

**A St. Helena who's who; or, a directory of the island during the captivity of Napoleon / by Arnold Chaplin.**

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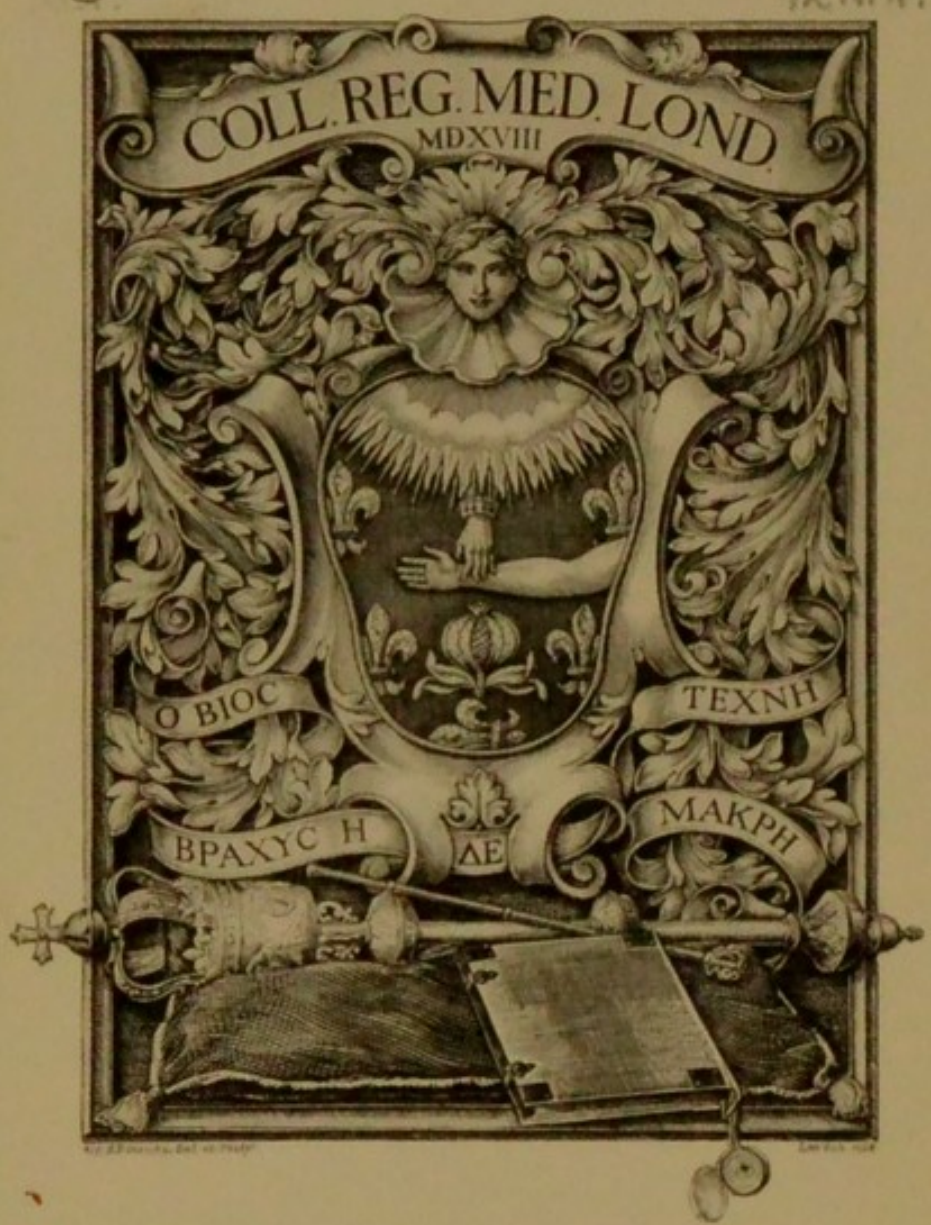
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ARCHIBALD ARNOTT, M.D.

A  
ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

OR

A DIRECTORY OF THE ISLAND DURING  
THE CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON

BY

ARNOLD CHAPLIN, M.D.

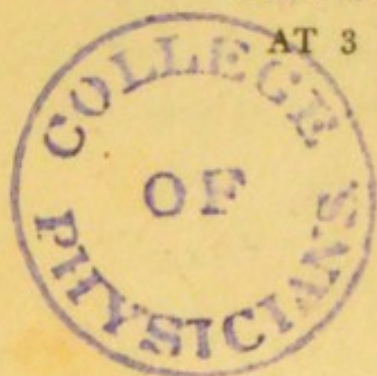
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS

*Author of The Illness and Death of Napoleon, Thomas Skott, etc.*

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR

AT 3 YORK GATE, LONDON

1914





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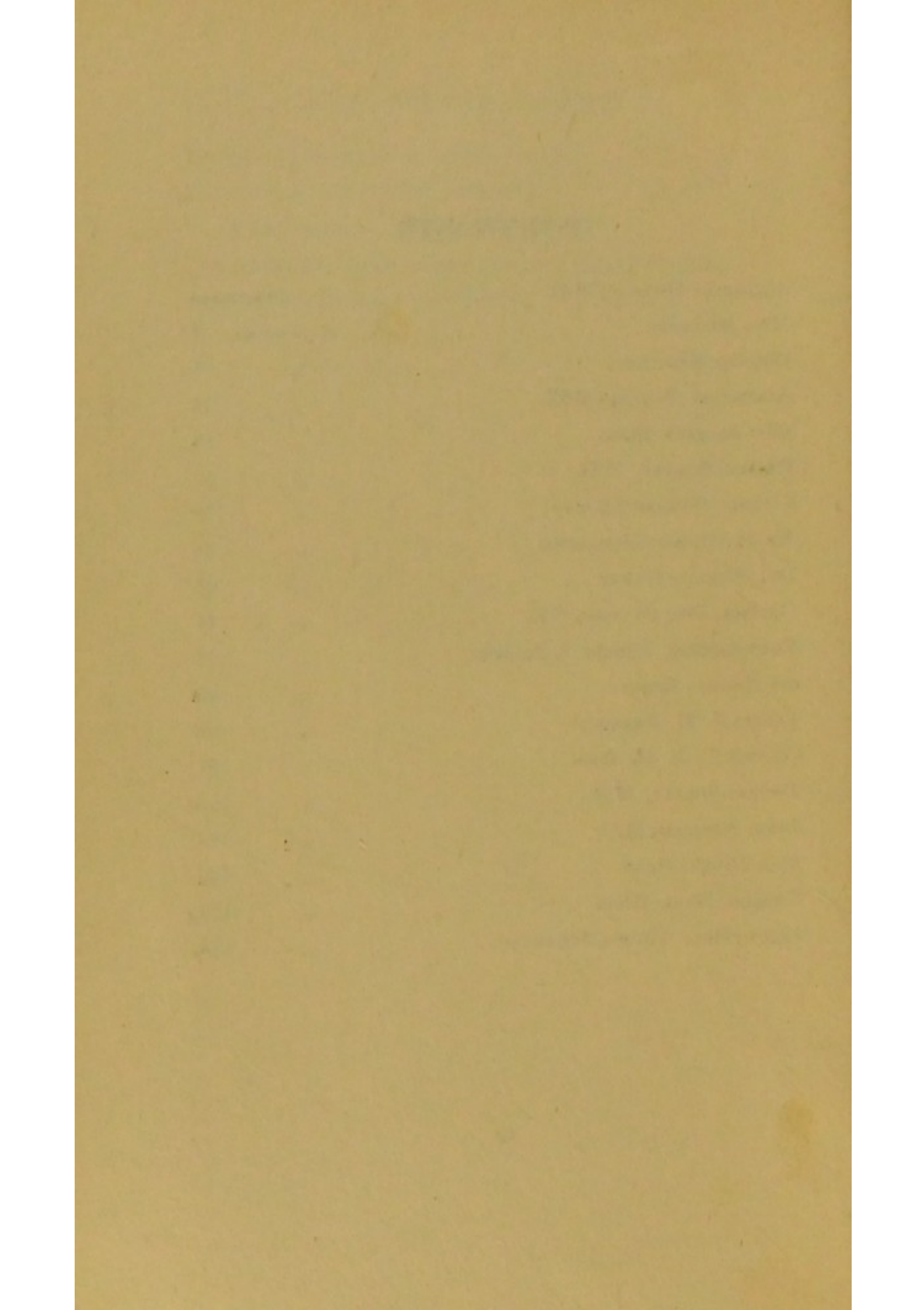


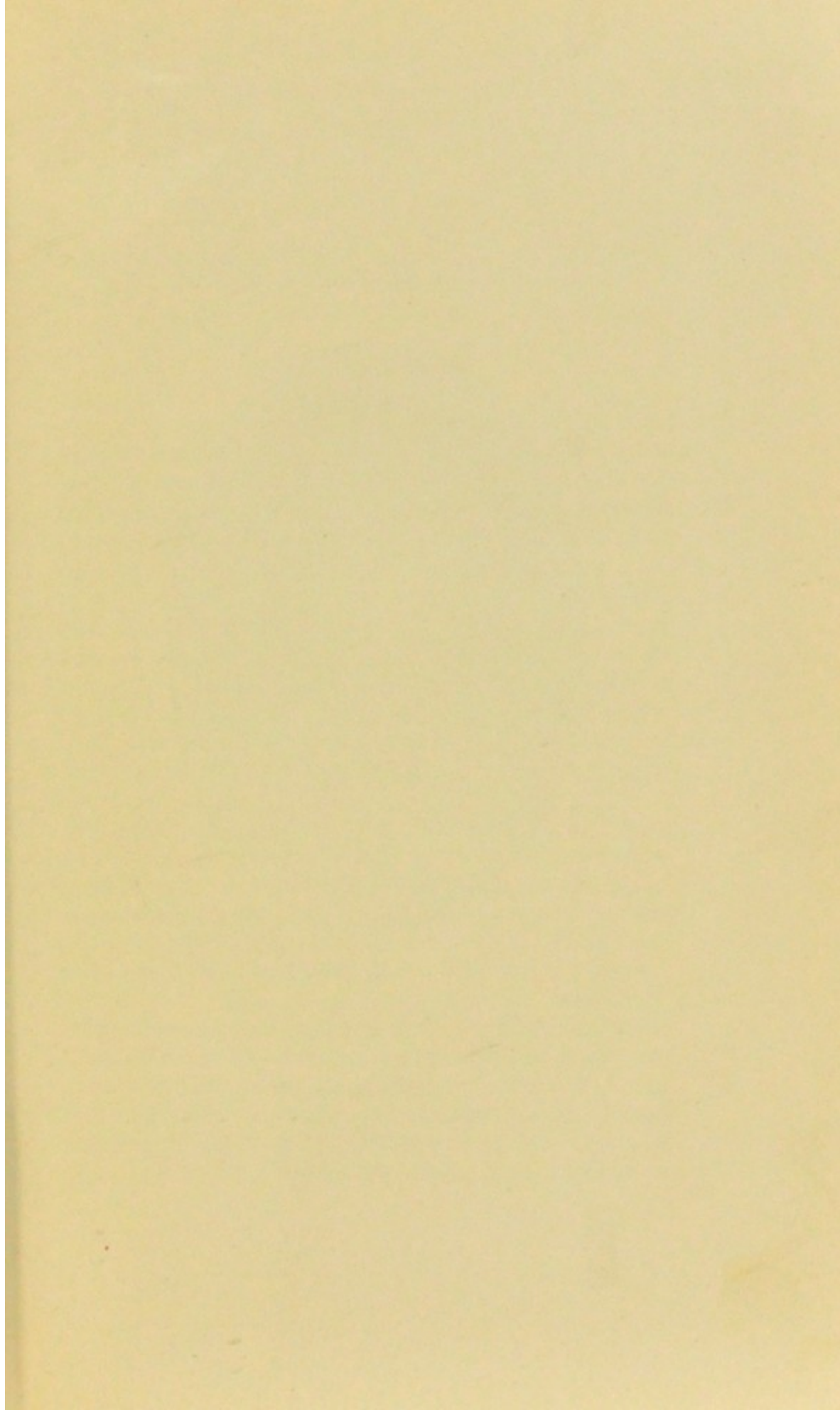
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MRS. BALCOMBE

# A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

## INTRODUCTION

I HAVE ventured to print this little book, which contains information concerning those who lived in St. Helena during the captivity of Napoleon, with the hope that it may be found useful to those students who share with me the delight afforded by the study of that period.

