Yes, sire,"—"Well, then, face about. Come, villain, quick, stand still." The light fell on the left side; which after applying the lather, he shaved in the same manner and with the same dexterity. The expression of his features was mild, affectionate, full of bounty. He drew his hand over his chin. "Raise the mirror. Am I right?"—"Quite so."—"Not a hair has escaped me: what say you?"—"No, sire," replied the valet-de-chambre. "No? I think I perceive one. Lift up the glass: place it in a better light. How, rogue! Flattery? You deceive me at St. Helena! On this rock? You too are an accomplice."—With this he gave them both a box on the ear, laughed, and joked in the most pleasant manner possible. Such was by all accounts the dignity of his grief, the gaiety of his humour, whenever he could escape the fangs of the incubus of a bastard legitimacy.

The Emperor at one time attempted, by the advice of his physician, to work in the garden, and he found some benefit from it; but he got tired of it before long, and Sir Hudson began to grow uneasy "lest it should be too much for his strength." Napoleon worked in a large straw-hat; and some Chinese who assisted him having been much amused with this costume, he ordered them to be provided with the same kind of covering. St. Helena was in consternation: all the authorities were called together. This colony of "straw hats" portended some change, concealed some plot: another "Birnam Wood had come to Dunsinane." Napoleon took it in his head to set off in this dress and ride full-gallop towards the extremity of his limits. The alarm was given: the sentinels were in motion. To humour the jest, he equipped the Abbé Vignali (one of the Pope's missionaries who had come out with Antommarchi) in the same manner, and

sent him on the same errand. Sir Hudson, who is a classical scholar, thought he saw Buonaparte like Perseus mount his winged horse and take flight through the air. Nothing could exceed the disappointment when he found it was not his man ; and he consoled himself with observing, that he who had played him the trick was but an *usurper* after all. Sir Hudson Lowe is a writer of despatches, not a reader of history ; or he would avoid this epithet as one, the meaning of which is not exactly settled in the annals of his country. Buonaparte remarked of him, that his desire to interfere amounted to a disease, an itch that constantly required some object to fasten itself upon. "He would, if he could, fix the time for me to eat, to sleep, and to rise up, and stand with his watch in his hand to see his orders executed, and wonder that they were not punctually and thankfully complied with." It is a national disease—strong will and want of feeling, which makes us incapable of conceiving how any one can oppose what we think right, or object to the vexations we inflict upon them. An Englishman is a bundle of muscles without nerves. The Emperor was however wrong in supposing, as he at one time did, that there was any apprehension of assassination. This would be at once against positive law and natural instinct. We only go as far as extreme obstinacy and extreme infatuation can blind us to the result. But like all obstinate and stupid people, we have strong prejudices which hang by words ; and an English government must manage these as well as it can. Lord Castlereagh probably owed his death to the consciousness of having overstepped this line in one or two instances, and of having made the British public look askance at him in consequence. In our most aggravated wrongs, we ask for a dull, roundabout pretext for being in the right. We may bruise or hunt a victim to death—it is consonant to our habits and feelings—but poison or the dagger are not among our ways and means of morality

and the public good. We get rid of our greatest enemies by chronic, not by acute remedies.

No material change took place in Napoleon's situation or health till towards the end of the year, when he suddenly grew much worse ; and a crisis might be foreseen to be gradually but certainly approaching without a total change of circumstances, which fate had not in store for him. He became about this period nearly incapable of the slightest action ; his legs swelled ; the pains in his side and back were increased ; he was troubled with nausea, profuse sweats, loss of appetite, and was subject to frequent faintings. In this state he was often visited by the children of Bertrand, into whose infant sports he entered with all the simplicity of a child, and sometimes kept them to dinner. At other times he amused himself with watching the contrivances of a nest of ants to circumvent his sugar-basin, and with the gambols of some fish in a reservoir in the garden. These last died, and the Emperor lamented that a fatality attended whatever he took an interest in. The news of the death of his sister Eliza also affected him deeply. After a struggle with his feelings, which had nearly overpowered him, he rose, supported himself on Antommarchi's arm, and regarding him steadfastly, said, "Well, doctor ! you see Eliza has just shown me the way. Death, which seemed to have forgot my family, has begun to strike it : my turn cannot be far off. What think you ?"—"Your majesty is in no danger : you are still reserved for some glorious enterprise." "Ah ! doctor, you are young, full of health ; but for me, I have neither strength nor activity nor energy ; I am no longer Napoleon. You strive in vain to give me hopes, to recal life ready to expire. Your care can do nothing in spite of fate : it is immovable, there is no appeal from its decisions. The next person of our family who will follow Eliza to the tomb is that great Napoleon, who hardly exists, who bends under the yoke, and who still nevertheless

keeps Europe in alarm. Behold, my good friend, how I look on my situation ! Young as you are, you have a long career to run. As for me, all is over : I repeat it to you, my days will soon close on this miserable rock." We returned, says Antommarchi, into his chamber. Napoleon lay down in bed. "Close my windows," he said ; "leave me to myself, I will send for you by-and-by." He did so in fact : but he was dejected, oppressed ; he spoke of his son, of Marie-Louise ; the conversation was painful ; I sought to divert it, and to recal subjects less trying to his feelings. "I understand you," he said ; "well, be it so ; let us forget, if indeed the heart of a father ever could forget !"

From the beginning of March, 1821, the Emperor kept his room and no longer stirred out. His disorder and his weakness increased upon him. On the 4th, he tried twice to get into the carriage, but was obliged to lie down again. He still was able to eat something, but very little and with a worse appetite than ever. The conversation turned upon the fine arts. One of the speakers made little account of music, and did not conceal his opinion. "You are wrong," said the Emperor ; "it is of all the liberal arts the one which has most influence on the passions ; and that which the legislator is bound to encourage most. A well-composed piece of music touches, melts, the soul, and produces more effect than a treatise of morality, which convinces the reason, leaves us cold and unmoved, and makes no alteration in the slightest of our habits." The controversy continued between Napoleon and his physician respecting the taking of the pills, draughts, &c. ; but in general, the patient submitted, though with a very ill grace and to very little purpose. The night of the 6th was passed in a restless state : he got a little sleep towards the morning. He was less feeble than he had been for some days. He was standing up, his dress neglected ; Antommarchi begged him to pay some attention to



his toilette. "When I was Napoleon," he replied, with a degree of emotion, "I did so readily and with pleasure: but at present, what concern have I in looking well or ill? Besides, all this costs me more trouble now than it formerly gave me to arrange the plan of a campaign. Nevertheless, let us set about it:" and he accordingly proceeded to shave himself, but at intervals; being obliged to stop several times. He finished at length, and lay down the rest of the morning.

Lady Holland had sent out some books, and a plaster-cast of the head marked with the different organs, according to the system of Gall and Spurzheim. He asked Antommarchi to examine it and give his opinion, and expressed his own as unfavourable to it. He classed the authors with Lavater, Cagliostro, and Mesmer, and said he would never see Gall, though Corvisart had much pressed him to do so.\* Towards the middle of the month, his spirits

\* "What," he asked, "did Mascagni think of those German dreams? Come, speak without reserve, as if you were conversing with one of your own profession."—"Mascagni admired very much the manner in which Gall and Spurzheim develop and explain the various parts of the brain, and had also adopted that method, which he considered eminently calculated to inculcate a thorough knowledge of this interesting organ. With respect to the system of judging the vices, propensities, and virtues of men by the protuberance on their heads, he considered it as an ingenious fable, which might seduce men of the world, but which could not bear the examination of the anatomist."—"That is thinking and acting like a wise man, who knows how to appreciate the merit of a conception, and to divest it of the errors and follies with which it is loaded by quackery. I regret much that I did not know him. Corvisart was a great admirer of Gall: he praised him, protected him, and used his utmost endeavours to push him up to me! but there was no sympathy between us. Such men as Lavater, Cagliostro, Mesmer, have never ranked very high in my estimation. I even felt I know not what kind of aversion to them, and did not therefore feel disposed to admit the man who was a continuation of them. Gentlemen of this description are all dexterous and well spoken; they work upon that thirst after the marvellous which the generality of mankind experience, and give the colouring of truth to the falsest theories. Nature does not betray herself by her outward forms; she does not disclose her secrets; she conceals them. To judge and examine men upon such slight indications is the act of a dupe or an impostor, such as are all those beings

became more depressed ; a death-like coldness seized the lower extremities. " Ah ! doctor," he exclaimed, " how I suffer ! Why did the cannon-balls spare me, only to die in this deplorable manner ? I that was so active, so alert, can now scarcely raise my eyelids : " and he closed his eyes. He roused himself, however, towards the latter part of the day, seated himself on the sofa, and was persuaded with difficulty to take some nourishment. Madame Bertrand came in : he proposed that she should join him in his future rides. " We will set out early in the morning ; we shall enjoy the fresh air, shall gain an appetite, and defeat the influence of the climate. You, the little Hortense, and I are the worst ; we must join our efforts and assist one another to snatch his victims from death." The services of the Abbé Bonavita, who had been sent out from Rome, were no longer wanted : Buonaparte wished him to return, and he embarked on the 17th. Napoleon asking Antommarchi whether he would be well-received when he got back to Rome, and the latter remaining silent, he said, " At least he ought ; for I don't know what the Church would have done without me."

The malady of the Emperor became more serious : Antommarchi durst no longer trust entirely to his own opinion. Buonaparte objected to any physician recommended by the governor ; but at length Dr. Arnott, surgeon to the 20th regiment, was called in.

gifted with wondrous inspirations, of which herds are to be found in every large capital. The only way to know men is to see them, observe them, and put them to the test. To avoid falling into errors, they must be studied a long time, and be judged by their actions, and even that is not infallible, and requires to be restricted in its operation to the moment in which they act ; for we seldom act consistently with our genuine disposition ; we give way to the transport or impulse of the moment, or are carried away by passion ; and this constitutes what we call vice and virtue, perversity, or heroism. Such is my opinion, and such has long been my guide. Not that I pretend to deny the influence of disposition and education : I think, on the contrary, that it is immense ; but beyond that, everything is mere system and folly."—*Last Days of Napo'leon.*

He was introduced into the chamber of the patient, which was darkened, and into which Napoleon did not suffer any light to be brought: examined his pulse and the other symptoms, and was requested to repeat his visit the next day. This happened on the 7th of April. The ordnance officer appointed to ascertain the presence of Napoleon was obliged each day to make his report to the governor that he had seen him: but the Emperor had kept his bed since the 17th of March, so that it was impossible to execute this part of his commission. Sir Hudson began to imagine all sorts of treason: he came to Longwood with his suite, made the round of the house, saw nothing, got in a passion, and threatened the officer with the most severe punishment, if he did not assure himself of the presence of *General Buonaparte*. The officer was much embarrassed with his situation; but as the apartment of the Emperor was on the ground-floor, it was contrived by Montholon and Marchand, the valet-de-chambre, that by drawing the curtain at a certain moment, he should peep through, and be able to say positively that he had seen Napoleon. This, however, did not satisfy the governor, who declared, that if on the 30th of March or the following day, his agent was not admitted to General Buonaparte, he would come with his staff and force an entrance, let the consequences be what they would. Remonstrances were vain, and the threat would probably have been carried into execution, had not the consent of Napoleon to receive the visits of the English surgeon resolved the difficulty, and been accepted by the governor as a sufficient proof that the prisoner was forthcoming. The satellites of Sir Hudson just at this period recommended the removal of Napoleon into the new and commodious house prepared for him, "in order," says Antommarchi, "that having been killed in a hovel, he might die in a palace." The Emperor, by the advice of his surgeon, declined this honour.

On the 3rd of April the symptoms of the disorder had become so alarming, that Antommarchi informed Bertrand and Montholon that he thought his danger imminent, and that he ought to take steps to put his affairs in order. He was now attacked by fever and by violent thirst, which often interrupted his sleep in the night. On the 14th, Napoleon found himself in better spirits, and talked with Dr. Arnott on the merits of Marlborough, whose *Campaigns* he desired him to present to the 20th regiment, learning that they did not possess a copy in their library: but this Sir Hudson Lowe obstinately refused to consent to. On the 15th, Napoleon's doors were closed to all but Montholon and his servant Marchand, and it appeared that he had been making his will. From this time the disorder took various turns, but still making progress. On the 19th he was better, was free from pain, sat up, and ate a little. He was in good spirits, and wished them to read to him. As General Montholon with the others expressed his satisfaction at this improvement, he smiled gently, and said—"You deceive yourselves, my friends: I am, it is true, somewhat better; but I feel no less that my end draws near. When I am dead, you will have the soothing consolation of returning to Europe. One will meet his relations, another his friends; and as for me, I shall behold my brave companions in arms in the Elysian Fields. Yes," he went on, raising his voice, "Kleber, Desaix, Bessieres, Duroc, Ney, Murat, Massena, Berthier, all will come to greet me: they will talk to me of what we have done together. I will recount to them the latest events of my life. On seeing me, they will become once more intoxicated with enthusiasm and glory. We will discourse of our wars with the Scipios, the Hannibals, the Cæsars, and the Frederics—there will be a satisfaction in that; unless," he added, laughing, "they should be alarmed below to see so many warriors assembled together!" Dr. Arnott came in. The Emperor stopped and



received him in the most affable manner: he addressed him for some time, and put to him the most judicious questions respecting his disorder. He told him that almost always when he rose up, he experienced a painful sensation, a burning heat in his stomach, which never failed to produce nausea and vomiting; then, abandoning all at once the natural thread of the conversation, he turned to his present situation, still addressing Dr. Arnott, and assuming a tone more animated and solemn than before: "It is all over, doctor; the blow is struck, I am near the goal, and about to render my body to the earth. Come here, Bertrand: interpret to this gentleman what you are about to hear: it is a tissue of outrages worthy of the hand whence they proceed; explain everything, do not omit a single word. I had come to seat myself on the hearths of the British people: what I demanded was a loyal hospitality; and contrary to all that there is of right on the earth, they answered me with chains. I should have found a different reception from Alexander: the Emperor Francis would have treated me with respect: even the King of Prussia would have been more generous. But it was left to England to delude and urge on the kings, and to exhibit to the world the unheard of spectacle of four great powers glutting their vengeance on a single man. It is your ministers who have chosen this hideous rock, where the lives of Europeans do not last above three years, to terminate mine by a political murder. And how have you treated me since I have been banished to this spot? There is not an indignity, a horror with which you have not made it your pastime to overwhelm me. The most simple family communications, those which are not denied to any one, you have refused me. You have not allowed any news, any letter to reach me from Europe: my wife, even my son, have no longer existed to me: you have kept me six years in the tortures of a secret confinement. In this inhospitable isle, you have allotted me as an abode the very spot

the least fit to be inhabited, that in which the murderous climate of the tropic is most sensibly felt. I have been obliged to immure myself between four partition-walls, in an unwholesome air, I who have been accustomed to gallop over Europe on horseback! You have assassinated me slowly, step by step, with premeditation, and the infamous Sir Hudson has been the executioner of the base orders of your ministers." The Emperor proceeded for some time with the same warmth, and concluded in these words:—"You will end like the proud republic of Venice, and I, expiring on this detestable rock, torn from my family and deprived of all, bequeath the infamy and odium of my death to the reigning family of England."

On the 21st the Emperor, though he had not slept much, was somewhat better than the day before. Towards four o'clock he took some food which remained on his stomach; and at break of day he had sufficient strength to rise and pass three hours in writing and dictating. This exertion at first was followed by no inconvenience; but towards nine o'clock the vomiting began. He was ill the rest of the day. About one o'clock, he called for Vignali—"Do you know, abbé, what belongs to a dying chamber?"—"Yes, sire."—"Have you ever prepared one?"—"None."—"Well, then, you shall prepare mine." He then entered into the most minute details on this point, and gave the priest particular instructions. The expression of his face was earnest, convulsive: he saw Antommarchi watching the contractions which it underwent, when his eye caught some indication that displeased him. "You are above these weaknesses: but what do you wish? I am neither philosopher nor physician. I believe in God: I am of the religion of my fathers: every one cannot be an atheist who pleases." Then turning to the priest—"I was born in the Catholic religion. I wish to fulfil the duties which it imposes, and to receive the succour which it administers. You will say mass every day in the adjoining chapel, and

you will expose the Holy Sacrament for forty hours. After I am dead, you will fix your altar at my head; in the funeral chamber: you will continue to celebrate mass, and perform all the customary ceremonies; you will not cease till I am laid in the ground." The abbé withdrew; Napoleon reproved this fellow-countryman for his supposed incredulity. "Can you carry it to this point? Can you disbelieve in God? For in fine everything proclaims his existence; and, besides, the greatest minds have thought so."—"But, sire, I have never called it in question. I was attending to the progress of the fever; your Majesty fancied you saw in my features an expression which they had not."—"You are a physician, doctor," he replied, laughing; "these folks," he added, half to himself, "are conversant only with matter: they will believe in nothing beyond."

In the afternoon of the 25th he was better; but being left alone, a sudden fancy possessed him to eat. He called for fruits, wine, tried a biscuit, then swallowed some champagne, seized on a bunch of grapes, and burst into a fit of laughter as soon as he saw Antommarchi return. The physician ordered away the desert, and found fault with the *maitre d'hôtel*; but the mischief was done, the fever returned and became violent. The Emperor was now on his death-bed, but he testified concern for every one. He asked Antommarchi if five hundred guineas would satisfy the English physician, and if he himself would like to serve Marie-Louise in quality of a physician? "She is my wife, the first princess in Europe; and after me, you should serve no one else." Antommarchi expressed his acknowledgments. The fever continued unabated, with violent thirst and cold in the feet. On the 27th he determined to remove from the small chamber into the saloon. They were preparing to lift him. "No," he said, "not till I am dead: for the present, it will be sufficient if you support me."

Between the 27th and 28th the Emperor passed a very bad night; the fever increased, the cold spread all over his limbs, his strength was quite gone. He spoke a few words of encouragement to Antommarchi; then in a tone of perfect calmness and composure, he delivered to him the following instructions:—"After my death, which cannot be far off, I wish you to open my body: I wish, also—nay, I require, that you will not suffer any English physician to touch me. If, however, you find it indispensable to have some one to assist you, Dr. Arnott is the only one I am willing you should employ. I am desirous, further, that you take out my heart, that you put it in spirits of wine, and that you carry it to Parma, to my dear Marie-Louise: you will tell her how tenderly I have loved her, that I have never ceased to love her; and you will report to her all that you have witnessed, all that relates to my situation and my death. I recommend you above all carefully to examine my stomach, to make an exact detailed report of it, which you will convey to my son. The vomitings which succeed each other without intermission lead me to suppose that the stomach is the one of my organs which is the most deranged; and I am inclined to believe that it is affected with the disease which conducted my father to the grave, I mean a cancer in the lower stomach. What think you?"—His physician hesitating, he continued—"I have not doubted this since I found the sicknesses become frequent and obstinate. It is nevertheless well worthy of remark that I have always had a stomach of iron, that I have felt no inconvenience from this organ till latterly, and that whereas my father was fond of high-seasoned dishes and spirituous liquors, I have never been able to make use of them. Be it as it may, I entreat, I charge you to neglect nothing in such an examination, in order that when you see my son you may communicate the result of your observations to him, and point out the most suitable remedies. When I am no more, you will



repair to Rome; you will find out my mother, my family, you will give them an account of all you have observed relative to my situation, my disorder, and my death on this remote and miserable rock: you will tell them that the great Napoleon expired in a state the most deplorable, wanting everything, abandoned to himself and his glory." It was ten in the forenoon: after this the fever abated, and he fell into a sort of doze.

The Emperor passed a very bad night and could not sleep. He grew light-headed and talked incoherently; still the fever had abated of its violence. Towards morning, the hiccough began to torment him, the fever increased, he became quite delirious. He spoke of his complaint and called upon Baxter (the governor's physician) to appear, to come and see the truth of his reports. Then all at once summoning O'Meara, he imagined a dialogue between them throwing a weight of odium on the English policy. The fever having subsided, his hearing became distinct; he grew calm, and entered into some farther conversation on what was to be done after his death. He felt thirst, and drank a large quantity of cold water. "If fate should determine that I shall recover, I would raise a monument on the spot where this water gushes out: I would crown the fountain in memory of the comfort which it has afforded me. If I die, and they should not proscribe my remains as they have proscribed my person, I should desire to be buried with my ancestors in the cathedral of Ajaccio in Corsica. But if I am not allowed to repose where I was born, why then let them bury me in the spot where this fine and refreshing water flows." This suggestion was afterwards complied with.

He remained nearly in the same state for some days. On the 2nd of May, the fever and light-headedness came on again. The Emperor in his wanderings spoke of nothing but France, of his son, of his old companions in arms. "Steingel, Desaix,

Massena! Ah! the victory will be gained: hasten, urge the charge: we have them!" On a sudden Napoleon recovered his strength, leaped on the ground, and was bent on going out into the garden. Antommarchi ran to support him in his arms; but his legs gave way under him, he fell backwards: the attendants lifted him up and entreated him to return into bed; but he knew no one, and insisted on going out into the garden. His end evidently approached: those about him redoubled their zeal and attentions, and each was anxious to give a last proof of devotedness. Marchand, St. Denis, and Antommarchi watched by turns at night: but Napoleon not being able to bear a light in the room, they were obliged to render him every assistance which his situation demanded in the midst of the most complete darkness. Anxiety added to the fatigue of his immediate household; but the other French at Longwood, Pieron, Coursot, were eager to relieve them in the sad duty they had to fulfil. The attachment and solicitude which they manifested touched the Emperor: he recommended them to his officers, and wished something to be done for them. "And my poor Chinese! Let them not be forgotten either: give them a score or two of Napoleons, and bid them farewell for me!" Sir Hudson Lowe took it into his head at this juncture to recommend *new milk* to his prisoner—the worst thing possible!

Napoleon still retained the use of his faculties. On the 3rd he called his executors together and desired them, in case he lost his recollection, to suffer no English physician to approach him but Dr. Arnott. "I am going to die," he added: "you will return to Europe: you have a right to my advice as to the conduct you ought to pursue. You have shared my exile; you will be faithful to my memory; you will do nothing which can injure it. I have sanctioned all the best principles: I have infused them into my laws, into my acts: there is not a single one

which I have not consecrated. Unfortunately the circumstances were trying : I was obliged to use force, to delay : reverses came, I could not unbend the bow, and France was deprived of the liberal institutions which I had planned for her. She judges me with lenity, she gives me credit for my intentions, she cherishes my name, the recollection of my victories : imitate her example, be faithful to the opinions which we have defended, to the glory which we acquired : there is nothing without that but shame and confusion."