The book consists of notes in expanded form, collected from various sources in leisure hours extending over many years. Although great care has been taken to be accurate, no claim is made to infallibility, and doubtless the experienced reader will note, here and there, the inevitable errors and omissions, the correction of which will be valued by me as a contribution to historical accuracy.

It is doubtful if any period in the life of any man has been so minutely recorded as that which covered the captivity of Napoleon in St. Helena. It is no exaggeration to say that every day is accounted for and, during the first thirty months of the time, one might, with almost equal truth, substitute "hours" for "days." The memorialists and all who were brought into contact with the Emperor hastened, while the subject was still fresh in the memory, to commit to paper, impressions, remarks, and conversations. Indeed, during the captivity, the residents in St. Helena were largely employed in letter-writing to friends at home, and at the present day many families have in



their possession treasured papers which record the ideas and reflections of ancestors, after having been honoured by a few words addressed to them by the great Emperor.

The difficulties encountered in attempting to trace the descendants of those in St. Helena, although great, have not been insurmountable. Sometimes success has been obtained with but little trouble, while sometimes after a patient work an *impasse* has been arrived at, occasioned by the total lack of interest on the part of the descendants applied to. Sometimes also an excellent cold douche has been administered to one's vanity when the reply has come from some long-sought person, somewhat as follows: "I believe you are right in your belief that my great-uncle was in St. Helena, for I have heard my aunt say so. Since you are interested in St. Helena you may like to know that Napoleon was a prisoner there!"

Although it is not contended that anything startling will be discovered by research of this kind, yet every scrap of information bearing directly or indirectly on the captivity of Napoleon possesses some interest and, though only of the humble spade-work variety, has its modest value. If research of this kind be necessary, now is the time, for nearly a hundred years have elapsed since the captivity began, and those who were in St. Helena then are represented now by the third generation. These, the grandchildren, are passing away every year, and soon few will be left near enough to have a vivid interest in the drama in which their forefathers took part.

For the collection of portraits and particulars of those connected with St. Helena, application has frequently been made to the descendants, but this mode of research has formed a part only of the basis on which this investigation rests. The history of the captivity of Napoleon is unique in a way, for it possesses that monu-



ment to industry in the shape of some ninety volumes of manuscripts in the British Museum, known as the "Lowe Papers," wherein almost every act and word connected with the captivity is faithfully recorded. As if this were not enough, there are twenty-nine volumes in the Record Office which fill in the few gaps in the "Lowe Papers." These records, which must always be regarded as the only firm foundation upon which any work connected with St. Helena, however humble, can be built, I have read and used freely.

Until recently nearly all writers dealing with Napoleon in St. Helena have rather neglected the "Lowe Papers," and Forsyth's "History of the Captivity" founded on the "Papers" has been accepted as an unbiassed summary of the subject. But in 1912 my friend Mr. G. L. de St. M. Watson published "A Polish Exile with Napoleon," which was based on an exhaustive analysis of the "Lowe Papers," and he has shown conclusively that it is by no means safe to accept blindly Forsyth's able advocacy of the policy of the British Authorities. The work Mr. Watson has accomplished in his minute criticism of the "Lowe Papers" is invaluable, and to him, in common with all students of the captivity, I am deeply indebted, not only for his book, but for the ready way in which he has given me the benefit of his able criticism and advice.

It has always appeared to me that a small Directory, or "Who's Who," of those connected with the captivity of Napoleon would serve a useful purpose in saving the time and trouble required in searching for names, or particular occurrences. Although the "Lowe Papers" are amply sufficient to inform us as to the status or line of conduct of almost all the residents in St. Helena at that time, there are no books or records in collected form which tell us anything about their careers, and if information be desired regarding any



person figuring in the history of the captivity, a search of some hours is often required. To fill this apparent want, therefore, is the object of this little work, and I have endeavoured, however imperfectly, to give short biographies of the people connected with the detention of Napoleon, and to gather together in one volume other information likely to prove useful to the student of that period.

In addition to the "Lowe Papers" which cover the period of the captivity, I have found various series of documents in the Record Office to be of the greatest assistance. The "Muster Rolls," the "Casualty Returns," the "Monthly States," the "Paymaster's Books," and the "Services of Officers," in the War Office Series, have yielded much information, and the "Muster Rolls" of ships, in the Admiralty Series, have proved to be invaluable in the search for passengers carried to and from St. Helena. For facts concerning the St. Helena regiments, the East India Company's officials, and other residents in the Island, use has been made of the Registers of the East India Company from 1800 to 1834. These annual registers are important from the point of view of research, for they not only give the dates of appointment to the various offices and the dates of death or retirement of the holders, but from 1825 they give a list of those inhabiting the Island of St. Helena. To the ever-increasing literature on the subject of St. Helena also, I owe much valuable knowledge, and to all who have contributed books or papers I tender my sincere thanks.

I have also to thank especially my friend Mr. A. M. Broadley for the great assistance I have received from his encouragement and advice. His wonderful collection of manuscripts, books, and prints, dealing with the Napoleonic period, which he has patiently built up during many years, is well and deservedly known, and I have cleared up many doubtful points concerning



iconography on reference to his library, and his great knowledge of that subject.

To my friends Dr. J. F. Silk and Mr. Norwood Young I am deeply grateful for the way in which they have helped me during the research required for this little work. Dr. Silk has placed at my disposal his valuable St. Helena collection, and Mr. Young, although busily engaged on his work, "Napoleon in Exile," has at all times, in the kindest way, afforded me assistance with his valuable criticisms.

The nineteen portraits which illustrate the book have, I believe, with the exception of that of Colonel Wilks, never been published before, and for permission to reproduce them I desire to thank sincerely the following owners :—

Mrs. Agg, for the portrait of her grandfather, Dr. Burton.

Dr. Silk, for the portraits of his great-uncle, Dr. Baxter, and Colonel Mark Wilks.

Mrs. Arnott Collington, for the portrait of her uncle, Dr. Arnott.

Miss Crokot, for the portrait of her uncle, Captain Crokot.

Mrs. Emmerton, for the portraits of her grandfather and grandmother, Mr. and Mrs. William Balcombe.

Mr. Aleyn Reade, through the instrumentality of Mr. Broadley, for the portrait of Sir Thomas Reade.

Mrs. Mansel-Pleydell, for the portrait of Colonel John Mansel.

Admiral F. R. Boardman, C.B., for the portrait of his godfather, Captain Ross.

Mr. Orbell W. Oakes, for the portrait of his uncle, Admiral Plampin.

Captain A. G. Shortt, for the portrait of his grandfather, Dr. Shortt.

Mr. G. de Gorrequer Griffith, for the portrait of Major Gorrequer.



The Rev. Biscoe Hale Wortham, for the portrait of his uncle, General Hale Young Wortham.

Mr. Henry FitzGerald, for the portrait of his great-uncle, Dr. James Verling.

Dr. Sankey, through the instrumentality of Mr. Watson, for the portrait of the Rev. Mr. Boys.

Mr. George Henry, for the portrait of his father, Dr. Walter Henry.

Mr. C. C. Reardon and Miss Mackay, for the portrait of their grandfather, Captain Reardon, and for permission to make use of private papers in their possession regarding his case.

In conclusion, I desire to point out that I have contented myself with very brief biographies in those cases where fuller information is readily obtainable.

ARNOLD CHAPLIN.

3 YORK GATE,  
LONDON, N.W.  
*July, 1914.*

## THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

ST. HELENA was discovered by Juan de Nova Castella, a Portuguese navigator, on May 21st, 1502, and gained its name from the fact that the day of discovery was the anniversary of the feast-day of Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine. In 1651 the East India Company took possession of the Island, and on April 3rd, 1661, Charles II granted the Company a Charter. In 1672 the Dutch gained possession of the Island, but in the following year were driven out by Sir Richard Munden and Captain Kedgwin. On December 16th, 1673, Charles II re-granted the Island to the East India Company, and in their possession it remained until 1815 when, having been selected as a residence for Napoleon, an arrangement was made, by which the Governor was to be appointed by the Crown with full powers, and the East India Company were to bear the expense, equivalent to an average of the three preceding years. The remainder of the expense attendant upon the safe custody of Napoleon was borne by the British Government.

After the death of Napoleon the government of the Island reverted to the East India Company, and this continued until April 22nd, 1834, when it was taken over by the British Government.

An excellent account of St. Helena will be found in "The History of St. Helena," by T. H. Brooke, published in 1808 and 1824, and in "St. Helena, the Historic Isle," by E. L. Jackson. Ward, Lock and Co., 1903.

With the advent of Napoleon, many new naval and military posts were created, and the following is a list



of those who held the various positions in the administration :—

### MILITARY

Governor.	Sir Hudson Lowe, G.C.B., Lt.-General.
Deputy Adjutant-General.	Sir Thomas Reade, C.B., Lt.-Colonel.
Military Secretary.	Edward B. Wynyard, Lt.- Colonel.
Aide-de-Camp.	Gideon Gorrequer, Major.
Inspector of Coasts and Volunteers.	Thomas Lyster, Lt.- Colonel.
Deputy Inspector of Hos- pitals.	Alexander Baxter, who was succeeded in 1820 by Dr. Thomas Shortt.
General Officer Command- ing the Troops.	Sir George Ridout Bing- ham, K.C.B., Brigadier- General. He left on May 30th, 1819, and on August 23rd, 1820, Brigadier-General John Pine-Coffin arrived to take command.
Brigade-Major.	Charles Harrison, Captain.
In command of the Engineers.	Anthony Emmett, Major.
In command of the Artillery.	James Power, Major.
In command of the Dragoons.	J. W. Hoath, Cornet.
Of the Staff Corps.	Basil Jackson, Lieutenant.



WILLIAM BALCOMBE





## Orderly Officers at Longwood.

Captain T. W. Poppleton, 53rd Regiment. From December 10th, 1815, to July 24th, 1817.

Captain Henry Pierce Blakeney, 66th Regiment. From July 25th, 1817, to July 16th, 1818.

Lt.-Colonel Thomas Lyster, Inspector of Coasts and Volunteers. From July 16th to July 25th, 1818.

Captain H. P. Blakeney. From July 25th to September 5th, 1818.

Captain George Nicholls, 66th Regiment. From September 5th, 1818, to February 9th, 1820.

Captain Englebert Lutyens, 20th Regiment. From February 10th, 1820, to April 15th, 1821.

Captain William Crokat, 20th Regiment. From April 15th to May 6th, 1821.

## NAVAL

## ADMIRALS IN COMMAND OF THE ST. HELENA STATION

Sir George Cockburn, Rear-Admiral. Arrived October 15th, 1815, in the "Northumberland" (Capt. Ross). Left June 19th, 1816.

Sir Pulteney Malcolm, Rear-Admiral. Arrived June 17th, 1816, in the "Newcastle" (Capt. Meynell). Left July 4th, 1817.