The same symptoms continued on the 4th. The Emperor took nothing but a little orange-flower water. The weather was dreadful ; the rain fell in torrents, and the wind began to overturn everything. The willow under which Napoleon had been used to enjoy the fresh air was blown down ; and the different plantations of gum-trees were uprooted. On the 5th, after an agitated night, the delirium still continued. He spoke with pain, uttered a few inarticulate and broken words, those of " tête d'armée " were the last that fell from his lips. He had no sooner pronounced them than he lost the use of his speech. It appeared as if the spark of life was extinct ; but after a struggle, his pulse beat again, the oppression was diminished, he heaved deep sighs : Napoleon still lived.

It was then that the most painful scene took place of all those which had accompanied his long illness. Madame Bertrand, who in spite of her own sufferings never quitted the bedside of the Emperor, sent for her daughter Hortense and her three boys, that they might for the last time behold him who had been their benefactor. They ran to the bed, seized the Emperor's hands, and bathed them with tears ; but were so shocked and overpowered at the spectacle before them, and at his pale and disfigured face, where they had been accustomed to see only an expression of grandeur and goodness, that they were forced to drag them away. This interview made a deep im-

pression on all who witnessed it. Noverraz also, who was confined to his bed, got up and tried to obtain a last sight of his master. No farther change took place for the rest of the day ; but in the evening the eyelids became fixed, and the eyes were then drawn back. The pulse stopped, went on. It was within a few minutes of six o'clock. His hour was come : his lips were covered with a slight froth ; Napoleon was no more !

The attendants had scarcely recovered from their consternation at the event, when two Englishmen glided in among them, approached the body of the Emperor, and having pressed it to ascertain the fact of his death, withdrew as they had entered. He had now been dead for six hours. Antommarchi had the body carefully washed and laid out on another bed : the executors on the other hand had examined two codicils which were to be opened immediately after the Emperor's decease, the one relating to the gratuities which he intended out of his private purse for the different individuals of his household, and to the alms which he wished to be distributed among the poor of St. Helena ; the other contained his last wish that "his ashes should repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of that French people whom he had loved so well." The executors notified this request to the governor, who treated it with becoming scorn, and said that the remains of Napoleon must remain in the island. They had no resource, and fixed on the spot which Napoleon had himself suggested, though he had seen it only once ; and which Sir Hudson, having visited it with all his staff, approved. He said his orders were that the body was to remain in the island : it was indifferent to him where. He also offered some plaster of Paris to take a cast of Napoleon's face, and some one to perform the operation. But this was declined, and the plaster procured elsewhere.



The Emperor had intended his hair (which was of a chesnut colour) for presents to the different members of his family ; and it was cut off and kept for this purpose. He had grown considerably thinner in person in the last few months. After his death, the face and body were pale, but without alteration or anything of a cadaverous appearance. His physiognomy was fine, the eyes fast closed ; and you would have said that the Emperor was not dead, but in a profound sleep. His mouth retained its expression of sweetness, though one side was contracted into a bitter smile. Several scars were seen upon his body. On opening it, it was found that the liver was not affected, but that there was that cancer of the stomach which he had himself suspected, and of which his father and two of his sisters died. This painful examination having been gone through, Antommarchi took out the heart and placed it in a silver vase filled with spirits of wine ; he then made the valet-de-chambre dress the body as he had been accustomed in the Emperor's life-time : with the grand *cordon* of the Legion of Honour across the breast, in the green uniform of a colonel of the chasseurs of the guard ; decorated with the orders of the Legion of Honour and of the Iron Crown ; long boots with little spurs ; finally, his three-cornered hat. Thus habited, Napoleon was removed at five hours and three quarters (on the 6th) out of the hall, into which the crowd rushed immediately. The linen which had been employed in the dissection of the body, though stained with blood, was eagerly laid hold of, torn in pieces, and distributed among the bye-standers.

Napoleon lay in state in his little bed-room, which had been converted into a funeral chamber. It was hung with black cloth brought from the town. It was this circumstance which first apprised the inhabitants of his death ; for till then every one had believed in the report of the governor that "General Buonaparte

was doing well." The corpse, which had not been embalmed for want of means, and which was of an extraordinary whiteness, was placed on one of the camp-beds, surrounded with little white curtains which served for a sarcophagus. The blue cloak which Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo covered it. The feet and the hands were free ; the sword on the left side, and a crucifix on the breast. At some distance was the silver vase containing the heart and stomach, which were not allowed to be removed. At the back of the head was an altar, where the priest in his stole and surplice recited the customary prayers. All the individuals of Napoleon's suit, officers and domestics, dressed in mourning, remained standing on the left. Dr. Arnott had been charged to see that no attempt was made to convey away the body.

For some hours the crowd had besieged the doors ; they were admitted, and beheld the inanimate remains of Napoleon without disorder, and in respectful silence. The officers of the 20th and 66th regiments were admitted first : then the others. The following day (the 7th) the throng was greater ; the troops, the inhabitants, even women came, in spite of a ridiculous order to the contrary. Antommarchi was not allowed to take the heart of Napoleon to Europe with him ; he deposited that and the stomach in two vases, filled with alcohol and hermetically sealed, in the corners of the coffin in which the corpse was laid. This was a case of tin, lined with a mattrass, furnished with a pillow, and covered with white satin. There not being room for the hat to remain on his head, it was placed at his feet, with some eagles, the pieces of French money coined during his reign, a plate engraved with his arms, &c. The coffin was closed, carefully soldered up, and then fixed in another case of mahogany, which was enclosed in a third, made of lead, which last was fastened in a fourth of mahogany, which was sealed up, and fastened with iron-

screws. The coffin was exposed in the same place as the body had been, and was covered with the cloak that Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo. The funeral was ordered for the morrow; and the troops were to attend in the morning by break of day. This took place accordingly: the governor arrived first, the rear-admiral soon after; and shortly all the authorities, civil and military, were assembled at Longwood. The day was fine, the people crowded the roads, music resounded from the heights; never spectacle so sad and solemn had been witnessed in these remote regions. At half-past twelve the grenadiers took hold of the coffin, lifted it with difficulty, and succeeded in removing it into the great walk in the garden, where the hearse awaited them. It was placed in the carriage, covered with a pall of purple velvet and with the cloak which the hero wore at Marengo. The Emperor's household were in mourning. The cavalcade was arranged by order of the governor in the following manner:—The Abbé Vignali in his sacerdotal robes, with young Henry Bertrand at his side, bearing a holy-water sprinkle: Drs. Arnott and Antommarchi: the persons entrusted with the superintendence of the hearse, drawn by four horses, led by grooms, and escorted by twelve grenadiers, without arms, on each side: these last were to carry the coffin on their shoulders as soon as the ruggedness of the road prevented the hearse from advancing; young Napoleon Bertrand and Marchand, both on foot and by the side of the hearse; Counts Bertrand and Montholon on horseback close behind the hearse; a part of the household of the Emperor; Countess Bertrand with her daughter Hortense, in a calash drawn by two horses, led by hand by her domestics, who walked by the side of the precipice; the Emperor's horse led by his equerry Archambaud; the officers of marine on horseback and on foot; the officers of the staff on horseback; the members of

the council of the island, in like manner ; General Coffin and the Marquis Montchenu on horseback ; the rear-admiral and the governor on horseback ; the inhabitants of the island.

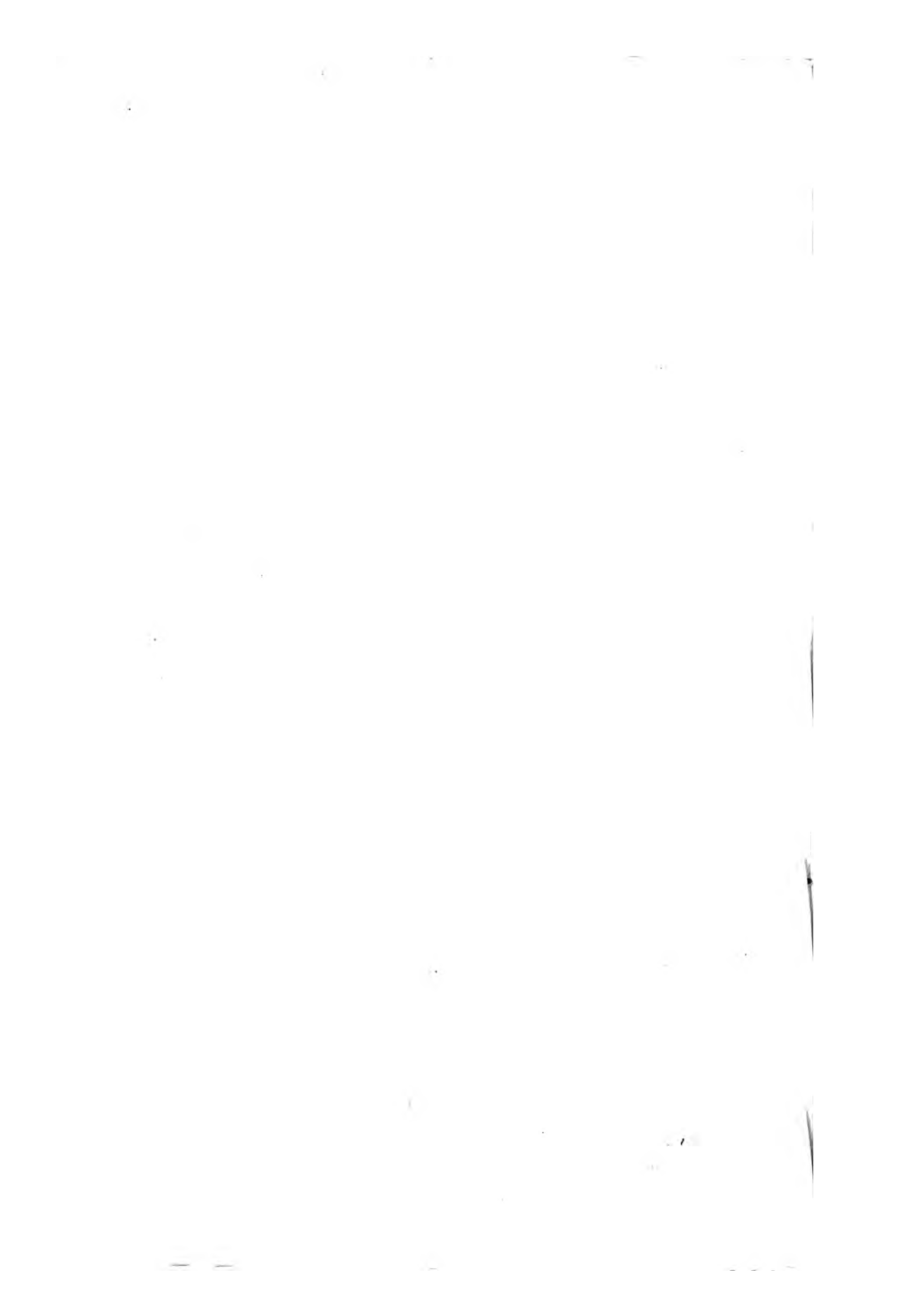
The train set out in this order from Longwood, passed by the barracks, and was met by the garrison, about two thousand five hundred in number, drawn up on the left of the road as far as *Hut's Gate*. Groups of musicians placed at different distances added still more by the mournful airs which they played to the striking solemnity of the occasion. When the train had passed, the troops followed and accompanied it to the burying-place. The dragoons marched first. Then came the 20th regiment of infantry, the marines, the 66th, the volunteers of St. Helena, and lastly the company of royal artillery, with fifteen pieces of cannon. Lady Lowe and her daughter were on the roadside at *Hut's Gate*, in an open carriage drawn by two horses. They were attended by some domestics in mourning, and followed the procession at a distance. The fifteen pieces of artillery were ranged along the road, and the cannoneers were at their posts, ready to fire. Having advanced about a quarter of a mile beyond *Hut's Gate* the hearse stopped, the troops halted, and drew up in line of battle by the roadside. The grenadiers then raised the coffin on their shoulders, and bore it thus to the place of interment, by the new route which had been made on purpose on the declivity of the mountain. All the attendants alighted, the ladies descended from their carriages, and the procession followed the corpse without observing any regular order. Counts Bertrand and Montholon, Marchand, and young Napoleon Bertrand carried the four corners of the pall. The coffin was put down on the side of the tomb, which was hung with black. Near were seen the cords and pulleys which were to lower it into the earth. Everything had a *sombre* aspect, all conspired



to increase the melancholy and silent grief of the attendants. The coffin was then uncovered, the Abbé Vignali repeated the usual prayers, and the body was let down into the grave, with the feet to the east. The artillery then fired three salutes in succession of fifteen discharges each. The admiral's vessel had fired during the march twenty-five cannon-shot from time to time. A huge stone, which was to have been employed in the building of the new house of the Emperor, was made use of to close his grave. This was also strengthened by a stone-wall with a covering of cement. While this was doing, the crowd fell upon the willows, which the former presence of Napoleon had already rendered objects of veneration. Every one was ambitious to possess a branch or some leaves of these trees, which were henceforth to shadow the tomb of this great man; and to preserve them as a precious relic of so memorable a scene. The governor and admiral endeavoured to prevent this mark of enthusiasm, but in vain. The governor, however, took his revenge by interdicting all access to the tomb, and surrounding it with a barricade, where he placed a guard to keep off all intruders. The tomb of the Emperor is about a league from Longwood. It is of a quadrangular shape, wider at top than at bottom: the depth is about twelve feet. The coffin is fixed on two strong pieces of wood, and is detached in its whole circumference. The French were not allowed to mark the spot with a tomb-stone or with any inscription. The governor opposed this, as if a tomb-stone or an inscription could tell the world more than they knew already. Sir Hudson Lowe had committed Buonaparte to the ground; his task was ended; but he proceeded to ransack his effects with the same rage and jealousy as if he had been still alive, and refused the smallest trifle found among them, and that could be of no use to any one else, to the entreaties of his faithful followers. To

make amends, however, he assured them that they should soon be dismissed from the island with every attention; and he sent them home in a crazy store-ship. Antommarchi, on his return to the Continent, could not procure an interview with Marie-Louise; but he saw the Princess Pauline at Rome, and gave his mother an account of all that her son had gone through.

**SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS.**





## CHAPTER I.

## REMOVAL OF THE BODY OF NAPOLEON TO FRANCE.

St. Helena as a prison and as a tomb; visitors to the Emperor's grave; absence of his family; negotiations for removal of body; a French squadron sent under Prince de Joinville; disinterment of the body; condition in which it was found; removal to the French frigate; changes between 1815 and 1840; arrival and reception of the body in Paris.

FOR eighteen years, that is, from 1822 to 1840, the remains of Napoleon lay in silent majesty in that grave to which they had been consigned by his devoted followers, Bertrand, Montholon, and Marchand. The tomb was strongly enclosed, and carefully guarded, but no attempt was ever made to disturb the ashes of the departed hero. To the world the little island of St. Helena now assumed an entirely new character. Before it became the place of Napoleon's banishment, it was scarcely known except on the map, and was useful merely as a station half way to India, where ships could call and take in water and provisions. When Napoleon was sent there in 1815, it immediately became a prison, and the world looked on it with those feelings of mingled compassion and disgust with which prisons in general are regarded. But with these feelings was mixed another, which was the natural and doubtless the desired result of the petty annoyances to which Sir Hudson Lowe exposed his mighty prisoner. The great deeds of Napoleon were fresh in the memory of all men; the tread of his victorious armies seemed still to vibrate on the ear; the

dazzling lustre of his imperial reign still glittered before men's eyes ; and it was to break down the sympathies which these recollections produced that Sir Hudson strove hard, by his miserable exactions, to make the world believe that Napoleon had neither the magnanimity, nor the resignation, nor the patience of great minds, but that, like a spoiled child under correction, he pouted at everything and everybody, quarrelled with his food, objected to his lodgings, and refused even those little *indulgences* which his gaoler was graciously pleased to grant. It was a mean revenge ! A solitary dungeon, or even a soldier's death, like that of Ney, would have been better than such a mockery of freedom. But a violent death would have made Napoleon a martyr, and perhaps, with such a people as the French, even a saint, while a dungeon would have excited the sympathies of all the world, untempered by those feelings of contempt to which the account of Napoleon's conduct in captivity necessarily gave rise. But when death set the captive eagle free, and left nothing on the rock of St. Helena save a perishable body, the recollection of his captive days was completely absorbed in the remembrance of the dazzling splendour of his free career ; and the little island was regarded as a pilgrim shrine where reposed the cold, lifeless form—"if ere those awful ashes could grow cold"—of the greatest, if not the best man of the nineteenth century. Every ship that touched at St. Helena sent pilgrims on shore to visit his tomb ; and the water of the spring that gave it freshness, and the leaves and branches of the willows by which it was overshadowed, were carried away as dearly prized relics of the mighty dead. One day might be seen a party of travellers from the far west, from that country to which Napoleon had sold the great state, Louisiana, bearing the name of Bourbon kings, through which the gigantic Mississippi flows. With the character of Napoleon they could not fail to have a deep sympathy. He might be regarded as

the type of their nation ; restless, ambitious, energetic, and unscrupulous, with unfailing resources, and unfaltering will ; and aiming at dominion over an entire continent. But how much more favourable was their position than that of Napoleon ! *They* had no ancient kings to oppose and conquer ; no traditional rights to respect or disregard ; no combination of crowned heads to retard them ; and the consequence was, that they had gone on resistless, because there was nought to resist them, save the savage red man and the elk and buffalo, while Napoleon was overwhelmed by the arms of banded Europe and the fickleness of his own beloved France. On another day might be seen a group of old soldiers gazing on the grave with stern features and streaming eyes, and whispering to each other of the days when they followed him who lay below, to victory at Lodi or the Pyramids, at Austerlitz or Jena, and muttering to each other as they looked on the tomb, and thought of the indignities to which their great Emperor had been exposed, the sad regret that he had not died at Waterloo. At another time might be seen subjects of that great empire which Napoleon could never subdue, men from that island on which a foreign foe had never set foot for eight hundred years, and whose feelings of national pride were tinged with shame, when they thought that the grave of the great Napoleon was in a barren colony of England, and not, as he himself wished, "amid the French people he had loved so well ;" and as they marked the spot, and saw a British soldier guarding the last remains of the Emperor of France, they felt that the triumph over a fallen foe was too complete for the honour of their own country

But the very visitors who might be expected at the grave of the Emperor were precisely those who were not found there. His wife, Marie-Louise, was living in a kind of passive happiness with her second husband, to whom Napoleon was "Hyperion to a satyr," unmindful of the hero through whom alone she is

remembered, and cold and indifferent to all that concerned him. It would not have been thus with Josephine ; but Josephine died before the banishment of Napoleon. The son of the Emperor, the young King of Rome, he with whose busts and portraits Napoleon delighted to adorn his rooms at St. Helena, was living in a disguised captivity under the name of the Duke of Reichstadt, at the court of his grandfather at Vienna. All his longings after his father were sternly repressed, the history of his own time was either falsified or concealed, and the young man became moody, melancholy, and sad, until death removed him ten years after his father. The mother of Napoleon, in spite of her years and infirmities, had, with the spirit and affection of a Roman matron, requested permission to share the exile and captivity of her son, and her request had been peremptorily refused. The favourite sister of the Emperor, Pauline, the beautiful and the true, had made the same request, and had received the same stern denial. The rest of the family were dispersed over both the old world and the new. A decree of 1816 had banished them for ever from the soil of France, and all access to the grave of their great relative was denied them. The grave of Napoleon was never wet with the tears of mother, sister, wife, or child.\*

\* A naval surgeon, who returned from India in 1838, thus described the Emperor's grave :—

“The tomb is situated at the top of a valley, about three miles, I should think, from James's Town, (off which the vessels anchor,) and about a mile and a half from Longwood, the place at which he resided. The grave is level with the surface, and is covered with two or three flat stones, used formerly as his kitchen hearth. The grave is enclosed with an iron railing, over which hang two weeping willows, and underneath which he was wont to sit. There were formerly three of these willows, but one has decayed, and the remaining two seem also to be giving way. The ground around the grave, to the extent of about forty feet, is enclosed by a neat wooden railing. Close by the grave there is a sentry-box, where a record is kept, in which visitors insert their names, and such remarks as may occur to them. The well at which Napoleon daily drank is situated a little farther up the valley. The attendant is an old sergeant, whose cot-



In France, though it was uncourtly to speak of him in high places, yet his name remained a spell to rouse the hearts of the nation. The eyes of the old soldiers glistened as they spake of their "little corporal;" in the meanest houses might be found busts and portraits of the Emperor, while thousands refused to believe that he was dead, and lived on in the hope that he would soon return to France, and make her glorious as before. Even so late as 1848, eight years after his body had been brought to Paris, many votes were given in favour of his nephew as President of the Republic, under the impression that they were given in favour of the Emperor himself. Numerous petitions were presented, praying for the abolition of the decree which exiled the Buonaparte family, and for the removal of the Emperor's remains to France. But the Bourbons could not free themselves from the terror of that great name, and the prayer of the petitioners was for many years refused. But in 1840, after one branch of the Bourbons had been expelled, and the head of another branch, who had passed longer years in exile than the Buonapartes, had been raised to the throne, a negotiation was opened with the British government for the removal of the body of Napoleon to Paris. The prime minister of France at that period was M. Thiers, and the French ambassador at London, by whom the negotiations were conducted, was M. Guizot, both men of the people, both men who had risen to high political office by the force of their genius and the power of their pens, and both of whom in after years

tage (with that of another veteran) stands a few paces farther on, surrounded by a neat vegetable garden. The place altogether is extremely beautiful, and its quiet and deep stillness has a most hallowing and imposing influence on the mind. The hills on each side of the valley are covered with whins, which were in full blossom at the period of my visit—a rich and pleasing sight to one newly released, as I then was, from viewing, day after day, merely the expansive sheet of water by which we were on every hand surrounded."

bitterly experienced that French fickleness which greatly contributed to drag Napoleon down. The British government was represented by Lord Palmerston, then secretary for foreign affairs; and on 12th May, 1840, it was intimated to the French chambers that, the consent of the British government having been obtained, a French squadron, under the command of the Prince de Joinville, son of Louis Philippe, then King of the French, would be dispatched to bring the remains of Napoleon from St. Helena to Paris. The squadron consisted of three vessels of war, *La Belle Poule*, *Favourite*, and *l'Oreste*. They arrived at St. Helena on the 8th October. The British government had sent out a vessel, the *Dolphin*, to assist in the removal, and it had been three months at St. Helena before the French squadron arrived. The commissioners charged with the arrangements for removing the body on board the Prince de Joinville's frigate, *La Belle Poule*, were the Count de Charbot on the part of the French, and Captain Alexander, of the Royal Engineers, on the part of the English. Some of those who had shared the exile of Napoleon and had been present at his funeral in 1822, were on board the squadron. They were Marshal Bertrand and his son, General Gourgaud, a son of Las Cases, and the old and faithful servant Marchand.

When the Prince de Joinville went on shore to visit the house where Napoleon spent his last days, a scene was presented well calculated to confirm all the complaints that had been made by Napoleon and his followers, and which could not fail to annoy, if it did not exasperate, a Frenchman, even though that Frenchman was a Bourbon, and a member of the family whom Napoleon had driven into exile. The buildings at Longwood were in the most dilapidated state; no care had been taken to preserve them; no attention had even been bestowed in making them look decent on the arrival of the French officers. The saloon was used as a threshing-floor, the library

had been converted into a granary, and the room in which Napoleon breathed his last was occupied by a threshing-machine. It would be giving the officials at St. Helena credit for too much ingenuity if we were to suppose that the buildings were *prepared* in this way on purpose to annoy and irritate the French. The neglect to put them in order, and the carelessness about their repair, were evidently pure neglect and pure carelessness, and arose from the want of that taste for sentimental display of which the French have so much and the English so little. The Prince, however, looked at the rooms, and very wisely refrained from giving expression to his feelings.

All the arrangements for disinterring the body having been made, it was decided to commence proceedings at twelve o'clock on the night of the 14th of October, 1840, as it would then be exactly a quarter of a century since Napoleon had arrived at St. Helena. The French and English commissioners were present; Bertrand, Gourgaud, and Marchand were there, and Bertrand, in particular, watched the proceedings in a very fever of excitement, while a strong body of men were collected with shovels and pickaxes. The night was wet and dark, but there was no high wind; occasionally the moon peered through an opening in the clouds, and shed a feeble glare on the anxious group collected with lanterns round the tomb. As the hour of midnight struck, the sailors,

“ By the glimmering moonbeam’s misty light,  
And the lanterns dimly burning,”

commenced the work of disinterment. This was much more difficult than had been at first supposed. Those who buried the Emperor had done their duty well, and had fixed the coffin so deep and so firm, that it might be supposed they expected it would not be disturbed till the “last trump of the archangel” should summon the Emperor before a higher power

than he had ever met on earth. Vigilantly guarded, too, had been those ashes, and until that dark October night, no hand had violated the sacredness of Napoleon's tomb. The moon went down, the darkness passed away, the sun arose, and still the men were at work. It was half-past eight ere the coffin was raised. It was then carefully examined by the commissioners, by Bertrand, and others. The four coffins were severally opened; everything was found precisely as Bertrand and Antommarchi had left them. The body was in an excellent state of preservation; the features, though slightly swollen, were perfectly recognisable, and the right hand lay quietly on the breast. The face wore an expression of calm, dignified repose; no trace of suffering or of pain was there; it was the same changeless face that had gazed on victory and defeat, on Wagram and Waterloo, that had looked down on kings and emperors at Tilsit, and had embraced the eagle of the imperial guard at Fontainebleau. There is perhaps no man, woman, or child in this country to whom that face is not familiar. In England, the only country that had never faltered in resistance to his power, the only country which his arms could not reach, the only country that refused his alliance, even there the most common chimney ornament is a bust, the most common wall portrait a print, of the great Emperor of France.

The body having been replaced in the coffins, was conveyed on board the *Belle Poule*, where it was received by the Prince de Joinville, and on the 18th of October the squadron sailed with the precious burden for France.

And here it will not be out of place to cast a brief glance at the events that occurred during that quarter of a century that elapsed between the time when the living Napoleon arrived at St. Helena, on board a British man-of-war, to the time when the dead Napoleon was carried from it on board a French frigate.

Europe during that time had enjoyed a period of



comparative repose. The greatest political changes had taken place in France. Geographically speaking she was reduced to her former limits, but the great island of San Domingo, in the West Indies, had gone from her power, and for that loss her acquisitions in Algeria afforded no compensation. She still retained a position among the first states of Europe; but the other powers had far less dread and suspicion of France than they entertained in the days of the Emperor. Even during that very year, 1840, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia had concluded a treaty relative to the affairs of the East, to which France was no party, and in connexion with which she considered herself so neglected that a continental war was apprehended. Had Napoleon been alive he would have been amazed to learn that during that year the fortress of Acre, on the Syrian coast, which with all his skill and power he had been unable to subdue, which checked his dream of a great eastern empire, and which after that time had been considered impregnable, had surrendered, after a short siege, to British soldiers and seamen. Nor would his amazement have been less when he found seated on the French throne a man who was only four years younger than himself; a scion of the house of Bourbon, whose father had fallen under the guillotine during the first revolution; who himself had fought under Dumouriez at Jemappes; who had taught mathematics in Switzerland, and French in America; and who had wandered over Europe as an exile for many long years.

The king (Louis XVIII.), who was restored in 1815, had not long enjoyed the throne when death called him away, and Charles X., his brother, succeeded. But the "judicial blindness" of the Bourbon race was inherited by him, and in attempting to put down the liberty of the press, he lost his crown and fled, like others of his house, to Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh. Louis Philippe, the head of the younger

branch of the Bourbons, had been called to the throne, and for ten years had ruled the country with firmness and moderation. France under him, though she earned no new laurels, yet lost none of the old, and her people lived both prosperous and happy.

The old boundaries of the other European powers remained as before, but the old kings who warred against Napoleon were gone. The two Georges of England had paid the great debt of nature; Alexander of Russia died three years after Napoleon, and Nicholas was now Czar; Frederick of Prussia died only a few months before the Emperor's body was removed from St. Helena, and five years before, Francis, Napoleon's father-in-law, had expired at Schonbrunn. In Italy, four popes had reigned and died; Spain had been distracted with a war of succession, and the throne of Sweden and Norway was filled by Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's marshals.

Across the sea the United States of North America were advancing with giant strides to the dominion of that continent; while the old Spanish States of South America had fought for and won their independence; Brazil had thrown off its allegiance to Portugal, become an empire, and the first Emperor had married a daughter of Eugene Beauharnois; the thunder of English cannon in China had wakened that ancient people out of a long sleep, and British conquest was proceeding fast in Northern India.

But though the map of Europe still retained the same boundary lines, though forms of government remained unchanged, and no notice of great victories was found in the record of those five and twenty years, yet the victories men had gained by the applications of science and skill transcended in importance all those ever won by the sword, and promised to work a greater revolution than could be effected, either by the force of arms, or the power of an enraged people. Napoleon had been celebrated for rapid travelling; but *his* rapid travelling was slow

compared with the speed of the railway train, of which even in his latest days he had never heard; in 1804 he had laughed to scorn the proposals of Fulton to convey by steam power, against wind and tide, the army of France from Boulogne to Sussex; but in 1840 vessels on Fulton's plan were crossing the broad Atlantic in defiance of tides and weather, with wonderful speed and marvellous regularity. The nations had been brought nearer each other; victories had been gained over time and space; and though the greatest man of his age slept the sleep of death, yet mankind moved on in that steady career of progress which no earthly power that has ever yet appeared can either stop or stay.

On 29th Nov., 1840, the squadron with the remains of Napoleon on board arrived at Cherbourg. On the 8th December the body was conveyed to the steamer *La Normandie*, by which it was brought to Havre. From thence it was transported up the Seine to Paris on board another steamer, *La Dorade*. The banks of the Seine were crowded by an enthusiastic multitude, who welcomed with great demonstrations of joy the body of the Emperor. It arrived at Paris on 14th December, and was borne in a hearse from the steamer through crowded and joyful streets to the *Hôtel des Invalides*. It was an extraordinary spectacle to see a funeral attended by such lively demonstrations of joy. If tears were shed they were tears of gladness, not of sorrow, for the bitterness of death had long been past and forgotten, and no emotion was felt save that of exultation that he who had long slept far away from France had returned, and that the French people had now possession of the body of him who had made their country at once the "glory, jest, and riddle of the world." The pall-bearers were Marshals Oudinot and Bertrand, Admiral Molitor, and General Roussini. But among that great crowd was one weak and feeble man borne in a chair, who in spite of sickness, pain and age had come to take

part in the ceremony. This was Marshal Moncey ; he who had acted with valour and skill in the brief but well-fought campaign of 1814. A few other of Napoleon's old marshals were there ; Soult, Oudinot, and Marmont ; but very few of his old companions in arms had survived to that day. Augereau died in 1816, while peacefully cultivating his estate ; Berthier had thrown himself out of a window and been killed, seventeen days before the battle of Waterloo ; Davoust died in 1823 ; Jourdan in 1833 ; Macdonald, who firmly refused to join Napoleon on his return from Elba, died only a month before the body was removed from St. Helena ; Massena, after having to defend himself by pamphlets from charges brought against him by the Mayor of Marseilles, died at Paris in 1817 ; and immediately after Waterloo, Ney, "the bravest of the brave," was shot by sentence of a court-marshal, "appealing to Europe and posterity."

The Hôtel des Invalides was crowded when the body was about to be brought in. The king and all the members of the royal family, the peers of France, the members of the chamber of deputies, all the great civil and ecclesiastical functionaries of the realm, and an immense assemblage of officers and civilians were present. The sailors of La Belle Poule having brought in the body, the Prince de Joinville presented it to the king, saying, "Sire, I present the body of the Emperor Napoleon ;" to which the king replied, "I receive it in the name of France." A great religious ceremony, conducted by the Archbishop of Paris, followed. The body lay in state till the 6th February, 1841, visited by thousands of the French people, and by strangers. It was then placed in the chapel of St. Jerome, in the Invalides, where it now lies.



## CHAPTER II.

## NAPOLEON'S WIFE AND CHILD.

MARIE-LOUISE, ARCHDUCHESS OF AUSTRIA, EMPRESS  
OF FRANCE, ARCHDUCHESS OF PARMA.

Nature of the marriages of Napoleon with Josephine and Marie-Louise ; conduct of Marie-Louise on the downfall of the Emperor ; her marriage with Count Nappey ; her residence at Parma ; her death ; the son of Napoleon ; mode in which his early years were spent ; his education under Don Miguel ; his eagerness for information about his father ; his residence at Schonbrunn ; illness and death.

THERE are few historians who would not, if it were justifiable, omit from their pages all mention of Marie-Louise, Archduchess of Austria, the second wife of Napoleon. Her history is a dark chapter in the life of Napoleon ; a dark chapter in the records of woman. From the very first, her marriage with the Emperor was a mere state manœuvre ; a paltry piece of European policy that could only be consummated by that act of injustice which annulled the marriage of Josephine. The two alliances present a most marked contrast. The first with Josephine was one of affection and love ; the second was one of convenience ; the first wife was brilliant and active, and bestowed a lustre on her husband's court ; the second wife was dull and passive, and her lustre was merely the reflection of the Emperor's fame. Josephine gave Napoleon her hand and heart when his fortunes were low, and his future destiny uncertain. Marie-Louise gave her hand, little of heart had she to give, when the

fortunes of the Emperor had reached their highest point, and his future destiny seemed unclouded and clear; the first wife adhered to her husband through good report and ill, even to the last; the second wife deserted him as soon as misfortune came. It was in an evil hour that Josephine was cast away, for after it, the star of Napoleon gradually, but surely, declined.

If ever a marriage of convenience was happy, it was an exception to the rule. The only reason that Napoleon could allege for breaking through the tender ties that bound him to Josephine was, that in discarding her he was sacrificing his personal interests and feelings to those of France. But a man with the intellect of the Emperor might have known that if he could so readily break the ties that bound him to a wife, he need not expect that the Emperor of Austria would be less scrupulous in breaking the ties that bound him to a son-in-law, and that, when policy required, Napoleon would be sacrificed by Francis, with far less ceremony and remorse than Napoleon sacrificed Josephine. Nor could Marie-Louise expect much happiness from an alliance in which she was a mere passive instrument in her father's hand, from a marriage with a man she had never seen, who had twice conquered her native land, and whom the other powers of Europe regarded with jealousy, hatred, and fear. But the Emperor "by gazing on himself had grown blind," else he would have seen that to divorce a true-hearted wife, in order to marry another whose royal birth was her only recommendation, was to repudiate the very principle which had raised him to the first place among the crowned heads of Europe. Perhaps Marie-Louise is not to be so harshly judged. From her youth, inexperience, and weak mind, she probably knew not her true position, or, if she did know it, had not the force of character to change it. Marie-Louise was a very different woman from Marie-Antoinette.

After the abdication of Napoleon at Fontainebleau,

he never saw his wife or child. Marie-Louise went to some baths in Germany; her son was carried to Vienna. At these baths she first became acquainted with Count Neipperg, a man who seems to have had little but a handsome person to recommend him, and who was attached to Marie-Louise as a gentlemanly spy and guard, probably because the allied powers considered him a fit man for that kind of duty. After Napoleon left Elba, this man made Marie-Louise sign a declaration that she was not privy to her husband's proceedings, and that she knew nothing of his plans. This could only have been extorted from her under the pretence that it was necessary to her safety; but surely the allied powers knew the Archduchess of Austria too well to stand in fear of her. She afterwards went on a journey to Switzerland with this same count; and in his company, or perhaps, more properly speaking, under his *surveillance*, she undertook various other journeys of pleasure. While Napoleon was pining on the rock of St. Helena, his cold and careless wife was seen in gay assemblies, hanging on the arm of this German count. When the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla were given to her for support, she was accompanied to her new dominions by Neipperg, in the capacity of chamberlain, and here she was married to this person. Her whole conduct fully justified the bitter line of Byron—

“And the *ex*-Empress grew as *ex* a wife.”

In the regular order of succession, her son, the young Napoleon, ought to have succeeded her; but not only was the boy prevented from living with his mother, but he was debarred from all succession to his mother's territories. These the allies would give to her for life only: at her death they were to pass to a Portuguese branch of the house of Bourbon.

Count Neipperg died in 1828, and Marie-Louise was again a widow. She ruled over her little territories with the passive mildness that seemed to belong to

her character ; and the subjects of "Parma's pastoral realm of cheese" found little if any fault with her administration. If her nature could be roused at all, it must have been agitated to its depths when she heard wafted from the Seine and across the Alps the exulting shouts with which the French nation welcomed the body of the Emperor—the body of him who had once called her by the endearing name of *wife*, but whose adversity and exile she had never shared, and to whom, in one word, she had not been *true*. Many will excuse her by saying that her father's commands were such that she could not act otherwise ; and this plea might avail, if it did not contrast so strongly with the conduct of the daughter of the Duke of Wurtemberg, who had married Jerome, the youngest brother of Napoleon, and who had once been King of Westphalia. When, after the fall of Napoleon, the duke commanded his daughter to divorce herself from Jerome, the noble wife refused, in a letter in which heroic firmness was blended with filial affection. She had accepted Jerome as a husband, she wrote to the duke, not as her own choice, but as the choice of her father ; she had obeyed him then, but she could not obey him now. Her husband had shared with her his throne, she would share with him his exile, and nothing but force would drag her from his side. If Marie-Louise had used language like this—language which as a wife and a mother it was her duty to use—the Emperor of Austria would surely, rather than go down to posterity as devoid of all fatherly feelings, have acceded, like the Duke of Wurtemberg, to the wishes of his daughter.

Marie-Louise's life flowed on unnoticed and uncared for. Her son, the King of Rome, died in 1832, but she survived him for fifteen years, and died on 17th December, 1847, in her fifty-sixth year. It was, perhaps, well for her that she did not live a few years longer, for even she must have felt a pang when the successor of her father was forced to abdicate his



throne, and the heir of her first husband was elected by acclamation President of the French Republic. The leading journal of Europe in noticing her death expressed the general feeling with which she was regarded. "Of the Empress Marie-Louise it may be said, that nothing in her life became her like the leaving it. She had lived to be very nearly the longest reigning sovereign in Europe; for nearly thirty-four years have elapsed since she exchanged for the portion of an archduchess her share in the throne of the French empire. In that period she has done little more than indulge the obscure passions and narrow feelings which formed a singular contrast to the glare of transitory splendour thrown over her marriage and her French reign."\*

THE KING OF ROME, NAPOLEON II., THE DUKE  
OF REICHSTADT.

THIS unhappy boy, when a mere infant two years old, was separated from his mother, and taken to Schonbrunn by his grandfather. Here he was surrounded by attendants, whose duty it was to withhold from him all information of his origin and of the great deeds of his father. Everything likely to convey the slightest information to the child that he was the son of the greatest man of the age was studiously concealed, and when he was five years of age, all that he knew of himself was, that the Emperor was his grandfather and Marie-Louise his mother. Nay, to such an extent was this surveillance carried, that he was formally interdicted from speaking to any one but his governor, and not one of his attendants dared to answer one of his questions. This conduct, far from repressing, only excited the boy's curiosity; it made him moody and melancholy, and drove him to commune with his own sad and solitary thoughts. What

\* *Times*, Monday, 27th December, 1847.

strange questions must that boy have asked in the gloomy splendour of the Austrian palace! Who was he that was surrounded with so much mystery? Why were the servants prevented from answering his questions? Who was his father? What was going on in the great world around him? But no response came, and he was left to his own childish thoughts until his governor was changed.

This new governor was Don Miguel of Portugal, a man whose name is well known in the history of the revolutions and civil wars of that country. This prince left Lisbon in 1824, and sought refuge at Vienna, where he was appointed governor of the young Napoleon. It would be difficult to tell what peculiar qualifications he had for such a duty, unless it be his want of qualifications was his best recommendation. He had neither a fine nor a highly-cultivated mind; his store of knowledge was small, and his habits were certainly not models for a virtuous prince. But with all his faults Don Miguel had a human heart; and it was not long ere he was touched with compassion for his pupil, and determined to gratify his desire for knowledge, as far as lay in his power. All that he knew of the career of the Emperor he told in secret to the son. He described Corsica, Napoleon's birthplace; spoke of the young artillery officer who distinguished himself at Toulon; of the young general who quelled the mob in the streets of Paris; of the campaign in Italy, of the bridge of Lodi, and of Arcola, and of the subjugation of Italy: then he changed the scene to the sands of Egypt and the waters of the ancient Nile; of the mighty pyramids, and the words used by Napoleon under their shadow as he led his soldiers to victory against the Mamelukes; then he came back to Paris, described the overthrow of the Directory, and the appointment of Napoleon by the almost universal voice of France to the highest office in the kingdom; nor could he fail to speak of the brilliant Josephine;

of Hortense and Pauline ; of Lucien, the headstrong and independent ; and of Louis, the thoughtful and the grave : then he spoke of the glories of the empire and of the victories gained over kings ; of Austerlitz, that humbled Austria ; of Jena, that crushed the hopes of Prussia ; of the campaign in Spain, that gave Joseph the crown of that country ; and of the victories that made Murat king of Naples ; and then, approaching a period dear to the listener, he told of the marriage of Napoleon with Marie-Louise, and of the joy felt by all France when the listener was born ; how his title was King of Rome, and that Napoleon had abdicated the empire of France in his favour : he spoke also of disasters ; of the burning of Moscow and the awful Russian retreat ; of the exile to Elba ; of Waterloo, and of the consummation of the great tragedy in the captivity and the death, only two years before, of the Emperor at St. Helena.

The result was what Don Miguel might have expected. A blind man on whom the gift of sight had suddenly been bestowed could not have indulged in greater raptures. But these were mixed with tears of rage ; the mystery was cleared ; the reason of the secrecy was plain ; the young boy of ten felt the full bitterness of his position ; he was the true Emperor of France, yet he was a poor captive in his grandfather's house, surrounded by people who were conspiring not only to withhold from him the possession of his rights, but to keep him in ignorance of them. The spirit of curiosity that Don Miguel had awakened he found himself unable to quell. His own information was soon exhausted, and he was compelled secretly to procure, not only books relating to the Emperor, but also accurate tidings of the Buonaparte family. The bulletins and proclamations and addresses to the army were especially studied by the young Napoleon. But the great secret that the boy knew all could not be kept long. It is true that the severe discipline to which he had been subjected had

given him a power over his tongue almost superhuman, but one day, driven beyond endurance by some new annoyance, he exclaimed:—

“What do they wish to make of me? Do they think I have the head of my father?”

The Emperor was alarmed, and he soon found that young Napoleon knew all. Don Miguel was dismissed, and Count Dietrichstein took his place. But the change came too late, and it was found necessary to give greater liberty to Napoleon's heir. At the same time, however, it was carefully arranged that while his curiosity should be fully gratified, any information conveyed to him should be accompanied by an Austrian commentary calculated to represent the conduct of Napoleon in its worst light, and to give the mind of the son a bias rather against than in favour of his father. His important position as the heir of Napoleon and the chief of the Buonaparte family could not be concealed, but that importance was held up before the boy as a thing of such magnitude as to be overwhelming to his weak mind, and to require that he should give himself up implicitly to the guidance of the old and experienced heads that surrounded him. As he was not to succeed his mother, some estates in Bohemia, of the yearly value of 20,000*l.* were assigned to him. When the revolution of 1830 occurred in France, he was greatly agitated, and there can be little doubt that had he inherited his father's strength instead of his mother's weakness, he would then have appeared in Paris. But he was, like Marie-Louise, a patient, passive instrument in his grandfather's hands, and he remained quietly at Vienna. It is related that one of his cousins, a daughter of Caroline, in whom the Buonaparte spirit still lived, tried to open a correspondence with him, and that she even one day suddenly appeared in the palace and kissed his hand. But the young Napoleon was too carefully watched, and was too deficient in spirit, to engage in any schemes that had not his grandfather's sanction.



He became ambitious of military distinction, and entered the Austrian army ; but there he was treated like a child. His health had always been weak, and this attempt to follow the military footsteps of his father, only made his health weaker. The disease, consumption, gradually gained upon him, until July, 1832, when he died, at the age of eighteen.

## CHAPTER III.

MADAME BUONAPARTE, AND THE FAMILIES OF  
JOSEPH AND LUCIEN.