Robert J. Plampin, Rear-Admiral. Arrived July 20th, 1817, in the "Conqueror" (Capt. Davie). Left July 20th, 1820.

Robert Lambert, Rear-Admiral. Arrived July 14th, 1820, in the "Vigo" (Capt. Brown). Left September 11th, 1821.



## CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

The Civil Administration of the Island was vested in the hands of the Governor, and two Members of Council, but in addition there were "ex officio" members of the Council. The two Members of Council held the two most lucrative posts in the administration, under the H.E.I.C., viz. Paymaster and Accountant, each carrying a salary of £1400. The other salaried positions in the East India Company's service were held by officials who were divided up into four grades, viz. "Senior Merchants," "Junior Merchants," "Factors," and "Writers."

The following is a list of those who held the various salaried positions during the captivity :—

## Governor.

Sir Hudson Lowe.

## Members of Council.

Sir William Webber Doveton. Paymaster. Resigned in 1817.

Robert Leech. Accountant. Died January 12th, 1818.

Thomas Henry Brooke. Secretary to the Council.

Thomas Greentree. Storekeeper.

Sir George Bingham was an unofficial Member of Council, but the H.E.I.C. refused to confirm the appointment.

## Senior Merchants.

Gabriel Doveton. Died February 19th, 1816.

John de Fountain. Dismissed the Service.

John Mason. Died December 9th, 1815.

B. A. Wright. Acting Accountant. Gave up the Service.

Richard Huddart Leech. Died 1817.



## Junior Merchants.

David Kay. Pensioned in 1817.

John Kay. Deputy Secretary. Pensioned in 1817.

George Blenkins. Deputy Paymaster.

Robt. Francis Seale. Deputy Storekeeper.

Anthony Beale. First Assistant Paymaster.

## Factors.

George Votour Lambe. First Assistant Storekeeper.

Nathaniel Kennedy. Deputy Accountant. Died  
1823.

Charles Blake. First Assistant Secretary.

David L. Leech. Assistant Accountant. Died 1820.

## Writers.

W. H. Seale. Second Assistant Accountant. Died  
1834.

Thomas P. Hollis. Retired in 1816.

Thomas B. Brooke.

R. Brooke.

John Young.

John Doveton.

## Judges and Magistrates.

Sir W. W. Doveton.

Robert Leech.

T. H. Brooke.

Thomas Greentree.

## Judge Advocate.

Major C. R. G. Hodson. Formerly Town Major.  
Died 1855.

## Town Majors.

Capt. John Barnes. Died 1817.

Capt. Thomas J. B. Cole. Died 1827.

## Superintendent of Police.

Thomas Rainsford. Died 1817.



In Charge of Telegraphs.

Capt. Henry Huff Pritchard. Died 1828.

Superintendent of the H.E.I.C.'s Lands.

William Porteous. Succeeded in 1819 by A. A. Seale.

Postmaster.

Joseph Cole.

The Company's Farmer.

William Breame.

The Company's Gardener.

Edward Charlton.

Gaoler.

Charles Weston.

Superintendents of Public Sales.

William Balcombe. Appointed in 1807.

William Fowler. Appointed in 1818.

Master Attendant.

William Brabazon.

Steward of Stores.

D. Brockway.

Boat Builder.

John Adams.

Chaplains.

Senior : Rev. Richard Boys.

Junior : Rev. Bowater James Vernon.

School Establishment.

Revs. Boys and Vernon.

J. McDaniel.

John Firmin.

Henry Kay.

## Medical Establishment.

## Superintendents.

David Kay, retired February 10th, 1820. Died 1833.

Matthew Livingstone. Died 1821.

## Surgeons.

Robt. Crout. Died 1817.

George Mead.

## Assistant Surgeons.

John Mellis. Died 1820.

John Hammond.

F. Cole.

John Price.

Gordon Lorimer.

Thomas Harrington.

The salaries attaching to the various posts held by those in the employ of the East India Company, as Senior and Junior Merchants, Factors, and Writers, were as follows :—

	£
Paymaster . . . . .	1400
Accountant and Secretary . . . . .	1400
Storekeeper . . . . .	1000
Acting Accountant . . . . .	1000
Deputy Storekeeper . . . . .	600
Deputy Secretary . . . . .	500
Deputy Paymaster . . . . .	500
Deputy Accountant . . . . .	500
1st Assistant Paymaster . . . . .	350
1st Assistant Storekeeper . . . . .	350
1st Assistant Secretary . . . . .	350
Assistant Accountant . . . . .	350
2nd Assistant Storekeeper . . . . .	300
2nd Assistant Accountant . . . . .	300

(References. "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,240, f. 74.  
 "East India Register," 1814-36.)



## THE POPULATION OF ST. HELENA IN 1820

Whites . . . . .	3534	
Slaves . . . . .	1156	
Chinese . . . . .	481	
Free Blacks . . . . .	613	
Lascars . . . . .	33	
		5817
Troops . . . . .	1483	
H.E.I.C.'s Troops . . . . .	698	
		2181
		<hr/>
Total Population . . . . .		7998

("Lowe Papers," vol. 20,240, ff. 131-2.)

THE EXPENSES OF ADMINISTRATION IN ST. HELENA  
IN 1817

	£
Allowances . . . . .	1,742
Expenses of Blacks . . . . .	1,351
Labour Charges . . . . .	1,040
Fortification . . . . .	7,891
Garrison Charges . . . . .	206,015
Hospitals . . . . .	1,120
Medicines . . . . .	1,975
Marine Department . . . . .	1,821
Plantations . . . . .	5,347
Repairs . . . . .	2,414
Seeds . . . . .	105
Longwood, Repairs . . . . .	1,176
NAPOLÉON'S Expenses . . . . .	11,678
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	£243,675

("Lowe Papers," vol. 20,240, f. 88.)

## THE RESIDENTS AT LONGWOOD

NAPOLEON.

COUNT BERTRAND. Remained the whole time.

COUNTESS BERTRAND.    "                               "

NAPOLEON BERTRAND.   "                               "

HENRI BERTRAND.       "                               "

HORTENSE BERTRAND.   "                               "

ARTHUR BERTRAND. Born during the Captivity.

COUNT DE MONTHOLON. Remained the whole time.

COUNTESS DE MONTHOLON. Left July 2nd, 1819.

TRISTAN DE MONTHOLON.   "                               "

NAPOLEON DE MONTHOLON.   "                               "

A CHILD of MONTHOLON.   "                               "

COUNT DE LAS CASES. Left December 30th, 1816.

EMMANUEL DE LAS CASES.   "                               "

BARON GOURGAUD. Left March 14th, 1818.

CIPRIANI. Maître d'Hôtel. Died February 26th, 1818.

MARCHAND. 1st Valet. Remained the whole time.

ST. DENIS. 2nd Valet.                               "                               "

NOVARREZ. 3rd Valet.                               "                               "

ARCHAMBAULT. The coachman.   "                               "

PIERRON. The butler.                               "                               "

JOSEPHINE BRULE. Maid to Mme. Montholon. Married  
Novarrez, and remained the whole time.

SANTINI. The Usher. Left October 19th, 1816.

ARCHAMBAULT. The groom                               "                               "

ROUSSEAU. The lampiste.                               "                               "

LEPAGE. The cook. Left June 8th, 1818.

GENTILINI. Footman. Left October 4th, 1820.

JULIETTE. Wife of Gentilini. Left October 4th, 1820.

HEYMANN, BERNARD. Servant to the Bertrands. Left  
June 8th, 1818.



HEYMANN'S WIFE. Servant to the Bertrands. Left June 8th, 1818.

O'MEARA. Surgeon. Left Longwood July 25th, 1818.

PIONTKOWSKI. Arrived December 29th, 1815. Left October 19th, 1816.

HALL, MARY. Madame St. Denis. Arrived June 26th, 1818. Remained to the end.

ANTOMMARCHI. Surgeon. Arrived September 20th, 1819. Remained to the end.

VIGNALI. The Priest. Arrived September 20th, 1819. Remained to the end.

BUONAVITA. The Priest. Arrived September 20th, 1819. Left March 17th, 1821.

CHANDELIER. Cook. Arrived September 20th, 1819. Remained to the end.

COURSOT. Butler. Arrived September 20th, 1819. Remained to the end.

BOUGES. Servant to the Bertrands. Arrived in 1818. Remained to the end.

LAROCHE. The cook. Arrived July 11th, 1818, and left March 3rd, 1819.

THE GRAAFES. Husband and wife, employed as valet and *femme de chambre* to the Bertrands.

JEANETTE. French female cook.

PATRICK RAVEN. Servant to the Montholons.

ESTHER VESEY. Servant to the Montholons.

WILLIAM RUDDALL. Employed to clean the silver.

MRS. DICKSON.

MRS. KAYE.

MRS. GOODSON.

MRS. QUILTON.

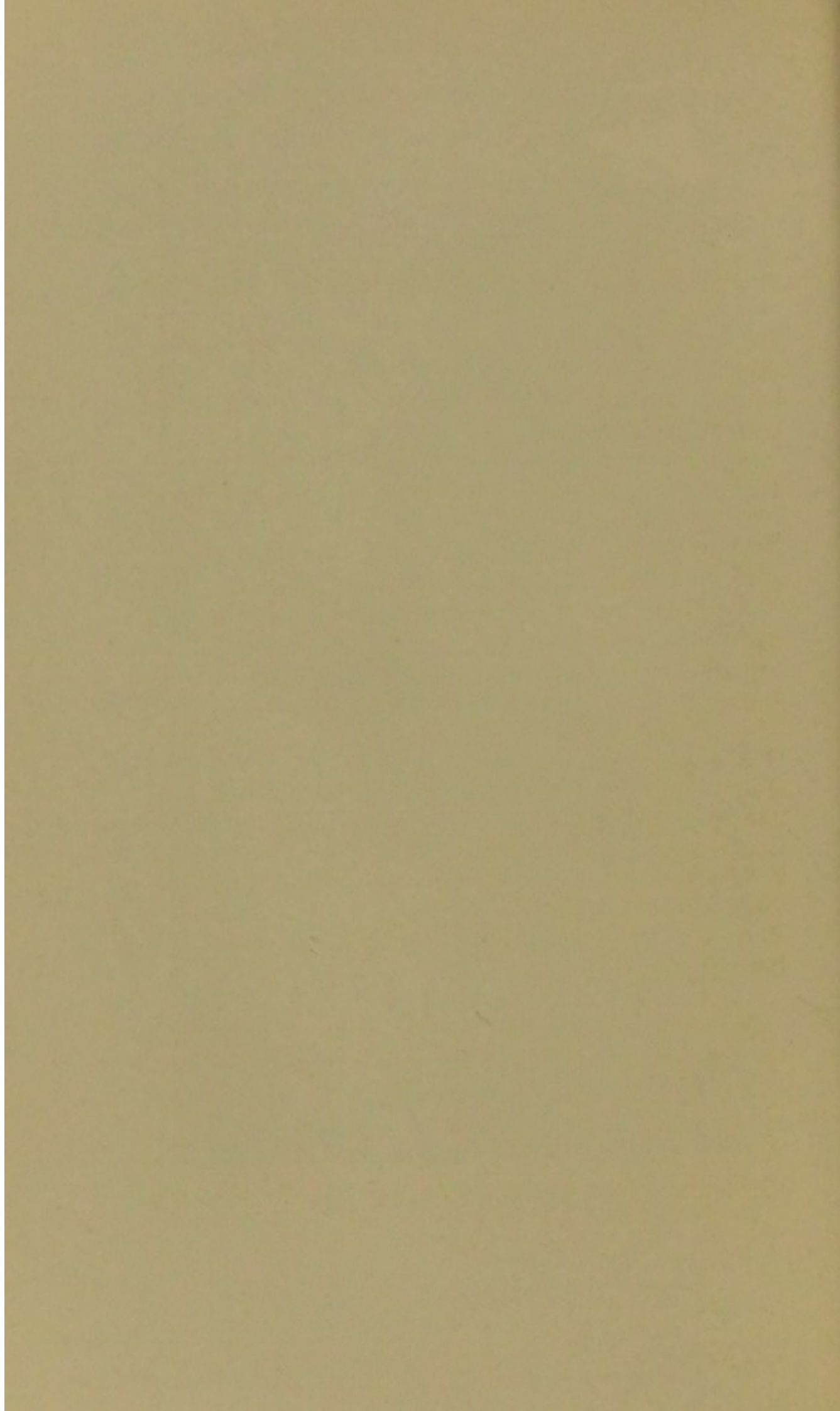
} Maternity nurses to the Countess  
Bertrand and Montholon.