Residence of Napoleon's mother in Rome ; her death ; residence of Joseph Buonaparte in America ; his pursuits ; visits to Europe ; death at Florence ; his children ; Lucien ; residence at Rome ; his occupations ; death ; his children, Charles, the ornithologist, Louis, Pierre, Charlotte, Lady Dudley Stuart, Mrs. Wyse.

WHEN the Emperor fell, his mother went to Rome with her half-brother, Cardinal Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons. In the papal city, she continued, with scarcely any interruption, to reside during the remaining years of her life. An accident which she sustained in 1830, while walking in her garden, made the last years of her life very painful, and she died at Rome on 26th April, 1836, at the advanced age of eighty-six. What a checquered life was hers ! In her girlish days she had been the beauty of Corsica : when she became a wife, she had to follow her husband through great trials and dangers, but not great enough to quell her dauntless spirit : she was, while still young, left a widow with eight children, to support whom she struggled hard ; she lived to see these children raised to the highest ranks of earthly greatness and grandeur, and she lived also to see them fall more suddenly than they rose ; but throughout her long career no prosperity could raise, no adversity could depress, her calm, indomitable spirit.

## JOSEPH BUONAPARTE AND HIS FAMILY.

JOSEPH accompanied Napoleon to the sea-coast, when he meditated his escape to America; and after he had surrendered to Captain Maitland, Joseph succeeded in eluding the watchfulness of the British vessels, and arrived at New York in September, 1815. His wife, Julie Clary, daughter of a merchant at Marseilles, and sister of the wife of Bernadotte, removed to Switzerland. He had two daughters, Charlotte Napoleon, and Charlotte Zenaide, the latter of whom was married in 1822 at Brussels, to Charles, son of Lucien Buonaparte, and author of the beautiful works on American ornithology.

On his arrival in America, Joseph assumed the name of the Count de Survilliers. He invested considerable sums in land in the state of Pennsylvania, and occupied himself diligently in its cultivation. His amiable manners and upright conduct secured him the respect of his fellow-citizens, and when he departed in 1832 for Europe, much regret was expressed. His wife had continued to reside in Switzerland, and it was strange that she did not join him in America. But it is remarkable that not one of the female members of the Buonaparte family ever left Europe, and the men always floated back to the old world as if by a kind of instinct. It was supposed that his visit to Europe in 1832 was made in consequence of the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, as that event had made Joseph the Emperor's heir. As he had no male children, and as Lucien and his family were excluded from the succession, the inheritance after him went to the family of Louis, whose heir at that time was Louis Napoleon, the present (1852) President of France. Joseph giving up all idea of a public life, the young Louis thus became the Emperor's political heir.

Joseph returned to America in 1835, where he re-

sided for six years longer; he returned to Europe, and died at Florence, in August, 1844.

## FAMILY OF LUCIEN.

OF all the brothers of Napoleon, Lucien stood least in fear of his power, and was least disposed to submit to his will. He had refused to divorce his wife to please the Emperor, even though the reward was to be a crown and a kingdom, and other equally independent acts had caused him often to be in disgrace with the imperial court. But Lucien's happiness did not depend upon courtly favour. He had a firm and faithful friend in Pope Pius VII.; and when his presence was not desired in France he retired to Rome, where, under the title of the Prince of Canino, he occupied himself in literary pursuits, especially with the composition of an epic poem on Charlemagne. His children by his first wife were two daughters, Charlotte Marie and Christine Egypta, and by his second wife, Charles Lucien, Paul Marie, Louis, Pierre Antoine, and Letitia.

The misfortunes of Napoleon in 1814 revived the brotherly feelings of Lucien, and he addressed several letters to the Emperor while he was in exile at Elba. When Napoleon was again seated on the throne, Lucien was sent by the Pope to obtain from the Emperor the removal of the Neapolitan troops from the papal states. On his return from this mission he was arrested and imprisoned at Turin, but the influence of the Pope speedily procured his liberty; he continued to occupy himself with literature and art, and prosecuted with great zeal excavations in search of the Etruscan antiquities. He died at Viterbo, in June, 1840, the same year that the remains of his brother were brought to Paris.

His eldest son, Charles Lucien, married at Brussels, on 29th June, 1822, his cousin, Charlotte Zenaide,



daughter of Joseph Buonaparte. He then proceeded to the United States, where he devoted himself to the study of natural history. In 1825 he published at Philadelphia the first volume of his great work on American Ornithology, the concluding volume of which appeared in 1833. He is still alive, and has attended many meetings of the British Association, where his resemblance to the Emperor has struck many visitors. His brother, Paul Marie, sought adventures in a different field. When the Greek war of independence broke out in 1827, he hastened to give the Greeks the assistance of his name and his sword. He was well received by Admiral Cochrane, the commander of the British fleet, to whom his father had been well known. The admiral made him second in command of a frigate, and he conducted himself with great prudence, bravery, and skill. The accidental discharge of pistols in his cabin deprived him of life, and he was buried at Navarino. His brother Louis devoted himself to the study of chemistry and mineralogy, in which he soon acquired considerable eminence. The other brothers, Pierre and Antoine, were of a much more restless disposition. The former especially was a hot-headed adventurer. In 1831 he proceeded to America, where, through the influence of his brother Joseph, he obtained from General Santander the appointment of major in the army of New Grenada. There, under the gigantic shadow of the Andes, and within a few leagues of the equator, the nephew of the Emperor fought bravely against the legions of Spain. When independence had been secured, he left the service, and returned to New York in 1833. Thence he returned to Europe, and with his brother Antoine resided for some time in Italy. But Pierre could never be out of mischief, and for some offence he was exiled in 1836 from the states of the church. He and his brother during the same year were attacked by some agents of the Pope, and

Pierre was nearly killed. After suffering a captivity of nine months in the castle of St. Angelo, he was liberated, and immediately proceeded to the United States. But he soon returned, and in 1848 was elected as deputy for Corsica to the National Assembly of France. In that office he was chiefly distinguished for rash conduct, and for a duel he fought with M. Clement Thomas, one of the French generals. The eldest daughter of Lucien, Charlotte, married Prince Gabrielli; the other, Christine, married first a Swedish nobleman, and secondly, Lord Dudley Stuart, a brother of the Marquis of Bute. She died 9th May, 1847. The other daughter, Letitia, married Sir Thomas Wyse, an Irish member of parliament, and now (1852) British ambassador at Athens.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE FAMILY OF LOUIS BUONAPARTE.

THE union of Louis Buonaparte and Hortense Beauharnois, like almost all marriages of convenience, produced no happiness to either party. Perhaps in this matter Napoleon was less to blame than Josephine, by whom the marriage was eagerly promoted, in the expectation that it would prevent her divorce by giving Napoleon the hope, if not of a direct, yet of a near heir to his throne. But the result clearly and fully "justified the ways of God to man," and showed, that under the inscrutable decrees of Providence

" Ever the right comes uppermost,  
And ever is justice done."

The divorce of Josephine was unjust, and it did not secure the objects Napoleon expected to gain. It is true he obtained an heir to his throne, but he lost both his throne and his heir; the sceptre passed not only from his hands but from his family, and his son spent nearly all his life as a disguised captive at a despotic court. The marriage of Louis and Hortense was unjust, and it did not prevent the divorce that Josephine dreaded. But the heir of Louis and Hortense; the direct descendant of Josephine; he in whom mingled the blood of Buonaparte and Beauharnois, not only became the legal heir of the

Emperor, but was called by acclamation to the head of the French people. The punishment and the reward of Josephine were complete.

Three children were the fruits of the marriage of Louis and Hortense. They were all boys; the youngest died when quite an infant, and the other two, Napoleon Louis and Charles Louis Napoleon, were aged respectively nine and seven years when the Emperor was sent to St. Helena. Louis himself retired to Florence, where, under the name of the Count St. Leu, he lived in pensive retirement until his death, in July, 1846. He was much liked by his subjects in Holland, and his kind and thoughtful character was well displayed in his will. In that document, after recommending his soul to the Almighty, he expresses the wish that his remains may be sent to St. Leu, near Paris, to be near those of his father, Charles Buonaparte, and of his eldest son, who died in Holland in 1807. He wills the remains of his second son, who died in Italy in 1831, to be also brought to the same place, and he appropriates a sum of 2400*l.* to the erection of a monument. "I have," says he, "borne the name of that village for forty years, and I liked it better than any other place." He makes a present to the municipal body of Amsterdam of all the property he formerly possessed in Holland, that the income arising from it may relieve the misfortunes occasioned every year by inundation. He bequeaths to the poor of Florence a considerable sum. To his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany the colossal bust, representing the Emperor Napoleon, by the celebrated Canova. He desires the Grand Duke to accept it as a token of gratitude for the hospitality he has received in his states. To the grand Duchess he bequeaths a beautiful vase of Sèvres porcelain. To his brother, Jerome Buonaparte, Prince de Montfort, his box at the theatre of Florence, a property valued at 2400*l.*



To his nephew, Napoleon, son of the Prince de Montfort, a beautiful diamond. To his second nephew, Jerome, a *souvenir* of a similar kind. To Princess Mathilde Demidoff, a *parure* in rubies and diamonds, left to him by his mother. To his nephew, Louis, son of Prince Canino, his beautiful Villa de Montughi, with furniture and adjacent lands, valued at 8000*l.* To his ward, Francesco Castelvechio, a sum of 6000*l.* After making a few other legacies of less importance, to all his servants and executors, he adds:—"I bequeath the remainder of my property (my palace at Florence, the great estate of Civita Nova, all real property), furniture, claims, and, in short, all that will form my property at the time of my death (except what has been bequeathed by me as above stated), to my heir, Louis Napoleon, my only surviving son, to whom I bequeath also, as a particular token of my paternal affection, my *Dunkerque*, placed in my library, with all the decorations and *souvenirs* it contains; and as a still more particular mark of affection, I bequeath to him the different articles sent to me from St. Helena, which have belonged to the Emperor Napoleon, and which are placed in a box made for that purpose."

Hortense, the wife of Louis, after being denied an asylum in several places, retired to the castle of Arenenberg, in Switzerland. Here she chiefly employed herself with the education of her two sons, who never seem to have lived with their father, and her life passed quietly away, only varied by the anxieties arising from the adventurous conduct of her children. She wrote several poems, and composed some pieces of music. She died in 1837, and was buried beside Josephine in the church of Reuil.\*

Her surviving sons both adopted the profession of

\* At the time of her death her husband Louis was living at Florence; and in her will, dated 3rd April, 1839, she said, "I wish that my husband may erect some memorial to my memory, and that

arms. The elder of the two married his cousin Charlotte, one of the daughters of Joseph. But his career was short. After the revolution of 1830 in France, a revolution was attempted in Italy. The two brothers joined the movement with high hopes and vivid zeal; it failed, and they were banished, dispirited and disgusted, from the soil of Italy. The elder brother did not long survive the disappointment; he died of fever, at Forli, in 1831. Louis Napoleon was obliged to flee. He left Italy, and arrived safe at Cannes, the same place from which the Emperor seventeen years before had commenced his triumphal march to Paris. Louis also travelled to Paris, but afraid to make himself known, and trusting to the generosity of Louis Philippe. He offered to serve in the French army; his request was refused, and the refusal was accompanied by an order to quit France immediately. He found a temporary asylum in London, whence he proceeded to Switzerland to rejoin his mother.

The position of Louis Napoleon was now well calculated to excite a mind naturally thoughtful and grave. He was the only surviving child of his father; both Joseph and Louis were unlikely to seek political power, the son of the Emperor was dead, and Louis Napoleon was now his uncle's heir and representative. His position, too, was isolated; France had cast him out, and though living in the heart of Europe, yet he was debarred from all share in European affairs. The heir of a majestic name, and surrounded by the majestic mountains and lakes of Switzerland, it was natural that he should indulge majestic ideas. He had seen one revolution in France; might he not live to see another, which would elevate

he should know that my greatest regret was that I could not render him happy." Of her son she said, "I have no political advice to give to my son; I know that he is aware of his position, and all the duties which his name imposes on him."

him to his right place? But between his position and his desires there was a great gulf, and the most lively imagination could not conjecture by what means that gulf might be crossed. But amid all his reverses and repulses Louis Napoleon was never cast down; he seemed to say, at each buffet of fortune, with Milton's fallen angel—

“ All is not lost. The unconquerable will remains,  
The study of revenge, immortal hate,  
And courage never to submit or yield.”

In this frame of mind he continued to live in Switzerland, devoting himself to military studies. In 1832 he was formally admitted as a citizen of the Canton of Thurgovia, “out of gratitude for the numerous favours conferred upon the canton by the family of the Duchess of St. Leu since her residence in Arenenberg.” In acknowledgment of this honour, Louis presented two cannons to the canton, and founded a free-school in one of the villages. In 1835 a rumour was spread that Louis Napoleon was about to marry Donna Maria of Portugal, who was then the youthful widow of the Duke of Leuchtenberg, a son of Eugene Beauharnois. This rumour Louis took very great pains to contradict. His ambition aimed at a higher flight; he never forgot that he was the heir of the Emperor, and that it was unworthy of the inheritor of that great name to become the mere consort of a Portuguese Queen. His hopes were all centred in France, and he then wrote the following memorable, if not prophetic, words:—

“ Persuaded as I am that the great name which I bear will not always be held as a ground of exclusion in the eyes of my fellow-countrymen—since that name recalls to them fifteen years of glory—I wait with composure, in a hospitable and free country, until the time shall come when the nation shall recal

into its bosom those who in 1815 were expatriated by the will of two hundred thousand strangers.

“ This hope of one day serving France as a citizen and as a soldier fortifies my soul, and is worth, in my estimation, all the thrones in the world.”

In 1836, Louis Napoleon departed from Switzerland, and astounded Europe by a sudden and unsuccessful attempt to raise an insurrection at Strasbourg. Of the motives that led to this reckless expedition, of the objects which it was intended to serve, and of the disasters by which it was attended, a full and characteristic account is given by Louis himself, in a letter addressed to his mother, after the unsuccessful termination of the enterprise. In that letter he wrote :—

“ To give you a detailed recital of my misfortunes, will be to renew your sorrows and mine ; but, at the same time, it will be a consolation both for you and for me to put you in possession of all the impressions which were on my mind, of all the emotions which have agitated me since the close of last October. You know what was the pretext which I held out on my departure from Arenenberg ; but what you do not know is that which was then passing in my heart. Strong in my conviction, which had long made me look upon the cause of Napoleonism as the cause of the nation in France, and as the only civilizing cause in Europe,—proud of the nobleness and the purity of my intentions,—I had become firmly resolved to elevate again the imperial eagle, or to fall a victim to my political belief.

“ I set out accordingly in my carriage, taking the same road which I had followed three months ago, when proceeding to Nukirch and Baden. Everything around me bore the same aspect as then ; but what a difference in the impressions which animated me ! Then, I was gay and cheerful as the day that smiled around me ; to-day, sad and gloomy, my spirit had



taken the infection of the cold and cloudy atmosphere which encompassed me. I shall be asked what it was that forced me to abandon a happy existence, to run all the risks of a hazardous enterprise. I will answer, that a secret voice led me on, and that for no consideration upon earth would I have postponed to another time an attempt which seemed to present so many chances of a successful issue.

“And the most distressing consideration for me in the matter is, that now that experience has taken the place of suppositions, and that, instead of merely imagining, I have actually witnessed the circumstances of the case, I am enabled to form a judgment on the matter; and the result is, that I remain only the more convinced in my belief, that if I could have followed the plan which I had traced out for myself in the first instance, instead of now being an exile beyond the equator, I should be still in my native country. What care I for the cries of the vulgar multitude, who will call me mad because I have not succeeded, and who would have exaggerated my merit if I had triumphed! I take upon myself all the responsibility of the event, for I have acted upon conviction, and not by inducement of others. Alas! if I had been the only victim of my act, I should have nothing to regret. I have experienced from my friends a devotedness without limit, and I have nothing to reproach against any one.

“On the 27th I arrived at Sohr, a small town in the grand duchy of Baden, where I waited for intelligence; the axle of my calèche having broken down near this point of the road, I was compelled to remain a day in this town. On the morning of the 28th, I quitted Sohr, and, retracing my steps, I passed through Fribourg, Neubriach, Colmar, and arrived, at eleven o'clock at night, at Strasbourg, without experiencing the slightest difficulty. My carriage was put up at the Hotel de la Fleur, whilst I proceeded to locate myself in a small room which had been engaged for me in the Rue de la Fontaine.

“Here, on the following day, I saw Colonel Vaudrey, and submitted to him the plan of operations which I had drawn up ; but the colonel, whose noble and generous sentiments merited a better fate, said, ‘It is not here a question of a conflict of arms ; your cause is too French and too pure to be soiled by spilling French blood. There is only one course to pursue which is worthy of you, because it will avoid all collision : when you are at the head of my regiment, we will march together to General Voirol ; an old soldier will not be able to resist the sight of you, and that of the Imperial Eagle, when he knows that the garrison is with you.’ I approved of his arguments, and everything was arranged for the following morning. A house had been engaged near the quartier d’Austerlitz, where we were all to assemble preparatory to repairing to the barracks as soon as the regiment of artillery was assembled.

“On the 29th, at eleven o’clock at night, one of my friends came to seek me in the Rue de la Fontaine, to conduct me to the place of rendezvous. We walked across the town together : a magnificent moonlight was spread over the streets, and I accepted this fine atmosphere as a favourable augury for the morrow. I carefully observed all the parts through which I passed ; the silence which everywhere reigned made a deep impression upon me. What, thought I, may reign in place of this calm to-morrow ? ‘However,’ I remarked to my companion, ‘there will be no disorder if I succeed, for it is chiefly in order to prevent the troubles which often accompany popular movements that I wished to accomplish this revolution by means of the army. But,’ I added, ‘what confidence, what a profound conviction one must have of the nobleness of a cause, to face, not the dangers which we are going to meet, but public opinion, which will tear us to pieces, which will load us with reproaches if we do not succeed. Nevertheless, I call God to witness, that it is not to gratify a personal

ambition, but because I believe I have a mission to fulfil, that I risk that which is more dear to me than life—the esteem of my fellow-citizens.’

“On arriving at the house in the Rue des Orphelins, I found my friends assembled in two rooms on the basement floor. I thanked them for the devotion which they had shown for my cause, and told them that from that moment we should share together whatever might come of good or evil fortune. One of the officers had brought an eagle; it was that which had belonged to the 7th regiment of the line. ‘The eagle of Labédoyère!’ we exclaimed, and every one pressed it to his heart with lively emotion. All the officers were in full regimental uniform, and I wore the artillery uniform, and a general officer’s hat.

“The night seemed very long; I occupied the time in writing my proclamations, which I did not think it advisable to print beforehand, for fear of any indiscretion. It had been agreed that we should remain in this house until the colonel should have sent me a message to repair to the barracks. We counted the hours, the minutes, the seconds. Six o’clock in the morning was the hour appointed. How difficult it is to describe what one feels on such occasions as this: in one second one lives more than in ten years—for to live is to make use of our organs, of our senses, of our faculties, of all the parts of our entity which produce the idea of existence; and, in such critical moments as these, our faculties, our organs, our senses, excited to the highest pitch, are concentrated upon a single point; we are arrived at an hour which is to decide all our future destiny. One feels a moral strength when one can say, ‘To-morrow I shall be the deliverer of my country, or I shall be in the grave.’ One is much to be pitied when the circumstances have so turned out that one has not been able to realize either alternative.

“In spite of my precautions, the noise which must unavoidably be occasioned by a considerable number

of persons assembled together, disturbed the occupants of the first floor ; we heard them get up, and open their window. This was at five o'clock ; and we then became doubly circumspect : and they returned to rest. At length, it struck six o'clock. Never did the strokes of a clock re-echo with such force through my heart ; and in a moment's time, the sound of the bugle at the quartier d'Austerlitz accelerated still further its beatings. Yes, the all-important hour had arrived. At this moment a considerable tumult was heard in the street ; this was occasioned by some soldiers who passed by raising cries, whilst some horsemen came full gallop before our windows. I sent an officer to inquire into the cause of this disturbance. Could it be the staff of the place already apprised of our projects ? Had we been discovered ? The officer speedily returned, and informed me that the noise proceeded from some soldiers whom the colonel had sent to fetch home their horses, which had been out of head-quarters.

“Some minutes more passed away, when it was announced to me that the colonel was waiting for me. Full of hope, I rushed into the street ; M. Parquin, in the uniform of a general of brigade, and a commander of battalion bearing the eagle in his hand, were one on either side of me ;—about a dozen officers followed me.

“The distance we had to go was not far ; it was soon accomplished. The regiment was drawn up in order of battle in the court of their barracks, inside the gates ; upon the grass were stationed forty of the horse artillery.

“Oh, my mother ! judge of the happiness which I enjoyed at that moment. After twenty years of exile, I at length touched the sacred soil of my native land : I found myself surrounded by Frenchmen, whom the memory of the Emperor was about again to warm with electric heat.

“Colonel Vaudrey was alone in the middle of the



court. I was advancing towards him, when the colonel, whose noble countenance and figure had, at the moment, something of the sublime about him, drew his sword, and exclaimed: 'Soldiers of the 10th regiment of artillery! A great revolution is in course of accomplishment at this moment. You behold here before you the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon. He comes to re-conquer the rights of the people;—the people and the army may place full dependence in him. It is around him that all who love the glory and the liberty of France ought to gather themselves. Soldiers! you will feel, as does your commander, all the grandeur of the enterprise which you are about to undertake, all the sanctity of the cause which you are about to defend. Soldiers! may the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon count upon you?'

"His voice was drowned at the instant with unanimous cries of 'Vive Napoleon! vive l'Empereur?'