In addition there were about twenty others employed around the house, each at a salary of £40 per annum.



ALEXANDER BAXTER, M.D.





## A TABLE OF PRECEDENCE IN ST. HELENA

THE following table of precedence to be observed at official functions at Plantation House exists in the Council Minutes, for the year 1816 ("Lowe Papers," vol. 20,240, f. 76).

W. Doveton	}	Judges and Magistrates, and Members of Council.
Robert Leech		
T. H. Brooke	}	Senior Merchants, ranking with Lt.-Colonels.
John de Fountain		
B. A. Wright		
Richard Leech		
David Kay	}	Junior Merchants, ranking with Majors.
John Kay		
Thomas Greentree		
George Blenkens		
Robert Seale	}	Factors, ranking with Captains.
Anthony Beale		
George Lambe		
N. Kennedy		
Charles Blake	}	Writers, ranking with Subalterns.
D. Leech		
Henry Seale		

It is interesting to learn that the Rev. Richard Boys, the Senior Chaplain, was accorded the right to rank with a Major.



## TOPOGRAPHICAL POINTS AND PRINCIPAL RESIDENCES

LONGWOOD.—Situated about 1800 feet above sea level.

In extent, including Deadwood, about 1500 acres.

Highest points in St. Helena.—Diana's Peak, 2697 feet.

Cuckold's Point, 2677 feet. Halley's Mount, 2467 feet.

Table of Distances in St. Helena.—

From Jamestown to The Briars, 1 mile.

„	„	Alarm House, 2 miles 7 furlongs.
„	„	Hutt's Gate, 3 miles 5 furlongs.
„	„	Longwood, 4 miles 6 furlongs.
„	„	Arnos Vale, 4 miles 6 furlongs.
„	„	Francis Plain, 4 miles 3 furlongs.
„	„	Level Wood, 6 miles 3 furlongs.
„	„	Rosemary Hall, 4 miles 4 furlongs.
„	„	Sandy Bay, 9 miles 1 furlong.
„	„	Powell's Valley, 7 miles 6 furlongs.
„	„	Country Church, 3 miles 2 furlongs.

From Longwood to Plantation House, 3 miles 5 furlongs.

(“ St. Helena Almanack,” 1858.)

### THE PRINCIPAL RESIDENCES IN ST. HELENA

Plantation House.—The residence of the Governor.

The Castle.—The town residence of the Governor.



Longwood.—The residence of Napoleon, and formerly occupied by the Lt.-Governor.

The Briars.—The residence of William Balcombe. Napoleon lived in an adjacent pavilion until December 10th, 1815, when he removed to Longwood. After Balcombe left, Admirals Plampin and Lambert established themselves there.

Rosemary Hall.—Formerly the residence of Mr. W. Wrangham, but occupied by Baron and Baroness Sturmer and Count Balmain.

Knollcombe.—Occupied by Sir George and Lady Bingham, and then by General and Mrs. Pine-Coffin.

Hutt's Gate.—A small house occupied by the Bertrands, until a better one could be built.

The House of Mr. Porteous.—Situated in Jamestown. Napoleon slept here for the first night on arrival. It was much frequented by the officers on the Naval Station as a lodging house, and the Marquis de Montchenu also lived here.

Alarm House.—Occupied by Colonel and Mrs. Wynyard. Sir Thomas Reade also resided here at times, but he also had a house in Jamestown.

Mount Pleasant, Sandy Bay.—The residence of Sir William Doveton. Napoleon paid this house a visit on two occasions, and on October 4th, 1820, had breakfast there.

High Peake.—Here was established the Hospital for Naval Invalids.

Castle of Otranto.—The residence of Major Seale.

Prospect House.—Occupied by Mr. Secretary Brooke.

Smith's Gate.—Occupied by the Rev. Richard Boys.

Horse Pasture Farm.—The house of Mr. Knipe, and "Le Bouton de Rose."

High Knoll.—The house of Mr. Robert Leech.

Military Camps.—Deadwood, Francis Plain, Lemon Valley, and Jamestown.



## THE REGIMENTS IN ST. HELENA

### 53RD FOOT REGIMENT (2nd Battalion)

#### ITS HISTORY SO FAR AS ST. HELENA IS CONCERNED

THIS regiment embarked on board the "Bucephalus," "Ceylon," and "Havannah." The light company had been embarked on board the "Northumberland," but on August 7th, 1815, on the arrival of the ships in Torbay, this company, under the command of Captain R. C. Mansel, was removed to the "Havannah." On the evening of August 8th, the "Northumberland," with the three other ships, set sail for St. Helena. The "Bucephalus" arrived on October 19th, the "Havannah" on the 17th, and the "Ceylon" on the 27th.

The 2nd, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and the light infantry companies were placed in barracks at Jamestown, but they removed on October 27th to Hutt's Gate, and their place at Jamestown was taken by the 1st, 3rd and 4th companies from the "Ceylon." The next day, however, these companies removed to Hutt's Gate, and the whole regiment removed to Deadwood Camp on November 3rd, 1815.

On May 6th, 1816, a detachment arrived from England on board the "Adamant," consisting of twenty-eight men, with Colonel Mansel, Captain Fuller, and Ensigns J. Sweney, George Despard, C. B. Morgan, Robt. Hatch, and Surgeon Robert Leaver. In June, 1817, it was decided to reduce the 2nd Battalion, and on July 23rd those to be disbanded sailed in the "Moirá"



for England, while those who had elected to join the 1st Battalion in India sailed in the "Baring" on July 29th. The 2nd Battalion was finally reduced on October 1st, 1817, and the officers were placed on half-pay on December 25th, but a small contingent was left in St. Helena under the command of Lieutenant James Trevenen.

Residence in India, which followed that of St. Helena, caused many fatalities in the ranks of the officers.

The following officers served with the 2nd Battalion in St. Helena :—

Lt.-Colonel.

John Mansel, c.B.

In command of the regiment. Arrived on May 6th, 1816, and left in January, 1817. Died 1863.

Major.

Oliver G. Fehrzen.

In command of the battalion until March 18th, 1816, when he left for the Cape. He was again in command from January to July, 1817. He died in India, January 19th, 1820.

Captains.

Robt. Younghusband.

Commanded the battalion during the absence of Fehrzen. Died 1853.

Charles Harrison.

Brigade Major. Transferred to the 20th Regiment, and retired from the Army in 1833.

John Fernandez.

Died 1824.



J. R. Mackay.	Died in India June 17th, 1818.
T. W. Poppleton.	Orderly Officer at Longwood. Died 1827.
Robt. Mansel.	Brother of the Colonel. Died 1864.
F. H. Fuller.	Arrived May 6th, 1816. Died 1865.

## Lieutenants.

Thos. Impett.	Died 1833.
Geo. Fitzgerald.	Died in India, February 10th, 1818.
James Trevenen.	In command of the contingent left in St. Helena. Died 1858.
Wm. Harrison.	
W. Portbury.	Joined the battalion in 1817, and was in command of the detachment for India. Died there, January 30th, 1819.
John Fraser.	Died 1875.
Robt. Macalpine.	Died October 17th, 1826.
Michael Nagle.	Died 1841.
Chas. Williams.	
G. S. Jeffery.	Retired 1827.
Cope Williams.	Died 1835.

## Ensigns.

James Stewart.	Died 1848.
John Ingleby.	Died in India, June 4th, 1818.
Ed. W. Browne.	Died 1834.
H. F. Davis.	Died 1821.
James Sweney.	Arrived May 6th, 1816. Died 1846.

## THE REGIMENTS IN ST. HELENA 23

George Despard.	Arrived May 6th, 1816. Retired 1828.
Robt. Hatch.	Arrived May 6th, 1816. Died 1835.
C. B. Morgan.	Arrived May 6th, 1816. Died 1829.
Adjutant.	
John Wilton.	Died in India, 1820.
Quartermaster.	
Robt. Blakie.	Died in India, March 25th, 1822.
Paymaster.	
John Maclean.	Died 1829.
Surgeons.	
Peter Papps.	Left in May, 1816. Died in India, October 7th, 1818.
J. W. Dunn.	Died December 19th, 1827.
Robt. Leaver.	Arrived May 6th, 1816. Retired in 1831.
Charles Maclean.	Died 1865.

References.—“Muster Rolls,” “Casualty Lists” and  
“Half-Pay Lists,” Record Office, “Army Lists,”  
“History of the 53rd Regiment,” Rogerson.

### 66TH FOOT REGIMENT (2nd Battalion)

This battalion of the 66th Foot Regiment arrived in St. Helena from England between April 20th and May 13th, 1816, in the transports—“David,” “Martha,” “Retriever,” “Amity,” “Abona,” “Queen,” “Regulus,”



"Barossa," "Berwick," and "Adamant." It was quartered in Jamestown until the arrival of the 1st Battalion from India, in July, 1817, when it was ordered home for reduction. Many of the officers and men were then placed on half-pay, but many elected to stay on in the Island, and were enrolled in the 1st Battalion.

The following officers came to St. Helena with the 2nd Battalion :—

Lt.-Colonel.

Daniel Dodgin.

Died in 1837.

Majors.

William Parke.

Placed on half-pay, November 25th, 1825. Retired 1826.

W. Seelinger.

Died 1819.

Captains.

H. P. Blakeney.

Left the Island in 1820. Orderly Officer at Longwood. Died 1822.

S. Turton.

Died on November 22nd, 1816.

J. P. Rose.

Placed on half-pay, November, 1817. Died 1849.

S. C. Morris.

Placed on half-pay, November, 1817. Retired in 1838.

T. B. Hickin.

Transferred to 29th Foot. Died 1842.

Alex. Macpherson.

Placed on half-pay, November, 1817. Died 1819.

H. Thompson.

Placed on half-pay, November, 1817.



REV. RICHARD BOYS





## Lieutenants.

Chas. McCarthy.	Joined the 1st Battalion. Retired in 1843.
W. Kingsmill.	Joined the 1st Battalion. Died 1858.
Augustus Nicolls.	Joined the 1st Battalion. Placed on half-pay, February, 1820.
Robt. G. Johnston.	Joined the 1st Battalion. Placed on half-pay, November, 1819. Died 1846.
Wm. Thornton Servantes.	Joined the 1st Battalion. Placed on half-pay, September, 1819. Died 1855.
Henry Duncan Dodgin.	Transferred to 20th Foot. Retired in 1839.
P. J. Douglas.	Died 1827.
G. B. Shipley.	Placed on half-pay, November, 1817. Died 1828.
A. W. Birmingham.	Dismissed the Service in May, 1816. Left the Island some months later.
W. C. Bagnall.	Died 1821.
John Clark.	Placed on half-pay, August, 1818. Died 1865.

## Ensigns.

Thomas Chatterton.	Placed on half-pay, March, 1818. Died 1836.
William Harford.	Placed on half-pay, July, 1818. Retired 1826.
Fred Croad.	Joined 20th Foot. Retired in 1845.
Wm. Henry Wardell.	Died 1880.



Daniel Benjamin Townsend Dodgin.	Son of the Colonel. Joined 1st Battalion. Died 1839.
Robt. Macdougall.	Drowned while fishing, December 14th, 1818.
F. J. Haynes.	Placed on half-pay, November, 1817. Died 1822.
Adjutant.	
W. M. Gilbert.	Died 1826.
Surgeons.	
Francis Leigh.	Placed on half-pay, December, 1817. Died 1839.
George Dunlop.	Transferred to 29th Foot in 1820. Died 1827.
Hugh Cunningham.	Arrived 1818. Placed on half-pay, January, 1819. Died 1826.
Paymaster.	
Thos. Lediard.	Placed on half-pay, December, 1817.

## 66TH REGIMENT

## (1st Battalion)

This battalion arrived from India between June 27th and July 6th, 1817, in the "Cæsar," "Catherine Griffiths," and "Dorah." A wing of the regiment, some 500 strong, removed to Deadwood to take the place of the 53rd Regiment, which had been sent to India. In February, 1820, this wing in turn gave place to the 20th Foot at Deadwood, and returned to Jamestown and Francis Plain. On April 29th, 1819, a detachment of about 400 men left the Island for England in the "Oromocto."

The following officers were in St. Helena with the regiment :—

Lt.-Colonel.

Charles Nicol.	Left the Island early in March, 1818, and returned in April, 1820. Died 1850.
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Major.

Edmund Lascelles.	Commanded the regiment from September 13th to November 12th, 1817, and from February 25th to October 23rd, 1818. Left the Island on October 29th, 1818. Died 1851.
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Captains.

James Baird.	Left the Island, April 20th, 1819. Retired 1838.
Anthony Richards.	Left the Island in 1820. Retired 1823.
T. B. Dunn.	Arrived August 21st, 1819. Died 1823.
Peter Duncan.	Retired in 1838.
J. H. Ellis.	Retired 1831.
Wm. Dunbar.	Arrived in 1821. Died 1833.
George Nicholls.	Orderly Officer at Longwood. Arrived June 26th, 1818. Left in 1820. Died 1857.
G. L. Goldie.	Arrived June 26th, 1818. Died 1863.

Lieutenants.

Wm. Davy.	Drowned while fishing, December 14th, 1818.
W. L'Estrange.	



T. H. Moffett.	
John Codd.	Left the Island, April 29th, 1819. Died 1826.
R. H. Reardon.	Left October 29th, 1818. Died 1847.
John Ellis.	
James Roberts.	
John Usher.	Arrived with the regiment. Left November, 1818. Returned August, 1819, and remained to the end. Died 1868.
John Donelan.	Left the Island on April 29th, 1819. Died 1832.
John Garstin.	Left the Island on April 29th, 1819.
William Rhynd.	Left the Island on April 29th, 1819. Died 1829.
Apollos Morris.	Died 1826.
Hamilton Edmunds.	Became Barrack-Master at Hounslow. Died 1870.
Thomas Mack.	Died 1819, after leaving St. Helena.
Wm. Snow.	Joined 47th Foot in 1820.
F. A. Gould.	Arrived in 1818. Died 1877.

## Quartermaster.

John Stephens.

## Adjutant.

W. Mackenzie.

## Ensigns.

W. A. Turner.

Thomas Rainsford.	Joined in 1819. Retired 1844.
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Philip Ditmas.	Joined in 1819. Retired 1839.
Angus de Fountain.	Joined in 1820. Died 1825.
John Ward.	Arrived in 1821. Died 1878.
Charles Cook.	Arrived in 1821.

Surgeons.

Matthew Heir.	Left April 29th, 1819. Died in 1849.
Francis Burton.	Arrived March 31st, 1821. Died 1828.
Walter Henry.	Died 1860.
Thomas Laidlaw.	Arrived in 1818. Died 1822.

Paymaster.

John Kerr.	Arrived in 1819. Took the name of Trattle. Died 1849.
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References.—“ Muster Rolls,” “ Casualty Lists,” “ Half-Pay Lists,” Record Office, “ Army Lists.”

20TH FOOT REGIMENT

This regiment arrived in St. Helena between March 29th and April 8th, 1819, in the “ Albinia,” “ Oro-mocto,” “ Lloyds,” and “ Windermere.” It was at first quartered at Jamestown, Francis Plain, Lemon Valley, High Knoll, and Ladder Hill, but in February, 1820, it was removed to Deadwood to replace the 66th Regiment, and remained there until the death of the Emperor. At the funeral, twelve men of the Grenadier company of the regiment had the honour of bearing to the grave, during the latter part of the journey, the coffin containing the mortal remains of the mighty conqueror.



The following officers were with the regiment in St. Helena :—

Lt.-Colonel.

Samuel South.

Commander of the regiment. He left the Island on September 3rd, 1820, and died in 1847.

Majors.

Edward Jackson.

Commanded in the absence of Colonel South. Died 1841.

John Hogg.

Retired in 1833.

Captains.

Hamlet Obins.

Belonged formerly to the 53rd Regiment. Died 1848.

Englebert Lutyens.

Orderly Officer at Longwood. Died on passage home from India in 1830.

William Crokat.

Orderly Officer at Longwood. Died 1879.

George Tovey.

Left the Island in 1820. Died 1858.

Forbes Champagné.

Left early in 1821. Died 1843.

R. Gethin.

Left early in 1821. Died 1842.

Richard Power.

Retired 1824.

Guy Rotton.

Died 1824.

Lieutenants.

James Goldfrap.

Retired 1832.

Alexander Baillie.

Retired 1821. Died soon after.

Charles Smith.

C. Connor.	Died 1844.
James White.	Left the Island at the end of 1820. Retired 1828.
Thomas Edwards.	Died 1861.
R. C. Oakley.	Died June 2nd, 1835.
Charles South.	Son of the Colonel. Died 1874.
Henry Duncan Dodgin.	The Artist. Transferred from 66th Regiment. Retired in 1839.
M. A. Stanley.	Arrived in March, 1820. Died 1852.

## Ensigns.

G. H. Wood.	Died 1874.
J. F. Wallace.	Retired 1822.
D. W. A. Douglas.	Retired 1839.
Thomas Moore.	Died 1850.
James Rae.	Retired 1830.
A. Congreve.	Died 1838.
Giles Eyre.	Died 1843.
Duncan Darroch.	Arrived in March, 1820. Died 1847.

## Surgeons.

Archibald Arnott.	Died 1855.
G. H. Rutledge.	Died in India 1833.

## Adjutant.

John Storey.	Died 1830.
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## Quartermaster.

John Dodd.	Died September 29th, 1826.
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## Paymaster.

Alexander Tovey.	Died 1866.
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References.—“ Muster Rolls,” “ Casualty Lists,” “ Half-Pay Lists,” Record Office, “ Army Lists,” “ History of 20th Regiment,” B. Smyth.



## THE ST. HELENA REGIMENTS

These regiments were maintained by the H.E.I.C., and consisted of artillery and infantry. The two regiments together mustered about 700 men. The establishment for officers was fixed by the East India Company as follows :—For the infantry : 1 colonel, 1 major, 4 captains, 8 lieutenants, and 4 ensigns. For the artillery : 1 colonel, 1 major, 4 captains, 9 first lieutenants, 3 second lieutenants, and 1 cadet.

The regiments were not recruited from the inhabitants of St. Helena, for, on looking through the muster rolls, it will be seen that few men were natives, and that the large majority had their domicile in England. Indeed, most of them appear to have been time-expired men on their way home from service in the British Army in India or the Cape.

The following officers belonged to the regiments during the captivity :—

## THE ST. HELENA FOOT REGIMENT

Colonel.

John Alexander Wright.

Major.

Charles Robert George  
Hodson.

Judge Advocate.

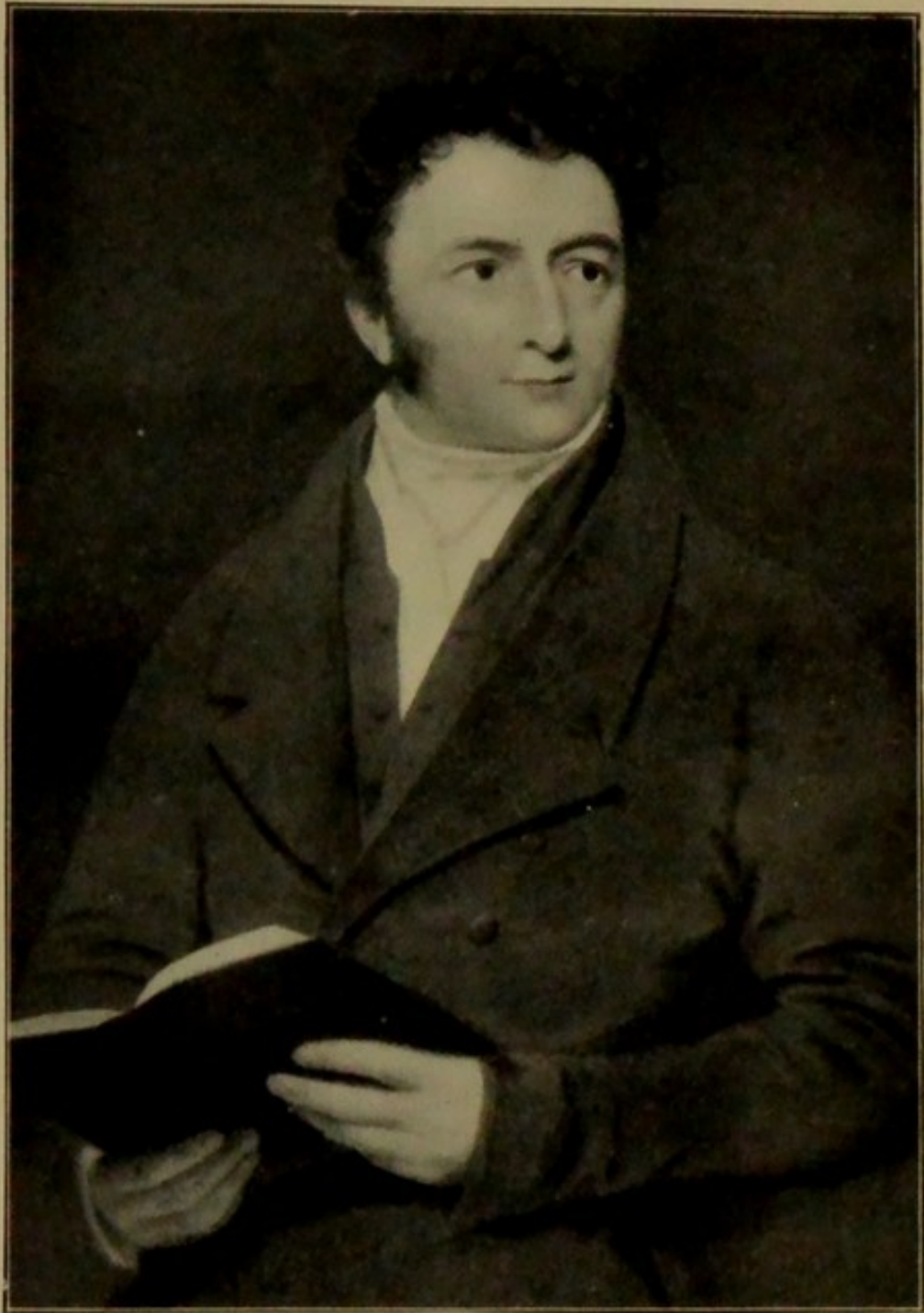
Captains.