"I then spoke in the following terms:—'Resolved to conquer or to die in the cause of the French nation, it was before you that I wished to present myself in the first instance, because between you and me exist some grand recollections in common. It was in your regiment that the Emperor Napoleon, my uncle, served as a captain; it was in your company that he distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon; and it was also your brave regiment which opened the gates of Grenoble to him, on his return from Elba. Soldiers! new destinies are in reserve for you. To you is accorded the glory of commencing a great enterprise—to you it is given first to salute the eagle of Austerlitz and Wagram!' I then snatched the eagle, which had been borne by one of my officers, M. de Querelles, and, presenting it to them, continued:—'Soldiers! behold the symbol of the glory of France, destined also to become the emblem of liberty! During fifteen years it led our fathers to victory—it has glittered upon every field of battle—it has traversed all the capitals of Europe. Soldiers! will you not

rally round this noble standard, which I confide to your honour and your courage? Will you refuse to march with me against the betrayers and oppressors of our country, to the cry of ‘*Vive la France ! vive la liberté !*’

“A thousand affirmative cries replied to my appeal. We then set out in marching order, the band playing before us. Joy and hope beamed on every face. The plan of operations was, to rush to the general’s quarters ; to hold—not a pistol at his head—but the eagle before his eyes, in order to lead him with us. In order to arrive at his hotel, we had to march all across the town. On the way I had to send an officer, with a file of men, to a printers, to publish my proclamations ;\* another to the *préfet*, to put him under arrest ; and others, in all six in number, were despatched upon special missions ; so that, by the time I arrived at the general’s, I had thus voluntarily parted with a portion of my forces. But I thought, had I any occasion to surround myself with so many soldiers? Did I not count upon the participation of the people? And, in truth, whatever may now be said of the matter, throughout the whole of my road I received the most unequivocal testimonies of the sympathy of the population. All I had to do was to defend myself against the vehemence of the marks of interest which were lavished upon me ; and the various cries which greeted me, showed me that there was not a single party which did not sympathize with the feelings of my heart.

\* These proclamations were to the following effect :—

“In 1830 a government was imposed upon France, without consulting either the people of Paris, or the people of the provinces, or the army. Frenchmen! everything that is established without your authority is illegitimate.

“A national congress, elected by all the citizens of the state, has alone the right of determining what is best for France.

“Paris, in 1830, showed us how to overthrow a wicked government ; it is now for us to show the world how to consolidate the liberties of a great nation.”

“When we had arrived at the hotel of the general, I ascended to his room, followed by Messrs. Vaudrey, Parquin, and two officers. The general was not yet dressed. I addressed him thus:—‘General, I come to you as a friend. I should be much grieved to raise our old tri-colour flag without having with me a brave soldier like yourself. The garrison is on my side; therefore make up your mind, and follow me.’ The eagle was then presented to him: he repulsed it, saying, ‘Prince, you have been deceived; the army knows its duties, and I will go at once to prove it to you.’ Upon this I retired, giving orders to leave a piquet to guard him. The general afterwards presented himself before his soldiers, in order to induce them to return to obedience; the men, however, under the orders of M. Parquin, defied his authority, and answered him only with reiterated cries of ‘*Vive l’Empereur!*’ Eventually the general succeeded in making his escape from his hotel by a secret door.

“When I came out from the general’s, I was greeted with the same acclamations of ‘*Vive l’Empereur!*’ but already this first check had very deeply affected me. I was not prepared for it; convinced as I was that the mere sight of the eagle ought to have awakened in the general old *souvenirs* of glory, and carried him along with us.

“We now again put ourselves on the march; we quitted the high street, and entered the barrack of Finkemalt by the narrow lane which leads to it from the Faubourg de Pierre. This barrack is a spacious building, built at the end of an alley, having no thoroughfare through it; and the ground in front of it is too narrow to allow a regiment to draw up in order of battle. Upon discovering myself thus hemmed in between the rampart and the military quarters, I perceived that the plan agreed upon had not been followed. On our arrival at the barrack, the soldiers crowded around me, and I harangued them. The greater part of them then went for their

arms and returned, rallying around me, testifying their sympathy by their acclamations. Upon perceiving, however, that some hesitation began suddenly to manifest itself amongst them, occasioned by rumours spread amongst them by some of the officers who strove to inspire them with doubts as to my identity; and as, moreover, we were losing valuable time in an unfavourable position, instead of making the best of our speed to the other regiments who were expecting us, I told the colonel that we ought to quit the place. He, however, urged me to remain; I listened to his advice, and some minutes afterwards it was too late. Some officers of infantry now arrived, who caused the gates to be closed, and severely rebuked their men. But still they hesitated; and I made an attempt to arrest the officers. Their soldiers, however, rescued them, and then a general confusion prevailed on every side. The space was so confined that all our party were scattered and lost in the crowd; meantime the people who had mounted upon the wall began throwing stones at the infantry. The gunners wanted to make use of their cannon, but we prevented their doing so; for we at once saw that it would occasion a great destruction of life. I now saw the colonel alternately arrested by the infantry and rescued by his own men. As for myself, I was on the point of succumbing in the midst of a multitude of men, who, recognising me, aimed their bayonets at me. I continued parrying their blows with my sword, endeavouring at the same time to appease them, when the artillerymen came and dragged me from amongst their muskets, and placed me in the midst of themselves. I then, with some non-commissioned officers, rushed towards the mounted artillerymen, in order to get possession of a horse, but the whole body of infantry followed me, and I found myself pent up between the horses and the wall, without possibility of moving. After this the troops



began to arrive from all parts, and, seizing me, conducted me to the guard-house. On entering, I found M. Parquin, to whom I extended my hand. Addressing me with a calm and resigned demeanour, he said, 'Prince, we shall be shot; but we will die nobly.' 'Yes,' I replied, 'we have fallen in a grand and noble enterprise.'

"Shortly afterwards General Voirol arrived. On entering, he said to me, 'Prince, you have found only one traitor in the French army.' I replied, 'Say rather, general, that I have found one Labédoyère.' Some vehicles were now brought, and we were conveyed to the new prison. Behold me then here, between four walls, with grated windows, in the abode of criminals! Ah! those who know what it is to pass in an instant from that excess of happiness which is procured by grand and noble illusions, to the excess of misery, which leaves no opening for hope those who have passed through such an immense interval of transition without having one moment to prepare for the change, will comprehend what was then passing in my heart.

"At the lodge we all met one another again. M. Querelles, pressing my hand, said to me, in a loud voice, 'Prince, notwithstanding our defeat, I am still proud of what I have done.'

"I was then subjected to an examination, during which I was calm and resigned;—my course was fixed. They put to me such questions as the following:—

"'What was it that drove you to act as you have done?'

"'My political opinions,' I replied, 'and my desire again to see my country free, which I have been prevented doing by foreign invaders. In 1830, I demanded to be treated as a simple citizen; they treated me as a pretender. Well! I have since conducted myself as a pretender.'

“‘You wanted to establish a military government?’

“‘I wanted to establish a government founded upon popular election.’

“‘What would you have done if you had succeeded?’

“‘I should have assembled a national congress.’ I afterwards declared, that as I alone had organized the whole affair, I alone had led on and involved the others, so also I alone ought to take upon my head the whole responsibility.

“On being reconducted to my cell, I threw myself upon a bed which had been prepared for me, and in spite of the torments of my soul, sleep, which softens our sorrows by giving pause to the reflections of the mind, came to calm my senses. Repose does not forsake the unfortunate;—remorse alone can scare it from us. But how frightful was my waking from that sleep! Instead of reality, I found I had been labouring under a horrible night-mare. The fate of the persons compromised with me was that which occasioned me much grief and anxiety. I wrote to General Voirol, telling him that in honour he was bound to interest himself for Colonel Vaudrey, for that it was probably to the colonel’s attachment for him, and the consideration with which he had treated him, that the non-success of my enterprise was attributable. I concluded by begging that all the rigour of the law might fall upon me, declaring again that I was the only culpable party, and the only one from whom aught was to be feared.

“The general came to see me, and was very kind in his manner. He said to me as he entered,—

“‘Prince, when I was your prisoner, I could find none but hard words to use towards you; now that you are mine, I have none but expressions of consolation to offer you.’

“Colonel Vaudrey and I were then conducted to the citadel, where I at least found myself much

better off than in the prison. But the civil authorities again claimed us, and at the end of twenty-four hours we were reinstated in our previous abode.

“The gaoler and the governor of the prison performed what their duty required, but endeavoured to soften the rigour of my position as far as possible, whilst a certain M. Lebel, who had been sent from Paris, wishing to show his authority, prevented my opening my windows to breathe the air; took from me my watch, which was only returned to me upon my departure; and, indeed, gave orders for shutters, to keep out the light.

“On the evening of the 9th, they came and apprised me that I was going to be transferred to another prison. I then went out and found the general and the prefect, who carried me away in their carriage, without informing me whither they were about to take me. I insisted that I should be left with my companions in misfortune; but the government had decided otherwise. On arriving at the prefecture, I found two post-carriages, into one of which they caused me to enter, in company with M. Cuynat, commandant of the gendarmerie of the department of the Seine, and lieutenant Thiboulet—whilst in the other were four officers.

“When I perceived that my departure from Strasbourg was inevitable, and that my lot was to be separated from that of the other accused parties, I experienced a grief which it would be difficult to describe. There I was, forced to abandon men who had devoted themselves to me; there was I, deprived of the means of making known, in my defence, my views and intentions; there was I, receiving a pretended favour from one to whom I had wished to have done the greatest injury. I wasted my breath in complaints and regrets; but all I could do was to protest.

“The two officers who accompanied me were two officers of the empire, intimate friends of M. Parquin;

and I should add, they showed me all sorts of attention, that I might almost have fancied I was travelling in company with my private friends.

“ On the 11th, at two o'clock in the morning, we arrived at Paris, at the Prefecture of Police. Here M. Delessert was very polite to me ; he informed me that you had arrived in France, for the purpose of obtaining mercy for me from the king ; that in two hours I was to start again for Lorient, and that I was to be conveyed to the United States in a French frigate.

“ I told the prefect that I was in despair at not being allowed to share the fate of my companions in misfortune ; that being thus withdrawn from prison, without having undergone a general examination (the first was only a summary proceeding) I was deprived of the opportunity of deposing to several matters which were in favour of the accused ; but my protestations proving to be of no avail, I took the step of writing a letter to the king, in which I told him, that when I found myself thrown into prison, after having taken up arms against his government, there was only one thing I was apprehensive of, namely, his generosity, since it would deprive me of the sweetest consolation that could remain to me, the possibility of sharing the fate of my companions in misfortune. I added that, as for myself, life was a small consideration ; but that my gratitude to him would be great, if he would spare the lives of old soldiers, remnants of our old army, who had been led away by me, and seduced by the charm of glorious recollections. I also wrote to M. Odillon Barrot a letter, a copy of which I shall presently subjoin, in which I begged him to take charge of the defence of Colonel Vaudrey.

“ At four o'clock, I set out again on my journey, accompanied by the same escort, and on the 14th arrived at the citadel of Port Louis, near Lorient. There I remained until the 21st of November, on



which day the frigate destined to convey me away was equipped for sea.

“ In my letter to M. Odillon Barrot, after begging him to undertake the defence of the accused parties, and more especially that of Colonel Vaudrey, I added :—

“ ‘ SIR,—In spite of my desire to remain with my companions in misfortune, and to share their lot ; in spite of my remonstrances to that effect, the king, in his clemency, has ordered that I shall be conveyed to Lorient, in order to be thence removed to America. Touched, as I ought to be, with the generosity of the king, I am deeply afflicted at leaving my co-accused, having the idea that if I were present with them at the bar of the court, my depositions in their favour might influence the jury, and throw a light upon their case. Denied the consolation of being of service to men whom I have led on to their destruction, I am obliged to confide to an advocate that which I am not able to state in person to the jury.

“ ‘ On the part of my co-accused, there has been no conspiracy : it was nothing but the excitement of the moment which influenced them. I alone it was who planned everything, and made all the necessary preparations. I had, indeed, seen Colonel Vaudrey previous to the 30th of October, but he did not conspire with me. Up to the 29th, at eight o’clock at night, no one except myself was aware that the movement was to take place on the next day ; it was later than that hour when I saw Colonel Vaudrey. M. Parquin had come to Strasbourg on business of his own ; it was not till the 29th, at night, that I sent for him. The other parties were aware of my presence in the French territory, but were ignorant of my motives. It was not, then, until the 29th, that I assembled the persons who are now under accusation ; and then, for the first time, informed them of my intentions. Colonel Vaudrey was not at this meeting ; the officers of engineers came amongst us without being aware

of what was going forward. Undoubtedly we are all guilty, in the eyes of the established government, of having taken up arms against it ; but I am the most guilty—I, who having, for a long time, been meditating a revolution, came suddenly amongst these persons to tear them from an honourable social position, and to place them all at the risk of a popular movement. Before the law, my companions are guilty of having suffered themselves to be led away ; but never were there stronger extenuating circumstances, in the sight of the country, than in their case. To Colonel Vaudrey, and the other prisoners, when I first saw them on the night of the 29th, I held the following language :—

“ ‘ Gentlemen, you are aware of all the complaints of the country against the government of the 9th of August, but you also know that no party existing at the present day is strong enough to overthrow it—none sufficiently strong to unite all Frenchmen in a common cause, if it should succeed in getting the powers of government into its hands. The weakness of the government, as well as the weakness of parties, comes from the fact that each represents only the interests of a single class of society. On the one hand, some rest upon the clergy and the nobility ; on the other, are those who rest upon the aristocracy of the middling classes (*aristocratie bourgeoise*) ; and there are others who depend solely upon the proletary classes of society.

“ ‘ In this state of things there is only one flag which can rally all these parties, because it is the flag of France, and not that of a faction—I mean the eagle of the empire. From under this banner, which awakens so many glorious recollections, there is no class expelled, for it represents the interests and the rights of all. The Emperor Napoleon held his power from the French people ; four times did his authority receive the popular sanction. In 1804 the hereditary title of the Emperor’s family was recognised by four

millions of votes; and since that time the people have not been consulted. . . . . As the eldest of the nephews of Napoleon, then, I may consider myself as the representative of the popular choice—I will not say of the empire, because in the lapse of twenty years the ideas and the requirements of France have necessarily changed. But a principle cannot be destroyed by circumstances—it can only be so by the establishing of another principle; for it is not the 1,200,000 foreigners of 1815—it is not the chamber of 321 members of 1830—who can render null the principle of the election of 1804. The Napoleon system consists in promoting (*faire marcher*) civilization, without discord and without excess; in giving an impulse to ideas, at the same time developing mutual interests; in strengthening the hands of power, by making it respectable; in disciplining the masses through the medium of their intellectual faculties;—in fine, in uniting around the altar of the country Frenchmen of all parties, by giving them for motives of action, honour and glory. Restore, I say, the people to their rights; restore the eagle on our national columns; restore stability to our institutions. ‘What!’ I exclaimed in conclusion, ‘shall the princes of divine right find plenty of men to die for them in the maintenance of abuses and privileges, whilst I alone, whose name is the representation of glory, honour, and the rights of the people, am to die in exile?’ ‘No!’ exclaimed my brave companions in misfortune, ‘you shall not die alone; we will die with you, or we will conquer together for the cause of the French people.’

“‘You see, therefore, that it is I who led them away, by speaking to them of all that had most potency to move the hearts of Frenchmen. They talked of pledging their oaths; but I reminded them that in 1815 they had taken the oath to Napoleon II. and his dynasty. ‘The foreign invasion alone,’ I said, ‘released you from that oath. Well! and force

may re-establish that which force alone was able to destroy.' I went so far even as to tell them that the death of the king was rumoured. (I added that, my mother, as you will understand it, *pour leur être utile*—for the purpose of helping them.) You know how culpable I have been in the eyes of the government. Well, the government has acted generously towards me? It understood that my position as an exile, that my love for my native land, that my relationship with the great man, were extenuating inducements; will the jury stand behind in the line of conduct indicated by the government? Will it not find extenuating circumstances of much greater force in favour of my accomplices than could exist in my own case, in their recollections of the empire, and in the intimate relations which have existed between many of them in my behalf; in the exciting inducements of the moment, in the example of Labédoyère—in fine, in that sentiment of devotedness which so wrought upon the old soldiers of the empire that they were not able to look upon the eagle without emotion? these soldiers of the empire preferred to sacrifice their existence rather than to abandon the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon, and to deliver him to his executioners; for we were very far from contemplating an act of grace in the case of our non-success.

“In sight of Madeira,  
12th December.

“I remained ten days in the citadel of Port Louis. Every morning I received visits from the sous-préfet of Lorient, the commandant of the place, and the officer of the gendarmerie; they all behaved very well towards me, and did not cease to talk to me of their attachment to the memory of the Emperor. The Commandant Cuynat and Lieutenant Thiboulet were full of attentions and interest in my behalf: I felt as though I was constantly in the midst of my friends, and the thought that they were in a position hostile



to mine occasioned me a great deal of pain. The winds continued for some time adverse, and prevented our going out of port; at length, on the 21st, a steam vessel took the frigate in tow, and the sub-prefect came to inform me that I was about to take my departure. The drawbridge of the citadel was lowered, and I went forth, accompanied by the sub-prefect, the commandant of the place, and the officer of the gendarmerie of Lorient, and, in addition, the two officers and non-commissioned officers who had brought me to the place. I walked between a double line of soldiers, who repressed the crowds of spectators who had collected to see me.

“We went in small boats to board the frigate, which awaited us outside the port. I saluted the gentlemen who accompanied me with cordiality, mounted the side of the vessel, and, with a heavy heart, soon beheld the shores of France disappear from the horizon.

“I will now give you some particulars about the frigate. The captain gave up his cabin to me, situated at the stern of the vessel, where I sleep; I dine with him, his son, the second lieutenant of the vessel, and the aide-de-camp. The commander, Captain Henri de Villeneuve, is an excellent man, frank and loyal, as an old sailor should be; and he pays all sorts of attention to me. You see, then, that I am much less to be pitied than my friends at home. The other officers of the frigate are also extremely well disposed towards me. There are, besides, two other passengers, who are characters in their way, though distinct: the one, Mr. D——, is a *savant*, of twenty-six years of age, who has a good deal of wit and imagination, combined with much originality, and indeed a little irregularity, of character. For instance, he believes in predictions; indeed, he occupies himself in prophesying to those he meets their future destinies. He has great faith in animal magnetism, and told me that a somnambulist had foretold to him, two years pre-

viously, that a member of the family of the Emperor would come into France and dethrone Louis Philippe. He is now on his way to Brazil, to make some experiments in electricity. The other passenger is a former librarian to Don Pedro, and who retains all the manners of the old court. Having been ill-used in Brazil, on account of his attachment to the Emperor, he was returning there, in order to claim redress.

“The first fortnight of the voyage was very disagreeable. We were constantly at the mercy of the tempest and contrary winds, which drove us into the mouth of the channel (the Straits of Dover). It was impossible during all this time to walk a step without holding on by everything that came in one’s way.

“It was only within the last ten days that we became aware that our destination had been changed. The captain had sealed orders, which, having opened, he found directed him to go to Rio Janeiro, to remain there the time necessary to take in fresh provisions, to keep me on board all the time he remained in the roads, and finally to take me to New York. Further, you must know that this frigate is destined to go to the South Seas, where she will remain stationed for ten years. Thus they make her go three thousand leagues out of her way; for from New York she will be obliged to go back to Rio Janeiro, keeping away a good deal to the east, in order to fall in with the trade winds.

“In sight of the Canaries, the 14th.

“Every man carries within himself a world, composed of all that he has seen and loved, and into which he continually withdraws, even when he is wandering over a foreign land. At these moments I am doubtful which are the most melancholy recollections, those of misfortunes which have befallen us, or those relating to happy times which exist no longer. We have now got through the winter, and are again surrounded by summer weather; steady breezes have succeeded to the tempestuous weather of the earlier

part of our voyage, and the consequence is, I am enabled to remain the greater part of the time upon deck, where, seated upon the poop, I indulge in reflections upon all that has happened to me, and think about you, and about all at Arenenberg. The situations in which we are placed depend for their effect upon the feelings which we bring to bear upon them. Two months ago, I wished for nothing except never to behold Switzerland again; now, if I were to follow my own inclinations, I should have no other wish than to find myself again in my little chamber in the midst of that fine country, in which I fancy I ought to be so happy! Alas! when one has a soul which feels deeply, one is destined to pass one's days oppressed with the sense of inactivity, or in the struggles of painful situations.

“When some months ago I went to bring home Matilda, on re-entering the park I found a tree which had been blown down by the tempest, and I said to myself, our marriage will be broken off by fate. That which I vaguely guessed at has become realized; have I then, now in 1836, exhausted all the happiness which was destined for me?

“Do not accuse me of weakness, if I allow myself to give you an account of all my impressions. One is permitted to regret what one has lost, without repenting what one has done. Our feelings, moreover, are not sufficiently independent of internal causes, that our ideas should not be always modified a little according to the objects which surround us. The brightness of the sunshine, even the direction of the wind, has a great influence upon our moral condition; when it is beautiful weather, as now to-day; when the sea is as smooth as Lake Constance; and when, walking the deck at evening, the moon illumines us with its delicate blue rays; when the atmosphere, in short, is as mild as in the month of August in Europe; then I am more sad than usual; all the reminiscences of my life, cheerful or sorrowful, come

fully with the same weight upon my bosom ; the smiling weather dilates the heart and renders it more susceptible, whilst, on the other hand, bad weather hardens it. One's passions alone are superior to the severities of the seasons. When we were leaving the barrack d'Austerlitz a snow storm broke over us ; Colonel Vaudrey, to whom I remarked upon it, said, ' For all this hubbub this will be a fine day.'

" January 1, 1837.

" MY DEAR MAMA,—

" This is new year's day. I am 1500 leagues away from you, in another hemisphere ; happily, thought runs over all this space in less than a second of time. I feel that I am near you. I express to you all the regrets I feel for all the torments I have occasioned you ; I renew the expression of my affection and my gratitude.

" In the morning the officers came in a body to wish me a happy new year ; and I was touched with this attention on their part. At half-past four, we went to dinner. As we were 17 degrees of longitude west of Constance, it was then seven o'clock at Arenemberg. You were then, also, probably at dinner. I drank to your health ; you, perhaps, did the same by me ; at least I took pleasure at the time in thinking so. I also thought of my companions in misfortune : alas ! I am always thinking of them. I thought that they were more unhappy than myself ; and this idea made me much more unhappy than they could be.

" Present my affectionate compliments to that good Madame Salvage, and the young ladies, and to poor little Clara, to M. Cottrau, and to Arsene.

" January 5th.

" We had a gale of wind yesterday, which came down upon us with great violence ; but for the sails being rent with the wind, the frigate would have been



in danger. One of the masts was broken ; the rain came down so impetuously, that the sea was beaten up into foam. To-day the sky is as bright as usual, all mishaps have been repaired, and the storm is forgotten. Oh ! that it were so also with the troubles of life. Talking of projects : the captain told me that the frigate which once was named after you is now in the south, and is called the Flora.

“ January 10th.