Patrick Killin.  
Chas. Sampson.  
Robt. Wright.  
Henry Sutton Cole.  
Francis Seale.  
Onesiphorus Beale.

Retired in 1818.  
Died August 14th, 1817.  
Retired in 1818.







FRANCIS BURTON, M.D.

## Lieutenants.

Robt. Mason.	Died 1823.
Jas. Torbett.	Died 1820.
John W. Seale.	Retired in 1818.
John Worrall Torbett.	Invalided 1827.
James Bennett.	
John Mellis, jun.	Died 1824.
Patrick Cunningham.	
John Bligh Spiller.	
James Ramsay.	
Daniel MacMahon.	

## Ensigns.

Geo. Paterson.
Alex. A. Younge.
M. O'Connor.
J. Sampson.
Jno. Doveton.

## Cadets.

Jas. Pritchard.
Wm. Mason.
Wm. Hayes.

## THE ST. HELENA ARTILLERY

## Colonel.

Ed. Chas. Smith.	Died 1818.
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## Major.

David Kinnaird.	Died July, 1829.
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## Captains.

Hy. Huff Pritchard.	In charge of Telegraphs. Died 1828.
John Barnes.	Town Major and Military Surveyor. Died May 2nd, 1817.



Thos. J. B. Cole.	Town Major after Captain Barnes. Died 1827.
Wm. Milne.	Retired in 1818.
Henry Broadway.	Invalided 1827.
Geo. Lott Phillips.	Retired in 1818.

## Lieutenants.

Jno. Ed. Shortis.	Superintendent of Public Works. Invalided 1827.
Dav. K. Pritchard.	A.D.C. to Governor.
Thos. Thorne.	Adjutant.
Thos. Montgomery Hunter.	
Geo. And. Dentaafe.	Civil Surveyor.
Robt. Eager.	Died April 24th, 1817.
Wm. Hall.	Died January 1st, 1818.
Robt. Armstrong.	
Dan. O'Connor.	
Wm. Jas. Fuller.	
Cæsar Jno. Ashton.	Died 1833.

## Second Lieutenants.

Chas. De Fountain.
Chas. Jno. Sampson.
Wm. Orlando Kennedy.
Wm. Doveton, jun.
Jas. Jno. Pritchard.

## Cadets.

Jas. B. Mason.	
Hy. W. Knipe.	Died 1826.
Geo. Richard Mead.	

References.—“The East India Company's Annual Registers and Directory,” 1814-36; “W.O., 43, 65,948, Record Office.”

## ARTILLERY OFFICERS

## Major.

James Power.	Died 1851.
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## Captains.

Thomas Greatly.	Died 1849.
James Gray.	

## Lieutenants.

Gabriel Matthias.	Died 1839.
Henry Hutchins.	Died 1827.
David Patullo.	Died 1831.
Lynch Talbot.	Died 1833.

## Surgeon.

James Verling, M.D.	Died 1857.
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## ENGINEER OFFICERS

## Major.

Anthony Emmett.	Died 1872.
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## Lieutenants.

Hale Young Wortham.	Died 1882.
Alexander Wallace.	



THE FLAG-SHIPS STATIONED AT  
ST. HELENA

H.M.S. "NORTHUMBERLAND," 78 GUNS

SAILED from the Start, August 8th, 1815. Arrived  
St. Helena, October 15th, 1815. Left St. Helena, June  
19th, 1816.

Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn.

J. R. Glover. Secretary to the Admiral.

James Blunden. Clerk to the Secretary.

W. Roberts. Flag-Lieutenant.

Officers.

C. B. H. Ross. Captain.

Mark H. Sweny. Senior Lieutenant.

George Thomas. Master.

P. S. O'Reilly. Purser.

Richard Dickinson. Lieutenant.

Thomas Cowan. „

Charles Blood. „

John F. Warren. „

T. J. Davies. „

F. J. Lewis. „

William Warden. Surgeon.

Barry O'Meara. Supernumerary Surgeon.

William Gilchrist. Assistant Surgeon.

William Hogg. „

Joseph Breadon. „

George Rennell. Chaplain.

In command of the Marines.

George Beatty. Captain.

Munro Fenton, Thomas Hurdle, and J. B. Castieu.  
Lieutenants.

In addition to Napoleon and his suite, the "Northumberland" also carried the artillery detachment destined for service in St. Helena, under the command of the following officers :—

Captain Thomas Greatly.

Lieutenant Gabriel Matthias (with him Mrs. Matthias).

Lieutenant Henry Hutchins.

James Verling, M.D. Surgeon.

Sir George Bingham, in command of the troops in St. Helena, and Denzil Ibbetson, the Commissary, were also on board, and amongst the midshipmen was H. Nelson Mills, whose interesting letters have been published.

The above lists have been taken from the "Muster Rolls" of the "Northumberland," in the Record Office, and it is worthy of remark that wherever the name of "General Bonaparte" appears on the ship's muster books the word "General" has been crossed out and the word "Empr." written over it. Notice is called to this fact by three bold marks of exclamation in the margin.

The after-history of the "Northumberland" is not without interest. On her return home from St. Helena, she was placed out of commission, and for a time was used as a "Lazaretto." Eventually, however, she was moored in Stangate Creek as a quarantine ship, and on this duty she remained until 1850, when she was finally broken up.

Reference.—"The Admiralty Muster Rolls," Record Office.

#### H.M.S. "NEWCASTLE," 60 GUNS

Arrived St. Helena, June 17th, 1816. Left July 4th, 1817.

Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm.

John Irving. Secretary to the Admiral.

John Hutchings. Clerk to the Secretary.

W. E. Wright. Flag-Lieutenant.



## Officers.

Henry Meynell. Captain.  
 Peter Salmond. Senior Lieutenant.  
 Rueben Paine. Lieutenant.  
 John B. Hall.        "  
 Henry Ogilvie.       "  
 Jenkin Jones.       "  
 William Thompson. Surgeon.  
 Wm. Watts. Assistant Surgeon.  
 John Castles.       "  
 R. L. Hicks. Master.  
 Thomas Berry. Purser.  
 W. H. Taylor. Chaplain.

## In command of the Marines.

Major R. P. Boys.  
 Lieutenant H. T. Watkins.

## Passengers.

Lady Malcolm. Wife of the Admiral.  
 Count Balmain. The Russian Commissioner.  
 Heinrich Peyle. Servant to the Russian Commissioner.  
 Marquis de Montchenu. The French Commissioner.  
 Captain de Gors. A.D.C. to the French Commissioner.  
 Thomas Salambre. Servant to the French Commissioner.  
 Lieutenant George Leigh. On his way to join the  
 "Spey."

Reference.—"Admiralty Muster Rolls," Record Office.

## H.M.S. "CONQUEROR," 74 GUNS

Arrived St. Helena, June 29th, 1817. Left July 20th,  
 1820.

Rear-Admiral Robert J. Plampin.  
 John Elliott. Secretary to the Admiral.

## Officers.

John Davie. Captain. (Succeeded by Captain James Wallis and Captain Francis Stanfell.)

J. W. Cairns. Senior Lieutenant.

W. J. Prowse. Lieutenant.

A. S. Pearson.               "

W. F. Parker.               "

James J. Onslow.       "

H. J. Rous.               "

W. D. Evance.           "

Mark Kent.               "

H. C. Harrison.       "

A. Cuppage.             "

C. Fleetwood.          "

G. Vevers.               "

Vaughan Lloyd.       "

Orbell Oakes.          "

John Andrews. Master.

John Stokoe. Surgeon.

James Skeoch. Assistant Surgeon.

John Greenish.       "

Michael Sampson. Chaplain.

John Shea. Purser.

## In command of the Marines.

Captain Wybourn.

William Young, S. Garmiston, George Millard. Lieutenants.

Other Surgeons who belonged to the "Conqueror" during her stay on the St. Helena Station were :—

Alex. Reid.	John Thompson.
Wm. Clark.	T. Robertson.
Joshua Little.	Alex. Gilfillan.
H. Ferguson.	John Hateley.
Robert Malcolm.	James Steret.



Owing to the length of stay, frequent changes occurred in the personnel of the ship.

Reference.—“Admiralty Muster Rolls,” Record Office.

#### H.M.S. “PHAETON,” 46 GUNS

Arrived St. Helena, April 14th, 1816. Left January 8th, 1818.

##### Officers.

Francis Stanfell. Captain.  
John N. Campbell. Senior Lieutenant.  
Richard Gregory. Lieutenant.  
Joseph Marshall. „  
Richard Hoare. „  
William Price. Surgeon.  
Thos. Brownrigg. Assistant Surgeon.  
John Glencorse. „  
Robert Burn. Purser.  
Andrew Lewis. Master.

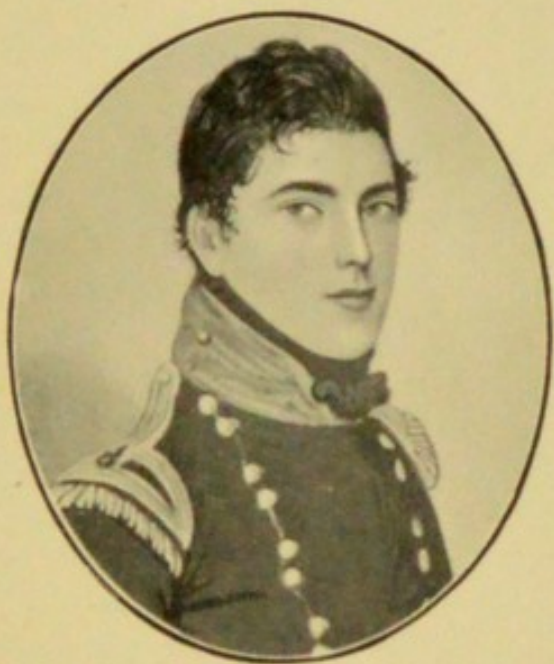
##### In command of the Marines.

John Campbell. First Lieutenant.