“ We have just arrived at Rio Janeiro. The *coup d'œil* from the roads is superb ; to-morrow I will make a sketch of it. I hope that this letter may reach you soon. Do not think of coming to meet me ; I do not at present know where I shall take up my abode ; perhaps I shall find better opportunities of obtaining a livelihood in Southern America. Labour, to which the uncertainty of my circumstances will now subject me, in order to attain a position, will afford the only consolation which I can now enjoy. Adieu, mother ; remember me to our old servants, and to our friends in Thurgovia and Constance.

“ I am well in health.

“ Your affectionate and respectful son,  
“ NAPOLEON LOUIS BUONAPARTE.”

From New York he wrote the following letter to M. Villaud, a representative of the people :—

“ New York, 30th April, 1837.

“ It is time now that I should give you some explanation of the motives which actuated my conduct. I had, it is true, two lines of conduct open to me, the one which in some sort depended upon myself, the other which depended upon events. In deciding upon the former, I became, as you very truly say, a means ; in waiting for the other, I should only have been a resource. According to my views and my conviction, the first *rôle* appeared to me much preferable to the

other. The success of my project would offer to me the following advantages : I should have made in one day, and by a *coup de main*, the work of perhaps ten years ; successful, I spared France *the conflicts, the troubles, the disorders, attendant upon a state of general confusion, which must, I think, occur sooner or later*. ‘The spirit of a revolution,’ M. Thiers observes, ‘consists in an ardent passion for the object in view, and a hatred for those who oppose an obstacle to its attainment.’ Having led the people with us, by means of the army, we should have had all the noble passions, without animosities ; for animosity only results from a conflict between the physical force and the moral force. For myself, my position would have been clear, simple, and easy. Having carried a revolution with the aid of fifteen persons, if I had arrived in Paris, I should have owed my success to the people only—not to any party : arriving there victorious, I should, of my own free will—without being compelled to it—have laid down my sword upon the altar of my country ; and then they might well have confidence in me, for it was no longer my name alone, but my person, which became a guarantee for my conduct. In the other case supposed, I could only have been called upon by a fraction of the people ; I should have had as my enemies, not only a debilitated government, but a crowd of other parties—themselves, also, perhaps, of a national character.

“In short, it is easier to prevent anarchy than to repress it : it is easier to direct the masses than to follow up their passions. If I had come only as a *resource*, I should only have been one flag the more thrown into the *mêlée*, the influence of which, immense though it might be in an act of aggression, would have been powerless for a rally.

“To conclude : under the first supposition, I became, as it were, the rudder of a vessel, which had but one resisting medium to overcome ; under the second, on the contrary, I should have been upon a

vessel assailed by winds from every quarter, and who, in the midst of the storm, would not have known which *route* to follow. It is true, that just as the success of this first plan promised to me advantages, so the non-success of it incurred blame to me. But when I entered France, I had not thought about the course I should have to take in case of defeat. I thought, in case of misfortune, upon my proclamation as a testament, and upon death as a blessing. Such is my way of thinking." . . . .

Louis Napoleon returned to Europe in 1837, on receiving intelligence of the serious illness of his mother, and he was with her when she died, in October of that year. The mildness with which the grave offence of Louis at Strasbourg had been treated by the French government, indicated either that his power and influence were treated with contempt, or that a condition was annexed to his departure for America, which by him was not fulfilled. It was generally said that he had pledged his word to the French government not to return to Europe for at least ten years. His continued residence in Switzerland after his mother's death naturally excited uneasiness on the part of Louis Philippe and his ministers, and his expulsion was demanded from the Swiss government. It would have been a lasting disgrace to "free Helvetia" if this demand had been complied with. Had Louis Napoleon been only a refugee who had sought an asylum in the country, the case would have been different, but he had been formally admitted as a citizen, and as such the government unhesitatingly refused to expel him. A French force was marched against Switzerland, which the Swiss made preparations to repel, and there can be no doubt that a serious war would have followed, had not Louis voluntarily quitted the French territory. He then turned for an asylum to the only country in Europe where he felt he could be safe; to that country from

whom France dared not to demand the expulsion of the meanest refugee. He came to England, and took up his abode in London.

In London he remained for about two years (1838 to 1840); but his thoughts never turned from France, and in August, 1840, he made a second attempt to raise an insurrection there. This was even more unsuccessful than the attempt at Strasbourg. He hired a steamer, the *City of Edinburgh*, and sailed from Margate with Count Montholon, General Voison, and fifty-three other persons. At half-past six in the morning they marched into Boulogne, and at eight o'clock, the party were either killed or imprisoned; the attempt failed most completely.

Louis Napoleon was brought to trial on the 28th of September, 1840. In his defence he made a speech of consummate boldness. He denied nothing, was sorry for nothing; and founded his defence on this, that he was merely attempting to regain his rights. It was then that he spoke the memorable words:—

“I represent before you a principle, a cause, and a defeat. The principle is the sovereignty of the people; the cause is that of the Empire; the defeat is that of Waterloo. The principle—you have recognised it; the cause—you have served in it; the defeat—you would revenge it.”

M. Berryer also made a speech in his defence, and took the bold course of appealing to the judges whether, in the event of the enterprise having been successful, they would have denied and rejected him, and refused all share in his power.

Louis Napoleon was found guilty, and sentenced to imprisonment for life in the gloomy fortress of Ham. This fortress, situated about thirty miles to the south-east of Amiens, had been used as a state prison from the time of Louis XI. Polignac, and other ministers of Charles X. had been confined in it for six years, after the revolution of 1830. The little town near which it is built contains a population of only about



1500, and the plain on which it stands is an unhealthy marsh, through which flows the river Somme. In this fortress Louis was confined for six years. He employed himself in various pursuits; in cultivating a small garden within the walls of the fortress; in complaining against the prison rules; writing letters to his friends, and composing works on the cultivation of sugar, the extinction of pauperism, and some historical productions, one of which he called "Reflections on the History of England."

In 1845, the ex-King of Holland, feeling his end drawing near, expressed a desire to see his son. Application was accordingly made by Louis Napoleon for permission to leave the fortress of Ham for that purpose, but the permission could only be granted on conditions with which he would not comply. His thoughts now turned towards attempting his escape, which he succeeded in effecting on Monday, the 25th of May, 1846. The following is his own account of the mode in which the escape was effected. It is contained in a letter to M. de George:—

"MY DEAR M. DE GEORGE,—

"My desire to see my father once more in this world made me attempt the boldest enterprise I ever engaged in. It required more resolution and courage on my part than at Strasbourg and Boulogne, for I was determined not to submit to the ridicule that attaches to those who are arrested escaping under a disguise, and a failure I could not have endured. The following are the particulars of my escape:—

"You know that the fort was guarded by four hundred men, who furnished daily sixty soldiers, placed as sentries outside the walls. Moreover, the principal gate of the prison was guarded by three gaolers, two of whom were constantly on duty. It was necessary that I should first elude their vigilance, afterwards traverse the inside court, before the windows of the commandant's residence; and arriving

there, I should be obliged to pass by a gate which was guarded by soldiers.

“Not wishing to communicate my design to any one, it was necessary to disguise myself. As several rooms in the part of the building I occupied were undergoing repairs, it was not difficult to assume the dress of a workman. My good and faithful valet, Charles Thelin, procured a smock-frock and a pair of *sabots* (wooden shoes), and after shaving off my moustaches, I took a plank on my shoulders.

“On Monday morning I saw the workmen enter, at half-past eight o'clock. Charles took them some drink, in order that I should not meet any of them on my passage. He was also to call one of the *gardiens* (turnkeys), whilst Dr. Conneau conversed with the others. Nevertheless, I had scarcely got out of my room before I was accosted by a workman, who took me for one of his comrades, and, at the bottom of the stairs I found myself in front of the keeper. Fortunately, I placed the plank I was carrying before my face, and succeeded in reaching the yard. Whenever I passed a sentinel, or any other person, I always kept the plank before my face.

“Passing before the first sentinel, I let my pipe fall, and stopped to pick up the bits. There I met the officer on duty, but, as he was reading a letter, he did not pay attention to me. The soldiers at the guard-house appeared surprised at my dress, and a drummer turned round several times to look at me. I next met some workmen, who looked very attentively at me. I placed the plank before my face, but they appeared to be so curious, that I thought I should never escape them, until I heard them cry, ‘Oh! it is Bernard!’

“Once outside, I walked quickly towards the road of St. Quentin. Charles, who, the day before, had engaged a carriage, shortly overtook me, and we arrived at St. Quentin. I passed through the town on foot, after having thrown off my smock-frock.

Charles procured a post-chaise, under pretext of going to Cambrai. We arrived, without meeting with any obstacles, at Valenciennes, where I took the railway. I had procured a Belgian passport, but nowhere was I asked to show it.

“During my escape, Dr. Conneau, always so devoted to me, remained in prison, and caused them to believe I was ill, in order to give me time to reach the frontier. It was necessary to be convinced that the government would never set me at liberty before I could be persuaded to quit France, if I would not consent to dishonour myself. It was also a matter of duty that I should exert all my powers to be able to console my father in his old age.

“Adieu, my dear M. de George; although free, I feel myself to be most unhappy. Receive the assurance of my sincere friendship, and if you are able, endeavour to be useful to my kind Conneau.

“NAPOLEON LOUIS.”

The Dr. Conneau here alluded to had been a prisoner in Ham for five years, and though the term of his imprisonment had expired, he still remained voluntarily immured within the walls of the fortress. After Louis had effected his escape, the doctor, through his position as a medical man, prevented a knowledge of his absence from being divulged for a considerable time. He said that Louis was ill; that he had taken medicine; that he had gone to bed; that he was asleep. The commandant became uneasy, and at last insisted on seeing his prisoner. The doctor could not prevaricate any longer, and the commandant was ushered into the bed-room. Instead of Louis Napoleon, he found in the bed a mere stuffed figure. He immediately turned towards Conneau, and said, “The prince is gone, at what hour?” to which the doctor, with the utmost composure, replied, “At seven in the morning.” Louis had thus a clear start of twelve hours, and he used it so well,

that he was soon in London ; and on Monday, the 1st of June, the first Monday after his escape, he was at St. James's Theatre to witness the French plays. For the third time England had afforded him an asylum.

The persons implicated in his escape were not severely punished. Conneau was sentenced to three *months'* imprisonment, while against the absent valet of Louis, six months' imprisonment was recorded, and the commandant of the fortress was acquitted. This leniency caused it to be generally supposed that the French government, if they did not connive at the escape, were certainly not displeased that it had taken place.

Till the events of 1848 opened up to him a great career, Louis continued to reside in London. But when the revolution of 1848 sent Louis Philippe and his family as exiles to England, the hopes of Louis Napoleon revived. He proceeded to Paris; but as his presence was not desired by the Provisional Government, he returned to London to wait the course of events. It was not likely he would allow his name to be forgotten, and he laboured hard by addresses, &c., to get up a feeling in France in his favour. And he was successful. When the Assembly passed the decree prohibiting him from entering France, he wrote to the President expressing his intention of "remaining in exile;" but, elected to the same Assembly by several of the departments, he expressed his intention of accepting the office, and discharging its duties. On 15th June, 1848, however, he altered his views, and wrote to the President of the Assembly, tendering his resignation, "not without regret." Again, when he heard, soon afterwards, that he had been elected for Corsica, he wrote to the President, declining that honour also, because "I wish," he said, "that those who charge me with ambition should be convinced of their error." When the new French constitution had been adopted, and new elections were rendered neces-



sary, he declared, in emphatic terms, that if elected, he would accept the office. He was elected for five departments, but he decided to sit for Paris. On 26th September, he made his first appearance in the Assembly, and delivered a written speech, in the course of which he said:—

“Admit me in your ranks, dear colleagues, with the sentiment of affectionate sympathy which animates me. My conduct you may be certain shall ever be guided by a respectful devotion to the law. It will prove, to the confusion of those who have attempted to slander me, that no man is more devoted than I am, I repeat, to the defence of order and the consolidation of the Republic.”

When, however, the question as to the election of President came to be discussed, it was proposed that no member of any family that had reigned over France should be eligible as a candidate. This would of necessity have excluded Louis Napoleon, but he expressed so much devotion to the Republic, and said that “he was too grateful to the nation for restoring to him his rights as a citizen to have any other ambition,” that jealousy was disarmed, and the motion was withdrawn; though one member of the Assembly boldly declared that “Louis Napoleon was not a candidate for the Presidency, but for the imperial dignity.” In addresses which he afterwards made and issued, he used the following phrases:—

“How little do those who charge me with ambition know of my heart! If a sense of imperative duty did not retain me here—if the sympathy of my fellow-citizens did not console me for the animosity of the attacks of some, and even for the impetuosity of the defence of others, I should long have wished myself back in exile.”

“I am not an ambitious man, who dreams at one time of the Empire and of war; at another of the adoption of subversive theories. Educated in free

countries, and in the school of misfortune, I shall always remain faithful to the duties which your suffrages, and the will of the Assembly, may impose upon me."

"I pledge my honour to leave to my successor, at the end of four years, the executive powers strengthened, liberty intact, and a real progress accomplished."

In one address he pledged himself "to protect the liberty of the press from the two excesses which endanger it at present—that of arbitrary authority, on the one hand, and of its own licentiousness on the other."

On such pretences as these he was elected President of the French Republic, receiving 5,434,226 votes out of 7,349,000. On 20th November, 1848, he was proclaimed "President of the French Republic from this day until the second Sunday of May, 1852." Louis Napoleon then took the following oath:—

"In presence of God, and before the French people, represented by the National Assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the Democratic Republic, one and indivisible, and to fulfil all the duties which the Constitution imposes on me."

How he kept that oath, and how he fulfilled his pledges, will best be learned from the state of France on the "second Sunday of May, 1852." Then he ought to have handed over to his successor the "executive powers strengthened, liberty intact, and a real progress accomplished." But he had no successor; he had scattered by military force that Assembly with which he declared he would act in harmony; he had made France a country in which less freedom was enjoyed than even in the east of Europe; the "real progress accomplished" had been in the art of shooting down the citizens of Paris, and driving into exile all the talent, and genius, and goodness that France contained. The constitution which he swore to observe he had utterly abolished; the republic to which

he had sworn to be faithful, he had betrayed. He had abolished the liberty of the press; had confiscated against all law the property of the Orleans family, and he was ruling France entirely by the power of the army. In one word, he had been false, treacherous, and deceitful.

## CHAPTER V.

### FAMILY OF JEROME BUONAPARTE—THE SISTERS OF NAPOLEON AND THE BEAUHARNOIS FAMILY.

AFTER the battle of Waterloo, Napoleon intrusted to Jerome the task of collecting the scattered remnants of the French army; and when the Emperor was sent to St. Helena, he retired to the court of his father-in-law, the Duke of Wirtemberg. Jerome had been obliged to divorce the American lady, Miss Paterson, whom he had married in the United States, and take to wife a daughter of the Duke of Wirtemberg. By his first wife he had one son, who went back with his mother to America; by his second wife he had three children, Napoleon Jerome, Charles Frederick, and Mathilde. The first died in 1846; the second was elected to sit in the National Assembly of 1848; and the third married a Russian nobleman, Count Demidoff; and as Louis Napoleon was unmarried, the Countess, on his accession to the office of President, "did the honours" of his court.

The Duke of Wirtemberg, not willing to continue his alliance with the fallen family of Buonaparte, commanded his daughter to divorce herself from Jerome. But she refused, and stated her reasons in a letter, which has been published. She said—"Your Majesty wished me to meet you this morning in your apartment. For the first time in my life I have refused the honour of being in your presence. I know the subject of the interview, and as I could not sustain it,



I prefer to address you in writing. \* \* \* My thoughts have accompanied my husband in war; my care protected him during a long and painful journey, when his life was often menaced; my arms have embraced him in his adversity with more tenderness even than in his prosperity. \* \* \* Marriage and nature impose duties that cannot be changed by the change of fortune; though no longer a queen, I am a wife and a mother; with my husband I have shared a throne, and with him I am prepared to partake of exile and misfortune; violence only will tear me from his side." The Duke was moved, and did not press his request.

The family of Jerome then went to Switzerland, where they resided till the death of the noble Catherine, which took place at Lausanne, on the 29th Nov. 1835. The two sons entered the army of their grandfather, one as colonel, the other as captain. Jerome himself removed to Florence, with his daughter Mathilde. In 1841, Mathilde became Countess of Demidoff, and in 1848, when the revolution broke out, Jerome, who was now the only surviving brother of Napoleon, went to Paris, where he was made a marshal of France, and at present holds high office in his nephew's administration. He is also governor of the Hôtel des Invalides, to which office he was appointed on the death of Marshal Oudinot. One of his first acts on returning to Paris was to attend a grand funeral service, celebrated in the church of the Invalides, on 5th May, 1848, the anniversary of the death of Napoleon. There were also present at the sad reunion, his two children, Napoleon Buonaparte, deputy for Corsica, and Princess Mathilde Demidoff; Joachim Murat, deputy to the National Assembly; and Pierre Bonaparte, son of Lucien, and deputy for Corsica.

Eliza, the eldest sister of Napoleon, who had married Bacchiochi, and been invested with the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, was at Trieste when the Emperor

fell. She had two children, Eliza and Jerome; the former was married to an Italian nobleman, Count Camarata, and the latter was killed by falling from his horse. Eliza, after the abdication at Fontainebleau, had sought an asylum at Bologna, but not finding herself secure there, she sought refuge at Naples; but Murat, who was then in alliance with the Austrians, refused to receive her. She then went to Trieste, where, under the name of the Countess de Compiagna, she died, 7th August, 1820.

The beautiful Pauline, widow of Leclerc, and wife of the Prince Borghese, after in vain asking permission to share the exile of Napoleon, retired to Rome. She afterwards rejoined her husband at Florence, and died there, childless, on the 9th of June, 1825, at the age of forty-five.

Caroline, the widow of the gallant but reckless Murat, was after her husband's death taken prisoner, with her four children, by the Austrians, and conveyed to the castle of Frandsdorf. She was removed from thence to Hambourg, near Vienna, and she afterwards took up her abode in Trieste, where she was joined by her sister Eliza. In 1836, she removed to Paris, where she received a pension from Louis Philippe; but she did not reside long there. The great rallying point of the Buonapartes seems to have been Florence, and thither Caroline repaired, and died on 18th May, 1839. Her eldest son, Napoleon Achille, was for some time a colonel in the Belgian army, but his presence there being displeasing to the French government, he was removed, and following the footsteps of many of his family, proceeded to the United States, where he practised as a lawyer; and after publishing a "Sketch of the United States," and paying a visit to Europe, he died, on the 15th of April, 1847, at Jefferson County, in the State of Florida. His brother, Napoleon Lucien, born in 1803, also pushed his fortune in America, devoted himself to the profession of the law, and

married an American lady. The events of 1848 brought him back to Europe, and he sat in the Assemblies of the Republic as a representative of the people. Caroline's two daughters, Letitia and Louise, married Italian counts.

Cardinal Fesch, the half brother of Napoleon's mother, continued to reside at Rome until his death, which took place on the 13th of May, 1839, when he was seventy-six years of age.

It only remains for us to trace the history of Eugene Beauharnois and his family. Though not of dazzling talents, or of great power, yet Eugene distinguished himself both in the council and the field; and his children have been more fortunate than any members of the Buonaparte family. After the abdication of Napoleon, he lost his Italian possessions, and retired to Munich, to the court of his good and kind-hearted father-in-law, the King of Bavaria. From his retirement he was summoned to Malmaison, to attend the death-bed of his mother, the brilliant and fascinating Josephine. He took no part in the events of the hundred days, and indeed he retired altogether from public life, occupying himself in embellishing his large properties. The titles of Prince of Bavaria and Duke of Leuchtenberg were conferred on him by his father-in-law. He died of an attack of apoplexy on 26th February, 1824, at the age of forty-three. He left two sons and three daughters. One son, August, was married to the Queen of Portugal, on 26th January, 1835, but died on 28th March of the same year; the other son, Maximilian, married, on 14th July, 1839, the Grand Duchess Maria, daughter of Nicholas, Emperor of Russia. His daughter, Josephine, married Oscar, the present King of Sweden, and son of Bernadotte; another daughter, Auguste, married Don Pedro, the first Emperor of Brazil, and a third, Eugenie, married the Duke of Hohenzollern.





## APPENDIX.

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No. I.

### THE SUPPER OF BEAUCAIRE.

I WAS at Beaucaire, on the last day of the fair, and happened to have for company at supper two merchants of Marseilles, an inhabitant of Nîmes, and a manufacturer of Montpellier. In the space of a few minutes, which were passed in becoming acquainted, they learned that I came from Avignon, and that I was an officer. The attention of my company, which had all the week before been fixed on the course of trade, which increases wealth, was at that moment turned to the issue of the present contest, upon which depends its preservation. They wished to know my opinion, in order that, by comparing it with their own, they might be the better enabled to form probable conjectures respecting the future, which affected us in different ways. The Marseillais, in particular, appeared to be less petulant; the evacuation of Avignon had taught them to doubt of everything, and they manifested great solicitude about their future fate. Confidence soon made us communicative, and we began a conversation nearly in the following terms:—

#### THE NIMOIS.

“Is Cartaux’s army strong? It is said to have sustained a heavy loss in the attack; but if it be true that it has been repulsed, why have the Marseillais evacuated Avignon?”

#### THE OFFICER.

“The army was four thousand strong when it attacked Avignon, and is now six thousand, and in four days more it will be ten thousand: it lost five killed and four wounded; it was not repulsed, since it made no regular attack; it hovered about the place, it strove to force the gates by

attaching petards to them ; it fired a few cannon-shot to try the temper of the garrison; it afterwards retired into its camp to combine its attack for the following night. The Marseillais were three thousand six hundred strong; they had a heavier and more numerous artillery, and yet they were obliged to retreat across the Durance. You are much astonished at this, but the fact is that none but veteran troops can contend with the vicissitudes of a siege; we were masters of the Rhone, of Villeneuve, and of the country; we should have interrupted all their communications. They were obliged to evacuate the town; the cavalry pursued them in their retreat; they lost a great many prisoners, and two pieces of cannon."

#### THE MARSEILLAIS.

" We have received a different account: I will not dispute yours, since you were present, but you must own that all that will lead to nothing; our army is at Aix; three good generals will come in place of the former ones; they are raising fresh battalions at Marseilles; we have a fresh train of artillery, including several twenty-four pounders; in a few days we shall be in a posture to retake Avignon, or at least we shall remain masters of the Durance."