##### Passengers.

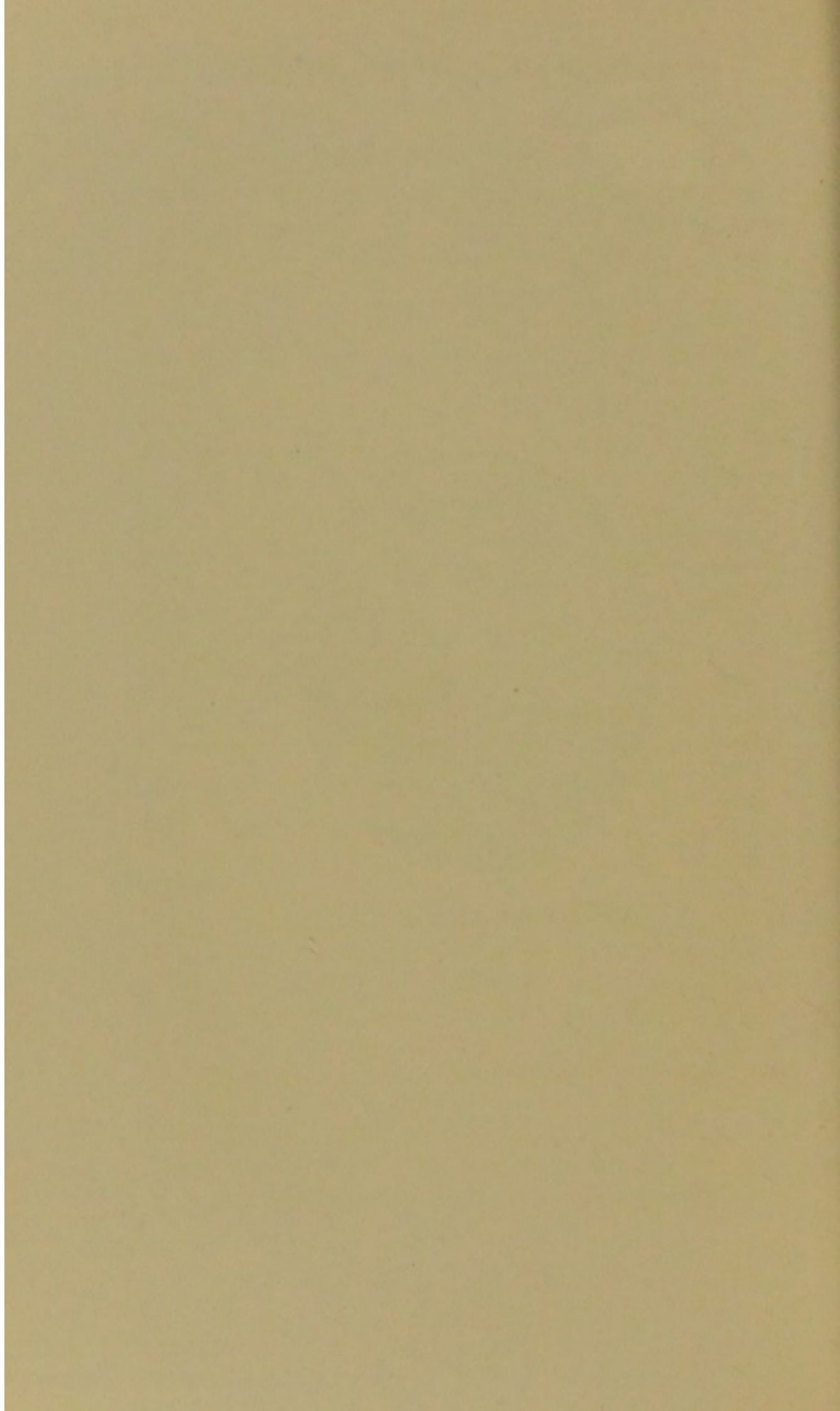
Sir Hudson and Lady Lowe.  
Miss S. Johnson. Daughter of Lady Lowe. (The eldest daughter did not sail in the “Phaeton.”)  
William Janisch. The clerk to Sir Hudson Lowe.  
Lady Bingham.  
Major Emmett and Lieutenants Wortham, and Wallace of the Engineers.  
Major Gorrequer, Lt.-Colonel Lyster, and Lieutenant Basil Jackson.

Reference.—“Admiralty Muster Rolls,” Record Office.



CAPTAIN WILLIAM COKAT





## H.M.S. "VIGO," 74 GUNS

Arrived at St. Helena, July 14th, 1820. Left September 11th, 1821.

Rear-Admiral Robert Lambert.  
 E. E. Vidal. Secretary.  
 G. Woodley. Clerk.  
 F. K. Lamb. „  
 G. R. Lambert. Flag-Lieutenant.

## Officers.

Thomas Brown. Captain.  
 F. J. Lewis. Senior Lieutenant.  
 Archibald Maclean. Lieutenant.  
 George Welsch. „  
 R. Lambert Baynes. „  
 George T. Gooch. „  
 H. R. Moorsom. „  
 Robert Campbell. „  
 John Town. Master.  
 Stephen Street. Purser.  
 Charles Mitchell. Surgeon.  
 James Lawrence. Assistant Surgeon.  
 Campbell France. „  
 W. D. Carter. Chaplain.

## In command of the Marines.

J. M. Pilcher. Captain.  
 W. S. Knapman. Lieutenant.  
 David Jones. „

Reference.—“Admiralty Muster Rolls,” Record Office.



## THE ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

1815-21

### A

**ABEL, Dr. Clarke (1780-1826).** Surgeon and Naturalist to the "Amherst Mission" to China. He was presented to Napoleon at Longwood on July 1st, 1817, and has left a record of his impressions on that occasion in his book, "A Narrative of a Journey into the Interior of China," published in 1818. Abel became physician to Lord Amherst in India.

**ABELL, Mrs. Elizabeth.** See Balcombe, Betsy.

**AMHERST, William Pitt, 1st Earl (1775-1857).** Lord Amherst sailed from Spithead in February, 1816, on a special Mission to China, and arrived in Canton in July of the same year. The mission was unsuccessful, and on the return home the "Alceste" frigate, which conveyed it, was wrecked. After many privations and adventures the mission arrived at Batavia, and proceeded to England in the "Cæsar." St. Helena was reached on June 27th, 1817, and on July 1st Lord Amherst had a long interview with Napoleon, and afterwards presented his suite. Lord Amherst kept a diary of events during the journey, and it contains an account of his impressions of his interview with Napoleon. This diary has not, however, been published. (See Lord Amherst in the "Rulers of India" series.)



ANTOMMARCHI, Francesco. Physician to Napoleon in St. Helena. Born at Morsiglia in Corsica in 1789. Died at Santiago in Cuba, April 3rd, 1838. Aged 49.

Antommarchi studied medicine at Pisa, and then at Florence, where he became a pupil of Mascagni, and eventually one of his prosectors. He was chosen to fill the post of physician to Napoleon by Cardinal Fesch and "Madame Mère," and left Gravesend in the "Snipe" on July 9th, 1819, reaching St. Helena on September 20th of the same year. He paid his first professional visit to Napoleon on September 23rd, and remained in attendance until the end. Although a most capable anatomist and pathologist, his knowledge of medicine was not extensive, and his abilities may be summed up in Napoleon's own words: "I would give him my horse to dissect, but I would not trust him with the cure of my own foot." Antommarchi performed the post-mortem examination; but although he expressed himself in agreement with the official report, he refused to sign it. He left St. Helena in the "Camel" on May 27th, 1821, and arrived at Spithead on July 31st; but early in September he left England for the Continent, and after visiting Italy and Poland, lived in Paris from 1834 to 1836. In 1825 he published his "*Derniers Moments de Napoléon*," and in 1833 advertised copies of the death-mask, which he claimed to have executed in St. Helena. It is now known, however, that Dr. Burton was the author of the famous mask of Napoleon's features. Besides "*Les Derniers Moments*," Antommarchi published "*Mémoires et observations sur le choléra morbus régnant à Varsovie*," 1831, and "*Mémoires sur la non-existence de communication normale des vaisseaux lymphatiques et des veines*."



For further information concerning Antom-marchi, see "Autour Ste. Hélène," by M. Frédéric Masson.

ARCHAMBAULT, Achille Thomas L'Union. Piquer and coachman to Napoleon in St. Helena.

He was in the service of the Emperor during the whole of the captivity, and returned in 1840 for the exhumation. In September, 1818, when the two horses, Dolly and Regent, were running at the Deadwood Races, Archambault rode down the course in a drunken condition. The steward chased him off the course, and administered a horse-whipping. Napoleon witnessed the whole scene from Longwood through his glass, and reprimanded his coachman. (See Nicholls' Journal, "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,210.)

ARCHAMBAULT, Joseph Olivier. Brother of the above and a groom at Longwood.

He was deported with Piontkowski, Santini, and Rousseau, and left the Island on October 19th, 1816, in the "David." He arrived at Spithead on February 15th, 1817, and eventually took service with Joseph in the United States.

ARNOTT, Archibald, M.D. (1771-1855). Surgeon to the 20th Foot Regiment.

Arnott was educated at Edinburgh, and in 1796 joined the 11th Light Dragoons as Assistant Surgeon. Three years later he was promoted Surgeon to the 20th Foot Regiment. In this capacity he saw considerable war service, was present at the Battle of Maida, the Walcheren Expedition, and many of the important engagements in the Peninsular War. For these services he obtained the medal with eight clasps. He came to St. Helena with his regiment in 1819, and on April 1st, 1821,



paid his first professional visit to Napoleon. He quickly established excellent relations with Napoleon, and continued in constant attendance until the end. As a mark of his esteem, the Emperor gave him a gold snuff-box, on which he scratched an "N," and ordered the sum of £600 to be given him. Arnott attended the post-mortem examination, and, in 1822, published "An Account of the Last Illness of Napoleon." His views, however, during the progress of the case will be found in the "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,157, and they differ considerably from those expressed in his book.

## B

**BALCOMBE, Betsy.** Younger daughter of William Balcombe, and friend of Napoleon. Born about 1802. Died 1871. Married, in 1832, Mr. Abell.

Betsy Balcombe came into close personal contact with Napoleon, at her father's house, "The Briars," where the Emperor resided until his removal to Longwood on December 10th, 1815. She soon became a great favourite, and paid him many visits at Longwood. On March 18th, 1818, she left the Island with her parents, and after remaining in England for a few years, went to reside in New South Wales, where her father had been appointed Colonial Treasurer. She afterwards had interviews with Joseph Bonaparte, and was favourably noticed by Napoleon III, who granted her a tract of land in Algiers. In 1844 Mrs. Abell published her recollections, and two other editions followed in 1845 and 1853. A fourth edition, by her daughter, appeared in 1873.

**BALCOMBE, Mrs. Jane.** Wife of William Balcombe.

Napoleon once remarked that Mrs. Balcombe reminded him of Josephine, and it is interesting



to compare the portrait of this lady, now published for the first time, with those of the Empress.

BALCOMBE, William (1779-1829). Superintendent of Public Sales under the East India Company, and Purveyor to Longwood.

William Balcombe came to St. Helena in 1807, and in addition to his official position with the East India Company, was a merchant in partnership with William Fowler and Joseph Cole, the principal business of the firm being that of purveyors to the various ships touching at Jamestown. The two eldest children were born before the Balcombes came to St. Helena, but a son was born on the Island and was named Alexander Beatson, after the Governor of that time. On October 18th, 1815, Napoleon took up his residence in a small pavilion in the garden of Balcombe's house, "The Briars," and here he remained until his removal to Longwood on December 10th. Napoleon at once showed an interest in Balcombe's youngest daughter Betsy, and his fondness for this child is one of the most pleasing episodes in the history of the captivity. Balcombe owed the appointment of his firm as purveyors to Longwood to the intimacy which existed between Napoleon and his family, and on account of these friendly relations the Balcombes frequently visited the Emperor at Longwood, and on several occasions they had the honour of being included in the company at dinner.

The close business alliance, however, between Balcombe and the residents at Longwood soon aroused the suspicion of Sir Hudson, and it became evident to the purveyor that it would not be safe to remain in St. Helena much longer. He, therefore, left the Island with his family on March 18th,



1818, and soon after his departure Lowe received proof of his suspicion that Balcombe had been acting as an intermediary in the transmission of clandestine correspondence to Europe, and in negotiating bills drawn by Napoleon. It was, therefore, impossible for Balcombe to return to St. Helena, and he remained in England until 1823, when, after having been approached by Lowe, he filed an affidavit in his favour, in the case of *Lowe v. O'Meara*. This affidavit probably induced Lowe to withdraw the objections he had steadily opposed to Balcombe's advancement. Indeed, in the "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,233, is a letter from Balcombe, dated 1823, in which he expresses the hope that Sir Hudson will now overlook any differences that may have existed.

Very soon after this Balcombe was appointed by the British Government to the important post of Colonial Treasurer of New South Wales, and he left England with his family to take up his duties, which he performed with great ability until his death in 1829. It should not be forgotten that Lord Bathurst appointed Balcombe to this post, and this action may be regarded as sufficient evidence that his Lordship did not take a very serious view of his supposed irregularities in St. Helena.

Most writers have credited Balcombe with the Christian name of "James," but this error is owing to Forsyth having published a letter of his over that signature. His real name was "William."

BALMAIN, Alexandre Antonovitch, Count de. The Russian Commissioner.