#### THE OFFICER.

" All this has been told you in order to lead you to the brink of the abyss, which is deepening every moment, and which will perhaps engulf the finest city in France, that which has deserved the most of the patriots. But you were also told that you should traverse France, that you should sway the Republic, and yet your very first steps have been checked; you were told that Avignon could resist for a long time a force of 20,000 men, and yet a single column of the army, without a battering-train, got possession of it in twenty-four hours; you were told that the South had risen, and yet you found yourselves alone; you were told that the cavalry of Nîmes was about to crush the Allobroges, and yet the latter were at Saint-Esprit and at Villeneuve; you were told that 4000 Lyonnais were marching to your aid, and yet the Lyonnais were negotiating an accommodation for themselves. Acknowledge, then, that you are deceived; see the incompetence of your directors, and distrust their

calculations; self-love is the most dangerous of counsellors. You are naturally impetuous; they are leading you to your destruction by the same means which has ruined so many nations, by inflaming your vanity. You have considerable wealth and population, and their amount is exaggerated to you; you have rendered signal services to liberty, and you are reminded of them, without at the same time pointing out to you that the genius of the Republic was with you then, whereas it has now abandoned you. Your army, say you, is at Aix, with a large train of artillery and good generals; well, do what it may, I assure you that it will be beaten. You had 3600 men, of which a full half is dispersed; Marseilles, and a few refugees from the department, may furnish you 4000 men at the most; you will then have 5000 or 6000 men, without unity, without order, without discipline. You say you have good generals; as I do not know them, I cannot dispute their ability, but they will be entirely occupied in the details; their exertions will not be seconded by the subalterns; they cannot do anything to maintain the reputation which they may have acquired, for it would take two months to organize their army tolerably, and in four days Cartaux will have passed the Durance; and with what soldiers? With the excellent light troops of the Allobroges, the old regiment of Burgundy, a good regiment of cavalry, the brave battalion of the Côte d'Or, which has been victorious in a hundred combats, and six or seven other veteran corps, encouraged by their successes on the frontiers and against your army. You have eighteen and twenty-four-pounders, and you think yourselves impregnable; therein you follow the vulgar notion; but professional men will tell you, and fatal experience will shortly demonstrate to you, that good four and eight-pounders are as effective in the field, and are preferable on many accounts to pieces of heavy calibre. You have cannoniers newly raised, and your adversaries have gunners from the regiments of the line, the best masters of their art in Europe. What will your army do if it concentrates itself at Aix? It is lost. It is an axiom in the military art, that the army which remains in its entrenchments is beaten; theory and experience entirely agree on this point; and the walls of Aix are not equal to the worst field-entrenchment, especially if we consider

their extent, and the houses which surround them exteriorly, within pistol-shot. Be assured, then, that this course, which seems to you the best, is the worst; besides, how can you supply the town in so short a time with every kind of provision which it wants? Will your army go and meet the enemy? It is less numerous, its artillery is less adapted to the field, it would be broken and defeated without resource, for the cavalry would prevent it from rallying. Expect, then, to have the war carried into the territory of Marseilles; there a very numerous party is for the Republic, and that will be the moment for it to declare itself; the junction will be made, and that city, the centre of the commerce of the Levant, the emporium of the south of Europe, is ruined. Remember the recent example of Lisle,\* and the barbarous laws of war. What infatuation has all at once possessed your people? what fatal blindness is leading them to their destruction? How can they think of resisting the entire Republic? Supposing they could oblige its army to fall back upon Avignon, can they doubt that in a few days fresh combatants would come to supply the places of the former? Will the Republic, which gives the law to Europe, receive it from Marseilles?

“United with Bordeaux, Lyon, Montpellier, Nîmes, Grenoble, the Jura, the Eure, the Calvados, you undertook a revolution, and you had some probability of success; your instigators might be ill-intentioned, but you had an imposing mass of strength. But now that Lyon, Nîmes, Montpellier, Bordeaux, the Jura, the Eure, Grenoble, Caen, have received the Constitution; now that Avignon, Tarascon, Arles, have submitted, confess that there is madness in your obstinacy. It is because you are influenced by persons who, having nothing more to lose, would involve you in their ruin.

“Your army will be composed of all the wealthiest portion of your city, for the *sansculottes* might very easily turn against you. You are going, then, to risk the flower of your young men, accustomed to hold the commercial balance of the Mediterranean, and to enrich you by their economy and their speculations, against veteran soldiers

\* Lisle, a small town of the department of Vaucluse, four leagues east of Avignon, having resisted the army of Cartaux, was taken by assault on the 26th of July, 1793.



who have so often bathed their hands in the blood of the furious aristocrat, the ferocious Prussian.

“Let poor countries fight to the last extremity; the inhabitant of the Vivarais, of the Cévennes, or of Corsica, exposes himself without fear to the issue of a combat; if he is victorious, he gains his object—if he is beaten, he finds himself as before, at liberty to make peace, and in the same position. But you—lose a battle, and the fruits of a thousand years of industry, economy, and prosperity become the prey of the soldier. Such, however, are the risks which you are induced so inconsiderately to run.”

THE MARSEILLAIS.

“You get on fast, and you alarm me. I agree with you that the circumstances are critical; perhaps it is true that the position in which we at present stand is not sufficiently considered; but you must acknowledge that we still have immense resources to oppose to you.

“You have persuaded me that we cannot resist at Aix; your observation respecting the want of provisions for a siege of long duration is perhaps unanswerable; but do you think that all Provence can long witness calmly the investment of Aix? It will rise spontaneously; and your army, hemmed in on every side, will be fortunate if it can repass the Durance.”

THE OFFICER.

“How little knowledge this displays of the spirit of men and that of the time! Everywhere there are two parties; the moment you are besieged, the Sectionary party will be put down in all the country places. The example of Tarascon, of Orgon, of Arles, should convince you of this; where twenty dragoons have sufficed to re-establish the old authorities, and put the others to the rout.

“Henceforward any great movement in your favour is impossible in your department; it might have taken place when the army was beyond the Durance, and you were unbroken. At Toulon men’s minds are much divided; and the Sectionaries have not the same superiority there as at Marseilles, so that they must remain in the town to repress their adversaries. As for the department of the Lower Alps, you know that nearly the whole of it has accepted the Constitution.”

## THE MARSEILLAIS.

“ We will attack Cartaux in our mountains, where his cavalry will be of no use to him.”

## THE OFFICER.

“ As if an army protecting a town could choose the point of attack. Besides, it is not true that there are any mountains near Marseilles sufficiently impracticable to render cavalry ineffective; your olive-grounds, indeed, are sufficiently steep to render the management of artillery more difficult, and thereby give your enemies a great advantage; for it is on broken ground that, by the celerity of his movements, the exactness in serving his guns, and the accuracy of his elevations, the expert cannonier has the greatest superiority.”

## THE MARSEILLAIS.

“ You think, then, that we are without resources. Can it possibly be the fate of that city which resisted the Romans, and preserved a part of its laws under the despots who succeeded them, to become the prey of a few brigands? What! shall the Allobroges, laden with the spoils of Lisle, give law to Marseilles? What! shall Dubois de Crancé and Albitte reign uncontrolled? shall those blood-thirsty men, in whose hands the calamities of the time have placed the guidance of affairs, be absolute masters? What a melancholy prospect you present to me; our property, under different pretexts, would be invaded; we should continually be made the victims of a soldiery whom plunder unites under the same banners; our best citizens would be imprisoned and would perish by violence. The Club would again lift its monstrous head to execute its infernal projects! Nothing can be worse than this horrible idea; it is better to leave ourselves a chance of victory, than to become victims without any alternative.”

## THE OFFICER.

“ Such is civil war; men go on in mutual defamation, abhorrence, and slaughter, without knowing one another. The Allobroges—what do you think they are? Africans? inhabitants of Siberia? Not at all; they are your fellow-countrymen, Provençaux, Dauphinois, Savoyards. You

think them barbarous because their name is strange. If your phalanx were called the Phocæan phalanx, people would give credit to every species of fable respecting it.

“It is true that you have reminded me of one fact, the case of Lisle. I do not justify it, but I will explain it. The people of Lisle killed the trumpeter who was sent to them; they resisted without hope of success; their town was taken by assault; the soldiers entered it amidst fire and slaughter; it was not possible to restrain them; and indignation did the rest.

“Those soldiers whom you call brigands are our best troops and most disciplined battalions; their reputation is above calumny.

“Dubois-Crancé and Albitte, constant friends of the people, have never deviated from the straight line; they are villains in the eyes of the bad. But Condorcet, Brissot, Barbaroux, were also villains while they were consistent; it will always be the lot of the good to be spoken ill of by the bad. You think they show you no mercy, and yet they are treating you like wayward children. Do you think that if they had chosen to detain it, the Marseillais could have withdrawn the merchandize which they had at Beaucaire; they could have sequestered it until the issue of the war; they did not wish to do so, and you owe it to them that you can return quietly to your homes.

“You call Cartaux an assassin; but know that that General takes the greatest care to preserve order and discipline; witness his conduct at Saint-Esprit and at Avignon, where not a pin's worth was taken. He imprisoned a serjeant who ventured to seize the person of a Marseillais of your army, who had remained in one of the houses, because he had violated the asylum of a citizen without an express order. Some people of Avignon were punished for pointing out a house as aristocratical. One soldier is under prosecution on a charge of theft. Your army, on the contrary, has killed, assassinated more than thirty persons, has violated the retreats of families, and filled the prisons with citizens on the vague pretext that they were robbers.

“Do not be afraid of the army; it esteems Marseilles, because it knows that no town has made so many sacrifices

to the commonweal; you have eighteen thousand men on the frontier; you have not spared yourselves on any occasion. Throw off the yoke of the few aristocrats who govern you, return to sounder principles, and you will have no truer friend than the soldier."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"Ah! you soldiers have greatly degenerated from the army of 1789; that army would not take up arms against the nation; yours should imitate so noble an example, and not turn their arms against their fellow-citizens."

THE OFFICER.

"Had those principles been followed, La Vendée would ere now have planted the white flag on the walls of the re-erected Bastile; and the camp of Jalès would have been ruling at Marseilles."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"La Vendée desires a king, a counter-revolution; the war of La Vendée, of the camp of Jalès, is that of fanaticism; ours, on the contrary, is that of true republicanism, friends of the laws and of order, enemies of anarchy and of bad men. Have we not the tri-coloured flag? And what interest should we have in wishing to be slaves?"

THE OFFICER

"I am well aware that the people at Marseilles differ widely from those of La Vendée with respect to a counter-revolution. The appetite of the people of La Vendée is strong and healthy; that of the people of Marseilles weak and sickly; the pill must be sugared in order to make them swallow it; to establish the new doctrine among them they must be deceived, but in the course of four years of revolution, in such a number of stratagems, plots, and conspiracies, all the perversity of human nature has been developed under different aspects, and men have perfected their natural subtlety; so true is this, that in spite of the departmental coalition, in spite of the ability of the leaders, and the numerous resources of all the enemies of the Revolution, the people everywhere awoke at the moment they were thought to be spell-bound.

"You say you have the tri-coloured flag; Paoli also



hoisted it in Corsica to have time to deceive the people, to crush the true friends of liberty, to lead his fellow-countrymen to concur in his ambitious and criminal projects ; he hoisted the tri-coloured flag, and yet he fired upon the vessels of the Republic, and he drove our troops from the fortresses, and he disarmed those which remained there, and he assembled forces to expel those which were in the island, and he plundered the magazines, selling at a low price all their contents to get money to carry on his revolt, and he ravaged and confiscated the property of the wealthiest families because they were attached to the unity of the Republic, and he got himself appointed generalissimo, and he declared all those who should remain in our army enemies to their country ; he had previously caused the failure of the Sardinian expedition, and yet he had the shamelessness to call himself the friend of France, and a good Republican, and yet he deceived the Convention, which passed its decree of deprivation ; in short, he acted in such a manner, that when at length he was unmasked by his own letters found at Calvi, it was too late, the enemy's fleets already intercepted all our communications.

“ We must no longer rely upon words ; we must examine actions ; and you must acknowledge that in estimating yours, it is easy to show that you are counter-revolutionists. What effect has the movement which you have made produced on the Republic ? You have brought it to the brink of ruin ; you have retarded the operations of our armies. I know not whether you are paid by the Spaniard and the Austrian, but certainly they could not desire more powerful diversions. What more could you do if you were so paid ? Your success has been an object of solicitude to all the known aristocrats ; you have placed declared aristocrats at the head of your sections and of your armies, as one Latourette, formerly a colonel, one Soumise, formerly a lieutenant-colonel of engineers, who abandoned their corps at the breaking out of the war, that they might not fight for the liberty of nations ; your battalions are full of such men, and your cause would not be theirs if it were that of the Republic.”

#### THE MARSEILLAIS.

“ But Brissot, Barbaroux, Condorcet, Buzot, Vergniaux, are they too aristocrats ? Who founded the Republic ?

who overthrew the tyrant? who supported their country at the perilous period of the last campaign?"

THE OFFICER.


"I will not examine whether those men who had deserved well of the nation on many occasions did really conspire against it; it is sufficient for me to know that the Mountain, through public or through party spirit, having proceeded to the last extremities against them, having denounced, imprisoned, and if you will have it so, calumniated them, the Brissotins were lost, unless a civil war should enable them to give the law to their enemies. It was, then, to them that your war was really useful; had they merited their former reputation, they would have laid down their arms on beholding the Constitution, they would have sacrificed their interests to the public good; but it is easier to cite the example of Decius than to imitate him; they have now become guilty of the greatest of all crimes—they have by their conduct justified their denouncement; the blood which they have caused to flow has effaced the real services they had rendered."

THE MANUFACTURER OF MONTPELLIER.

"You have considered the question in the point of view most favourable to those gentlemen; for it seems to be proved that the Brissotins were really guilty; but guilty or not, the days are gone by when men fought for personal interests. England shed torrents of blood for the families of York and Lancaster; France, for those of Lorraine and Bourbon; but do *we* live in those times of barbarism?"

THE NIMOIS.

"So we abandoned the Marseillais as soon as we perceived that they wished for the counter-revolution, and that they fought in private quarrels. The mask fell when they refused to publish the Constitution, and we then pardoned some irregularities in the Mountain. We forgot Rabaud and his Jeremiads in contemplating the infant Republic, surrounded by the most monstrous of coalitions, threatening to stifle it in its cradle—in contemplating the joy of the aristocrats and the armed hostility of Europe."



## THE MARSEILLAIS.

“You meanly abandoned us, after inciting us by ephemeral deputations.”

## THE NIMOIS.

“We were sincere, but you were double-dealing: we desired the Republic; we could not but accept a Republican Constitution. You were dissatisfied with the Mountain, and with the 31st of May; you then should also have accepted the Constitution in order to get rid of it, and terminate its mission.”

## THE MARSEILLAIS.

“We too wish for the Republic, but we wish our Constitution to be formed by representatives free in their operations; we wish for liberty, but we wish to receive it from representatives whom we esteem, we do not wish that our Constitution should protect plunder and anarchy. Our first condition is, that there shall be no clubs, none of those frequent primary assemblies, that property shall be respected.”

## THE MANUFACTURER OF MONTPELLIER.

“It is clear to every reflecting person, that a part of Marseilles is for the counter-revolution: they profess to wish for the Republic, but this is only a curtain which they would every day render more transparent, until they accustomed you to contemplate the counter-revolution undisguised; the veil which covers it is already but a flimsy one: your people are well disposed, but in time the mass of them would be perverted, but for the genius of the Revolution which watches over them.

“Our troops have deserved well of their country for having taken up arms against you with so much energy; it was not their duty to imitate the army of 1789, since you are not the nation. The centre of unity is the Convention; that is the true sovereign, especially when the people are divided.

“You have overturned every law, every decent form. By what right did you cashier your Department? Had it been formed at Marseilles? By what right does the battalion of your town traverse the districts? By what

right did your National Guards pretend to enter Avignon? The district of that town was the first constituted body since the Department was dissolved. By what right did you presume to enter the territory of the Drôme? and why do you suppose that Department has no right to call upon the public force to defend it? You have, then, confounded all rights; you have established anarchy; and since you pretend to justify your operations by the right of force, you are brigands, anarchists.

“You have set up a popular government, appointed by Marseilles alone; it is contrary to every law; it cannot be other than a tribunal of blood, since it is the tribunal of a faction; you have by force subjected to that tribunal the whole of your Department. And by what right? You do, then, usurp that authority with which you unjustly reproach Paris. Your Committee of the Sections has recognised affiliations. Here, then, is a coalition similar to that of the clubs against which you exclaim; your Committee has exercised acts of administration over certain communes of the Var; this is a breach of the territorial division.

“At Avignon you have imprisoned without mandate, decree, or requisition from the administrative bodies; you have violated the retreats of families, infringed the liberty of individuals; you have in the public places murdered in cold blood; you have revived with aggravated horror the scenes which afflicted the early days of the Revolution; without examination, without trial, without other knowledge of the victims than from the designation of their enemies, you have seized them, torn them from their children, dragged them through the streets, and sabred them to death: you have sacrificed in this manner as many as thirty; you have dragged the statue of Liberty through the mire; you have made a public execution of it, and have subjected it to every kind of insult from licentious youths; you have mangled it with swords; you cannot deny it; it was noon-day; more than two hundred of your party were present at this criminal profanation; the procession passed through several streets to the Place de l’Horloge, &c. &c. I must interrupt my reflections and my indignation. And is it thus that you wish for the Republic? You have retarded the march of our armies,



by stopping the convoys. How can we resist the evidence of so many facts? or how call you other than the enemies of your country?"

THE OFFICER.

"There is the clearest evidence that the Marsellais have hindered the operations of our armies, and sought the destruction of liberty; but the question before us now is, whether they have anything to hope, and what course remains for them to pursue."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"We have fewer resources than I thought; but there is great strength in being resolved to die; and we will rather do so than again receive the yoke of the men who governed the state; you know that a drowning man catches at every twig, and rather than suffer ourselves to be massacred, we will——. Yes, we have all taken part in this new Revolution, and we should all be sacrificed to revenge. Two months ago they had conspired to murder four thousand of our best citizens; judge, then, to what excesses they would proceed now. We have not forgotten that monster, who was nevertheless one of the heads of the club; he had a citizen hung on the lamp-post (*lanterne*), plundered his house, and violated his wife, after making her drink a glass of her husband's blood."

THE OFFICER.

"How horrid!—but is that story true? I doubt it, for you know that nobody believes in violation now-a-days."

THE MARSEILLAIS.

"Yes, rather than submit to such men we will go to the last extremity—we will give ourselves to the enemy; we will call in the Spaniards. There is no people whose character is less congenial with our own; there is no one more hateful to us. Judge, then, by the sacrifice which we make, of the wickedness of the men whom we fear."

THE OFFICER.

"Give yourselves to the Spaniards!—we will not give you time."

## THE MARSEILLAIS.

“They are seen every day before our ports.”

## THE NIMOIS.

“That threat alone is sufficient for me to decide which is for the Republic, the Mountain or the Federals. The Mountain was at one moment the weakest, and the commotion appeared general. Yet did it ever talk of calling in the enemy? Do you not know that the war between the patriots and the despots of Europe is a war unto death? If, then, you hope for assistance from the latter, your leaders must have good reasons to expect their favour. But I have still too good an opinion of your people, to believe that the majority of them would go with you in the execution of so base a project.”

## THE OFFICER.

“Do you think that you would thereby do a great injury to the Republic, and that your threat is really alarming? Let us weigh it. The Spaniards have no troops wherewith to effect a landing, and their vessels cannot enter your port. If you were to call in the Spaniards, it might be useful to those who govern you, in saving themselves and part of their property; but the indignation would be general throughout the Republic; in less than a week you would have sixty thousand men at your gates, the Spaniards would carry off from Marseilles whatever they could, and enough would still be left to enrich the conquerors.

“If the Spaniards had thirty or forty thousand men on board their fleet, all ready to disembark, your threat would be alarming; but as matters are, it is only ridiculous; it would only hasten your destruction.”

## THE MANUFACTURER OF MONTPELLIER.

“If you were capable of so base an act, not one stone ought to be left upon another in your superb city. In a month from this time, it should appear to the traveller passing over its ruins as if it had been destroyed for a century.”

## THE OFFICER.

“Marseillais, take my advice; throw off the yoke of the small number of bad men who would lead you to a counter-revolution, restore your constituted authorities; accept the Constitution; liberate the Representatives; let them go to Paris and intercede for you. You have been misled; it is not unusual for the people to be so by a few conspirators and intriguers; in all ages the pliancy and ignorance of the multitude have been the cause of most civil wars.”

## THE MARSEILLAIS.

“Ah! sir, who can do any good to Marseilles? Can the refugees who arrive on all sides from the Department? They are interested in acting with desperation. Can they who govern us? Are not they in the same situation? Can the people? One part of them does not know its position; it is rendered blind and fanatical: the other part is disarmed, suspected, humbled. With profound affliction, then, I contemplate irremediable calamities.”

## THE OFFICER.

“You are at last brought to reason: why should not a like revolution be effected in the minds of a great number of your fellow-citizens, who are deceived and sincere? Then Albitte, who cannot but wish to spare French blood, will send to you some honest and able man; an understanding will be come to, and without a moment's delay the army will be marched off to the neighbourhood of Perpignan, to humble the pride of the Spaniard, which a little success has elevated, and Marseilles will still be the centre of gravity to liberty, it will only be necessary to tear a few pages from its history.”

This happy prognostication put us all in good humour; the Marseillais very readily paid for a few bottles of champagne, which dissipated all our cares and anxieties. We went to bed at two in the morning, having agreed to meet again at breakfast, where the Marseillais had many more doubts to propose, and I had many interesting truths to acquaint him with.

July 29, 1793.

## APPENDIX II.

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### WILL OF NAPOLEON.

NAPOLEON.

*This 15th April, 1821, at Longwood, Island of St. Helena.  
This is my Testament, or Act of my last Will.*

1. I die in the Apostolical Roman religion, in the bosom of which I was born, more than fifty years since.

2. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I have loved so well.

3. I have always had reason to be pleased with my dearest wife, Marie-Louise. I retain for her, to my last moment, the most tender sentiments—I beseech her to watch, in order to preserve my son from the snares which yet environ his infancy.

4. I recommend to my son, never to forget that he was born a French prince, and never to allow himself to become an instrument in the hands of the triumvirs who oppress the nations of Europe: he ought never to fight against France, or injure her in any manner; he ought to adopt my motto—“*Everything for the French people.*”

5. I die prematurely, assassinated by the English oligarchy and its \* \* \*. The English nation will not be slow in avenging me.

6. The two unfortunate results of the invasions of France, when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treason of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and La Fayette.

I forgive them—may the posterity of France forgive them as I do!

7. I thank my good and most excellent mother, the Cardinal, my brothers Joseph, Lucien, Jerome, Pauline,



Caroline, Julie, Hortense, Catherine, Eugène, for the interest they have continued to feel for me. I pardon Louis for the libel he published in 1820: it is replete with false assertions and falsified documents.

8. I disavow the "*Manuscript of St. Helena*," and other works, under the title of *Maxims, Sayings, &c.*, which persons have been pleased to publish for the last six years. Such are not the rules which have guided my life. I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried, because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances, I should act in the same way.

II.—1. I bequeath to my son the boxes, orders, and other articles; such as my plate, field-bed, saddles, spurs, chapel-plate, books, linen, which I have been accustomed to wear and use; according to the list annexed (A). It is my wish that this slight bequest may be dear to him as coming from a father of whom the whole world will remind him.

2. I bequeath to Lady Holland the antique cameo which Pope Pius VI. gave me at Tolentino.

3. I bequeath to Count Montholon two millions of francs, as a proof of my satisfaction for the filial attentions he has paid me during six years, and as an indemnity for the losses his residence at St. Helena has occasioned him.

4. I bequeath to Count Bertrand five hundred thousand francs.

5. I bequeath to Marchand, my first valet-de-chambre, four hundred thousand francs. The services he has rendered me are those of a friend; it is my wish that he should marry the widow, sister, or daughter of an officer of my old guard.

6. Item. To St. Denis, one hundred thousand francs.

7. Item. To Novarre (Noverraz), one hundred thousand francs.

8. Item. To Pieron, one hundred thousand francs.

9. Item. To Archambaud, fifty thousand francs.

10. Item. To Cursot, twenty-five thousand francs.

11. Item. To Chandellier, twenty-five thousand francs.

12. To the Abbé Vignali, one hundred thousand francs.

It is my wish that he should build his house near the Ponte Novo di Rostino.

13. Item. To Count Las Cases, one hundred thousand francs.

14. Item. To Count Lavalette, one hundred thousand francs.

15. Item. To Larrey, surgeon-in-chief, one hundred thousand francs.—He is the most virtuous man I have known.

16. Item. To General Brayher, one hundred thousand francs.

17. Item. To General Le Fevre Desnouettes, one hundred thousand francs.

18. Item. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

19. Item. To General Cambrone, one hundred thousand francs.

20. Item. To the children of General Mouton Duvernet, one hundred thousand francs.

21. Item. To the children of the brave Labedoyère, one hundred thousand francs.

22. Item. To the children of General Girard, killed at Ligny, one hundred thousand francs.

23. Item. To the children of General Chartrand, one hundred thousand francs.

24. Item. To the children of the virtuous General Travot, one hundred thousand francs.

25. Item. To General Lallemand, the elder, one hundred thousand francs.

26. Item. To Count Réal, one hundred thousand francs.

27. Item. To Costa de Bastelica, in Corsica, one hundred thousand francs.

28. Item. To General Clausel, one hundred thousand francs.

29. Item. To Baron de Menneval, one hundred thousand francs.

30. Item. To Arnault, the author of "Marius," one hundred thousand francs.

31. Item. To Colonel Marbot, one hundred thousand francs.—I recommend him to continue to write in defence of the glory of the French armies, and to confound their calumniators and apostates.

32. Item. To Baron Bignon, one hundred thousand francs.—I recommend him to write the history of French diplomacy from 1792 to 1815.

33. Item. To Poggi di Talavo, one hundred thousand francs.

34. Item. To Surgeon Emmery, one hundred thousand francs.

35. These sums will be raised from the six millions which I deposited on leaving Paris in 1815 ; and from the interest at the rate of 5 per cent. since July, 1815. The account thereof will be settled with the banker by Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and by Marchand.

36. Whatever that deposit may produce beyond the sum of five million six hundred thousand francs, which have been above disposed of, shall be distributed as a gratuity amongst the wounded at the battle of Waterloo, and amongst the officers and soldiers of the battalion of the Isle of Elba, according to a scale to be determined upon by Montholon, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambrone, and the surgeon Larrey.

37. These legacies, in case of death, shall be paid to the widows and children ; and, in default of such, shall revert to the bulk of my property.

III.—1. My private domain being my property, of which I am not aware that any French law has deprived me, an account of it will be required from the Baron de la Bouillerie, the treasurer thereof : it ought to amount to more than two hundred millions of francs ; namely, 1. The portfolio, containing the savings which I made during fourteen years out of my civil list, which savings amounted to more than twelve millions per annum, if my memory be good. 2. The produce of this portfolio. 3. The furniture of my palaces, such as it was in 1814, including the palaces of Rome, Florence, and Turin. All this furniture was purchased with monies accruing from the civil list. 4. The proceeds of my houses in the kingdom of Italy, such as money, plate, jewels, furniture, equipages ; the accounts of which will be rendered by Prince Eugene and the steward of the crown, Campagnoni.

NAPOLEON.

(*Second Sheet.*)

2. I bequeath my private domain, one half to the surviving officers and soldiers of the French army who have fought since 1792 to 1815, for the glory and the independence of the nation; the distribution to be made in proportion to their appointments upon active service; and one-half to the towns and districts of Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Burgundy, the Isle of France, Champagne Forest, Dauphiné, which may have suffered by either of the invasions. There shall be previously set apart from this sum, one million for the town of Brienne, and one million for that of Méri. I appoint Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and Marchand, the executors of my will.

This present will, wholly written with my own hand, is signed and sealed with my own arms.

(L.S.)

NAPOLEON.

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LIST (A).

*Annexed to my Will.*

Longwood, Island of St. Helena,  
this 15th April, 1821.

I.—1. The consecrated vessels which have been in use at my chapel at Longwood.

2. I direct Abbé Vignali to preserve them, and to deliver them to my son when he shall reach the age of sixteen years.

II.—1. My arms; that is to say, my sword, that which I wore at Austerlitz, the sabre of Sobiesky, my dagger, my broadsword, my hanger, my two pair of Versailles pistols.

2. My gold dressing-case, that which I made use of on the morning of Ulm and of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Eylau, of Friedland, of the Island of Lobau, of the Moskwa, of Montmirail. In this point of view it is my wish that it may be precious in the eyes of my son. (It has been deposited with Count Bertrand since 1814.)

3. I charge Count Bertrand with the care of preserving these objects, and of conveying them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.



III.—1. Three small mahogany boxes, containing, the first, thirty-three snuff-boxes or comfit-boxes ; the second, twelve boxes with the imperial arms, two small eye-glasses, and four boxes found on the table of Louis XVIII. in the Tuileries, on the 20th of March, 1815 ; the third, three snuff-boxes, ornamented with silver medals habitually used by the Emperor ; and sundry articles for the use of the toilet, according to the list numbered I. II. III.

2. My field-beds, which I used in all my campaigns.

3. My field-telescope.

4. My dressing-case, one of each of my uniforms, a dozen of shirts, and a complete set of each of my dresses, and generally of everything used in my toilet.

5. My wash-hand-stand.

6. A small clock which is in my bed-chamber at Longwood.

7. My two watches, and the chain of the Empress's hair.

8. I entrust the care of these articles to Marchand, my principal valet-de-chambre, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

IV.—1. My cabinet of medals.

2. My plate, and my Sèvres china, which I used at St. Helena. (List B and C).

3. I request Count Montholon to take care of these articles, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

V.—1. My three saddles and bridles, my spurs which I used at St. Helena.

2. My fowling-pieces, to the number of five.

3. I charge my *chasseur*, Noverraz, with the care of these articles, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

VI.—1. Four hundred volumes, selected from those in my library which I have been accustomed to use the most.

2. I direct St. Denis to take care of them, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

NAPOLEON.

## LIST (A).

1. None of the articles which have been used by me shall be sold ; the residue shall be divided amongst the executors of my will and my brothers.

2. Marchand shall preserve my hair, and cause a bracelet to be made of it, with a little gold clasp, to be sent to the Empress Marie-Louise, to my mother, and to each of my brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, the Cardinal ; and one of larger size for my son.

3. Marchand will send one pair of my gold shoe-buckles to Prince Joseph.

4. A small pair of gold knee-buckles to Prince Lucien.

5. A gold collar-clasp to Prince Jerome.

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 LIST (A).

*Inventory of my Effects, which Marchand will take care of and convey to my son.*

1. My silver dressing-case, that which is on my table, furnished with all its utensils, razors, &c.

2. My alarum-clock : it is the alarum-clock of Frederick II. which I took at Potsdam (in box No. III.).

3. My two watches, with the chain of the Empress's hair, and a chain of my own hair for the other watch : Marchand will get it made at Paris.

4. My two seals (one the seal of France, contained in box No. III.).

5. The small gold clock which is now in my bed-chamber.

6. My wash-hand-stand and its water-jug.

7. My night-tables, those I used in France, and my silver-gilt bidet.

8. My two iron bedsteads, my mattresses, and my coverlets, if they can be preserved.

9. My three silver decanters, which held my eau-de-vie, and which my *chasseurs* carried in the field.

10. My French telescope.

11. My spurs, two pair.

12. Three mahogany boxes, Nos. I., II., III., containing my snuff-boxes and other articles.

13. A silver-gilt perfuming pan.

*Body Linen.*

Six shirts.

Six handkerchiefs.

Six cravats.

Six napkins.

Six pair of silk stockings.

Four black stocks.

Six pair of under-stockings.

Two pair of cambric sheets.

Two pillow-cases.

Two dressing-gowns.

Two pair of night-drawers.

One pair of braces.

Four pair of white kerseymere breeches and vests.

Six madras.

Six flannel waistcoats.

Four pair of drawers.

Six pair of gaiters.

One small box filled with my snuff.

One gold neck-buckle,

One pair gold knee-buckles, } contained in the little

One pair gold shoe-buckles, } box, No. III.

*Clothes.*

One uniform of the Chasseurs.

One ditto Grenadiers.

One ditto National Guard.

Two hats.

One green-and-grey great coat.

One blue cloak (that which I had at Marengo).

One sable green pelisse.

Two pair of shoes.

Two pair of boots.

One pair of slippers.

Six belts.

## LIST (B).

*Inventory of the effects which I left in the possession of  
Monsieur the Count de Turenne.*

- One sabre of Sobiesky. (It is, by mistake, inserted in List (A), that being the sabre which the Emperor wore at Aboukir, and which is in the hands of Count Bertrand.)
- One grand collar of the Legion of Honour.
- One sword of silver-gilt.
- One consular sword.
- One sword of steel.
- One velvet belt.
- One collar of the Golden Fleece.
- One small dressing-case of steel.
- One night-lamp of silver.
- One handle of an antique sabre.
- One hat à la Henri IV. and a *toque*.\* The lace of the Emperor.
- One small cabinet of medals.
- Two Turkey carpets.
- Two mantles of crimson velvet, embroidered, with vests, and small-clothes.

- I give to my son the sabre of Sobiesky.
- Do. the collar of the Legion of Honour.
- Do. the sword silver gilt.
- Do. the consular sword.
- Do. the steel sword.
- Do. the collar of the Golden Fleece.
- Do. the hat à la Henri IV. and the *toque*.
- Do. the golden dressing-case for the teeth, which is in the hands of the dentist.

- To the Empress Marie-Louise, my lace.
- To Madame, the silver night-lamp.
- To the Cardinal, the small steel dressing-case.
- To Prince Eugene, the wax candlestick, silver gilt.
- To the Princess Pauline, the small cabinet of medals.

\* A velvet hat, with a flat crown, and brims turned up.



To the Queen of Naples, a small Turkey carpet.

To the Queen Hortense, a small Turkey carpet.

To Prince Jerome, the handle of the antique sabre.

To Prince Joseph, an embroidered mantle, vest, and small clothes.

To Prince Lucien, an embroidered mantle, vest, and small clothes.

NAPOLEON.

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This 24th of April, 1821, Longwood.

*This is my Codicil, or Act of my last Will.*

Upon the funds remitted in gold to the Empress Marie-Louise, my very dear and well-beloved spouse, at Orleans, in 1814, she remains in my debt two millions, of which I dispose by the present codicil, for the purpose of recompensing my most faithful servants, whom, moreover, I recommend to the protection of my dear Marie-Louise.

1. I recommend to the Empress to cause the income of thirty thousand francs, which Count Bertrand possessed in the Duchy of Parma, and upon the Mont-Napoleon at Milan, to be restored to him, as well as the arrears due.

2. I make the same recommendation to her with regard to the Duke of Istria, Duroc's daughter, and others of my servants who have continued faithful to me, and who have never ceased to be dear to me : she knows them.

3. Out of the above-mentioned two millions I bequeath three hundred thousand francs to Count Bertrand, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be employed in legacies of conscience, according to my dispositions.

4. I bequeath two hundred thousand francs to Count Montholon, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

5. Item, two hundred thousand francs to Count Las Cases, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

6. Item, to Marchand one hundred thousand francs, of

which he will place fifty thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

7. To Jean Jerome Levi, the Mayor of Ajaccio at the commencement of the Revolution, or to his widow, children, or grandchildren, one hundred thousand francs.

8. To Duroc's daughter, one hundred thousand francs.

9. To the son of Bessières, Duke of Istria, one hundred thousand francs.

10. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

11. To Count Lavalette, one hundred thousand francs.

12. Item, one hundred thousand francs—that is to say :

Twenty-five thousand to Piéron, my maître-d'hôtel.

Twenty-five thousand to Noverraz, my *chasseur*.

Twenty-five thousand to St. Denis, the keeper of my books.

Twenty-five thousand to Santini, my former door-keeper.

13. Item, one hundred thousand francs—that is to say :

Forty thousand to Planat, my orderly officer.

Twenty thousand to Hébert, lately housekeeper of Rambouillet, and who belonged to my chamber in Egypt.

Twenty thousand to Lavigné, who was lately keeper of one of my stables, and who was my *piqueur* in Egypt.

Twenty thousand to Jeanet Dervieux, who was overseer of the stables, and served me in Egypt.

14. Two hundred thousand francs shall be distributed in alms to the inhabitants of Brienne-le-Château, who have suffered most.

15. The three hundred thousand francs remaining shall be distributed to the officers and soldiers of the battalion of my guard at the Island of Elba who may be now alive, or to their widows and children, in proportion to their appointments, and according to an estimate which shall be fixed by my testamentary executors; those who have suffered amputation, or have been severely wounded, shall receive double; the estimate to be fixed by Larrey and Emmery.

This Codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821. Longwood.

*This is my Codicil, or Note of my last Will.*

Out of the settlement of my civil list of Italy, such as money, jewels, plate, linen, equipages, of which the viceroy is the depositary, and which belonged to me, I dispose of two millions, which I bequeath to my most faithful servants. I hope that, without availing himself of any reason to the contrary, my son Eugene Napoleon will pay them faithfully. He cannot forget the forty millions which I gave him in Italy, and in the distribution of the inheritance of his mother.

1. Out of these two millions, I bequeath to Count Bertrand three hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be applied according to my dispositions in payment of legacies of conscience.

2. To Count Montholon, two hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

3. To Count Las Cases, two hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

4. To Marchand, one hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit fifty thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

5. To Count Lavalette, one hundred thousand francs.

6. To General Hogendorf, of Holland, my aide-de-camp, who has retired to the Brazils, one hundred thousand francs.

7. To my aide-de-camp, Corbineau, fifty thousand francs.

8. To my aide-de-camp, General Caffarelli, fifty thousand francs.

9. To my aide-de-camp, Dejean, fifty thousand francs.

10. To Percy, surgeon-in-chief at Waterloo, fifty thousand francs.

11. Fifty thousand francs, that is to say :—

Ten thousand to Piéron, my maître d'hôtel.

Ten thousand to St. Denis, my head *chasseur*.

Ten thousand to Noverraz.

Ten thousand to Cursot, my clerk of the kitchen.

Ten thousand to Archambaud, my *piqueur*.

12. To Baron de Mennevalle, fifty thousand francs.
  13. To the Duke d'Istria, son of Bessières, fifty thousand francs.
  14. To the daughter of Duroc, fifty thousand francs.
  15. To the children of Labedoyère, fifty thousand francs.
  16. To the children of Mouton Duvernet, fifty thousand francs.
  17. To the children of the brave and virtuous General Travot, fifty thousand francs.
  18. To the children of Chartrand, fifty thousand francs.
  19. To General Cambrone, fifty thousand francs.
  20. To General Lefevre Desnouettes, fifty thousand francs.
  21. To be distributed amongst such proscribed persons as wander in foreign countries, whether they be French, Italians, Belgians, Dutch, Spanish, or inhabitants of the departments of the Rhine, under the directions of my executors, and upon their orders, one hundred thousand francs.
  22. To be distributed amongst those who suffered amputation, or were severely wounded at Ligny or Waterloo, who may be still living, according to lists drawn up by my executors, to whom shall be added Cambrone, Larrey, Percy, and Emmery. The guards shall be paid double; those of the Island of Elba, quadruple; two hundred thousand francs.
- This codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

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This 24th of April, 1821, at Longwood.

*This is a third Codicil to my Will of the 15th of April.*

1. Amongst the diamonds of the crown which were delivered up in 1814, there were some to the value of five or six hundred thousand francs, not belonging to it, but which formed part of my private property; repossession shall be obtained of them in order to discharge my legacies.

2. I had in the hands of the banker Torlonia, at Rome, bills of exchange to the amount of two or three hundred

thousand francs, the product of my revenues of the Island of Elba since 1815. The Sieur De la Perruse, although no longer my treasurer, and not invested with any character, possessed himself of this sum. He shall be compelled to refund it.

3. I bequeath to the Duke of Istria three hundred thousand francs, of which only one hundred thousand francs shall be reversible to his widow, should the duke be dead before payment of the legacy. It is my wish, should there be no inconvenience in it, that the duke may marry Duroc's daughter.

4. I bequeath to the Duchess of Frioul, the daughter of Duroc, two hundred thousand francs : should she be dead before the payment of this legacy, none of it shall be given to the mother.

5. I bequeath to General Rigaud (to him who was proscribed) one hundred thousand francs.

6. I bequeath to Boisnod, the intendant-commissary, one hundred thousand francs.

7. I bequeath to the children of General Letort, who was killed in the campaign of 1815, one hundred thousand francs.

8. These eight hundred thousand francs of legacies shall be considered as inserted at the end of article thirty-six of my testament, which will make the legacies I have disposed of by will amount to the sum of six millions four hundred thousand francs, without including the donations I have made by my second codicil.

This is written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

(L.S.)

NAPOLEON.

[On the outside is written:]

This is my third codicil to my will, entirely written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

To be opened the same day, and immediately after the opening of my will.

NAPOLEON.



This 24th of April, 1821. Longwood.

*This is a fourth Codicil to my Testament.*

By the dispositions we have heretofore made, we have not fulfilled all our obligations, which has decided us to make this fourth codicil.

1. We bequeath to the son or grandson of Baron Dutheil, lieutenant-general of artillery, and formerly Lord of St. André, who commanded the school of Auxonne before the Revolution, the sum of one hundred thousand francs, as a memento of gratitude for the care which that brave general took of us when we were lieutenant and captain under his orders.

2. Item. To the son or grandson of General Dugomier, who commanded in chief the army of Toulon, the sum of one hundred thousand francs. We, under his orders, directed that siege, and commanded the artillery: it is a testimonial of remembrance for the marks of esteem, affection, and friendship, which that brave and intrepid general gave us.

3. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the son or grandson of the deputy of the Convention, Gasparin, representative of the people to the army of Toulon, for having protected and sanctioned with his authority the plan we had given, which procured the capture of that city, and which was contrary to that sent by the Committee of Public Safety. Gasparin, by his protection, sheltered us from the persecution and ignorance of the general officers who commanded the army before the arrival of my friend Dugomier.

4. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the widow, son, or grandson of our aide-de-camp, Muiron, killed at our side at Arcola, covering us with his body.

5. Item. Ten thousand francs to the subaltern officer, Cantillon, who has undergone a trial upon the charge of having endeavoured to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that *oligarchist*, as the latter had to send me to perish upon the rock of St. Helena.\*

\* There is no act of Buonaparte's life which shows more courage and spirit than this clause in his will.

Wellington, who proposed this outrage, attempted to justify it by pleading the interest of Great Britain. Cantillon, if he had really assassinated that lord, would have pleaded the same excuse, and been justified by the same motive—the interest of France—to get rid of this general, who, moreover, by violating the capitulation of Paris, had rendered himself responsible for the blood of the martyrs Ney, Labeledoyère, &c., and for the crime of having pillaged the museums, contrary to the text of the treaties.

6. These four hundred thousand francs shall be added to the six millions four hundred thousand of which we have disposed, and will make our legacies amount to six millions eight hundred and ten thousand francs; these four hundred and ten thousand are to be considered as forming part of our testament, Article 36, and to follow in every respect the same course as the other legacies.

7. The nine thousand pounds sterling which we gave to Count and Countess Montholon, should, if they have been paid, be deducted and carried to the account of the legacies which we have given him by our testament. If they have not been paid, our notes of hand shall be annulled.

8. In consideration of the legacy given by our will to Count Montholon, the pension of twenty thousand francs granted to his wife is annulled. Count Montholon is charged with the payment of it to her.

9. The administration of such an inheritance, until its final liquidation, requiring expenses of offices, journeys, missions, consultations, and lawsuits, we expect that our testamentary executors shall retain three per cent. upon all the legacies, as well upon the six millions eight hundred thousand francs, as upon the sums contained in the codicils, and upon the two hundred millions of francs of the private domains.

10. The amount of the sums thus retained shall be deposited in the hands of a treasurer, and disbursed by drafts from our testamentary executors.

11. Should the sums arising from the aforesaid deductions not be sufficient to defray the expenses, provision shall be made to that effect at the expense of the three testamentary executors and the treasurer, each in propor-

tion to the legacy which we have bequeathed to them in our will and codicils.

12. Should the sums arising from the before-mentioned subtractions be more than necessary, the surplus shall be divided amongst our three testamentary executors and the treasurer, in the proportion of their respective legacies.

13. We nominate Count Las Cases, and in default of him his son, and in default of the latter, General Drouot, to be treasurer.

This present codicil is entirely written with our hand, signed, and sealed with our arms.

NAPOLEON.

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