He was descended from the Scotch family Ramsay, and came out to St. Helena in the "Newcastle," landing on June 17th, 1816. He left the



Island on May 3rd, 1820, having married Miss Johnson, the elder stepdaughter of Sir Hudson Lowe. For a fuller account, see "Autour Ste. Hélène," by Masson, and the Official Reports of Balmain, published in "La Revue Bleue," 1897.

**BATHURST, Earl, Colonial Secretary (1762-1834).**

Was responsible to the British Government for the safe custody of Napoleon. Nearly all the original despatches sent to Lord Bathurst by Lowe are in the possession of the present holder of the title.

**BAXTER, Alexander (1777-1841), Deputy-Inspector of Hospitals in St. Helena.**

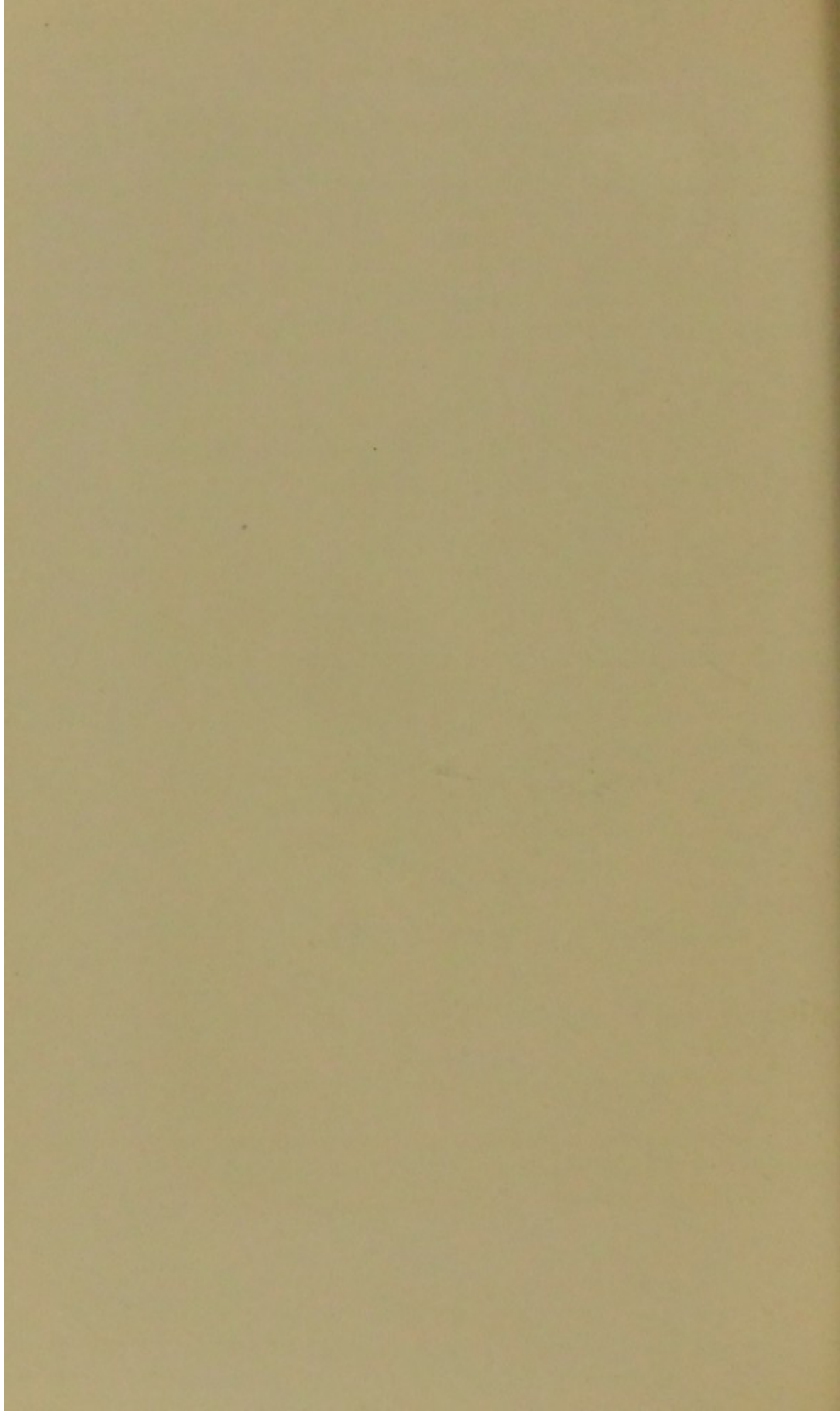
Baxter was educated for the medical profession in Edinburgh, and on August 3rd, 1799, received his first appointment in the Army as Assistant Surgeon to the 35th Foot Regiment. With this regiment he proceeded to the Mediterranean and, after serving with it for some years, was given the appointment of Surgeon to the Royal Corsican Rangers on April 12th, 1805. While engaged in this capacity he was brought into contact with Sir Hudson Lowe, and was present with him at the surrender of Capri, in October, 1808.

On April 23rd, 1809, Baxter was appointed Surgeon to the 48th Foot Regiment, and was present with it at the Battle of Albuera. He remained with this regiment until September 3rd, 1812, when he was advanced to the rank of Surgeon to the Forces. In 1814 he was in medical charge of the troops at Bordeaux destined to embark for America, and proceeded with them to that continent, where he was present at the Battle of Bladensburg, and at the battle near Baltimore, where General Ross lost his life.



MAJOR GIDEON GORREQUER





Baxter was next appointed Deputy-Inspector of Hospitals in St. Helena, at the request of Sir Hudson Lowe, and arrived with the Governor in the "Phaeton" on April 14th, 1816. He remained in the Island until 1819, and during that time played a most important part in the difficult situations which arose regarding medical attendance on the Emperor. Lowe was most anxious that Baxter should be consulted by Napoleon but, although the Emperor had no objection to seeing him as a private individual, and did see him in that capacity on several occasions, he was firm in his resolve not to receive him as a medical attendant. When Napoleon refused to permit O'Meara to furnish Lowe with bulletins regarding his health, Baxter made the reports, after receiving a verbal account from O'Meara. These reports can be consulted in volume 20,156, "Lowe Papers," but the originals are in the possession of his grand-nephew, Dr. Silk, and apparently many corrections were necessary before they were finally accepted by Sir Hudson Lowe.

After leaving St. Helena in 1819, Baxter graduated M.D. at Edinburgh, his thesis being "De Febre Remittente," and from 1829 to 1831 he was in medical charge in Barbados.

BERNARD (surname, Heymann) and his wife. Servants to Count and Countess Bertrand. They became home-sick and left the Island in June, 1818.

BERTRAND, Henri Gratien, General, Comte de (1773-1844).

Bertrand was with Napoleon during the whole period of the captivity, and occupied the position of "Grand Marshal." He lived first at Hutt's Gate, and then at a newly-built villa close to Longwood. The villa is now occupied by Mr. Deason.



BERTRAND, the Countess, wife of Count Bertrand, and daughter of General Arthur Dillon, an Irish refugee. She and her family remained in St. Helena throughout the detention.

BERTRAND, Napoleon.	} Children of the Bertrands. Arthur was born in St. Helena.
BERTRAND, Henri.	
BERTRAND, Hortense.	
BERTRAND, Arthur.	

The Bertrands left St. Helena on May 27th, 1821, in the "Camel," and arrived at Spithead on July 31st in the same year.

For full accounts of the career of Count Bertrand, see "Autour Ste. Hélène" and "Napoléon à Ste. Hélène," by Frédéric Masson.

BINGHAM, Brigadier-General Sir George Ridout, K.C.B. (1776-1833). In command of the troops in St. Helena.

Bingham entered the 69th Foot Regiment in 1793 as Ensign, and became Lt.-Colonel of the 53rd Foot in 1805. He served through the greater part of the Peninsular War with distinction, and was selected to command the troops destined for St. Helena. He sailed in the "Northumberland," and remained in the Island until May, 1820, when he threw up his command chiefly on account of the refusal of the East India Company to confirm his appointment of unofficial member of the St. Helena Council. He was on friendly terms with Napoleon, and visited him frequently until the restrictions made such a course difficult. He kept the records of the 53rd Foot for many years, and most of them are in his handwriting.

BIRMINGHAM, Lieutenant A. W., of the 2nd Battalion of the 66th Foot.

This officer was tried by court-martial in May,



1816, immediately after his arrival in St. Helena, for conduct unbecoming a gentleman while on board ship, and was dismissed the service. While waiting to be sent home he became involved in the disputes between the Governor and the people at Longwood, and for a time was placed in close confinement. Birmingham filed an affidavit in favour of O'Meara, and at that time he was a major in the army of the Colombian Republic.

**BLAKENEY**, Captain Henry Pierce (1782-1822). Orderly Officer at Longwood, from July, 1817, to September, 1818.

Blakeney was the youngest son of William Blakeney, M.P., Lt.-Colonel of the Welsh Fusiliers, and a younger brother of Sir Edward Blakeney, a soldier of considerable renown. Captain Blakeney entered the Army as Ensign in the 66th Foot, and saw much active service in the Peninsular War. He was promoted Captain in 1806, and Major in 1818. While on duty at Longwood he earned the esteem of the residents but, notwithstanding this favourable impression, they afterwards charged him with having been in the habit of inspecting the soiled linen for the purpose of detecting forbidden correspondence. This charge Captain Blakeney flatly denied, and the imputation that both Blakeney and his wife were constantly under the influence of alcohol rests on very doubtful evidence.

**BOORMAN**. A plumber and paper-hanger, often employed with Paine, a painter, at Longwood, and in Napoleon's apartments.

**BOUGES**, Etienne. A servant in the employ of Count Bertrand, who replaced Bernard, and left behind him an account of life at Longwood.

**BOWEN**, Captain John. The Commander of the "Salsette."



Apart from the fact that Bowen had an interview with Napoleon on May 12th, 1816, he claims remembrance as the founder of the first British settlement in Van Diemen's Land in 1803, when in command of the "Glatton."

Boys, Richard, The Reverend (1785-1867). Chaplain to the H.E.I.C. in St. Helena from 1811 to 1830.

During the captivity, Mr. Boys was the senior Chaplain in St. Helena, and also master of the head school there. He was the incumbent of the "Country Church," situated outside the grounds of Plantation House, and here he preached trenchant sermons against all wrongdoers, and Admiral Plampin in particular, much to the annoyance of the Governor. Mr. Boys was an honest, but rigid and uncompromising, divine, and was in constant conflict with the authorities on account of his outspoken opinions. The St. Helena Council Minutes contain frequent references to the difficulties encountered through the contentious spirit of the Chaplain. On January 23rd, 1815, the Council decreed that "The controversy between the Reverend Mr. Jones and the Reverend Mr. Boys was productive of disgraceful effects, and they were ordered to abstain from further personal controversy, or circulation of written or printed letters referring to it on pain of suspension." On April 16th, 1816, the Council called upon Mr. Boys for an explanation of his conduct in refusing to take into the church a corpse. He excused himself on the grounds that the Island was full of superstitions, and that the people passed round the altar, and littered the church with myrtle leaves. Again, on June 4th, 1821, Boys was reprimanded by the Council for calling after Mr. G. Blenkens, the assistant storekeeper, "Blenkens, when is the



green bag to be given out ? ” On June 11th, 1821, Mr. Boys complained of the violation of the Lord's Day. The Council thought there was no foundation for this complaint, but “ thought Mr. Boys was the dictator of many of the indecorous and insulting letters to the Government.” In the eyes of the Council, however, the worst offence of Mr. Boys was the sermon he preached on July 8th, 1821, that is, the last Sunday before the departure from St. Helena of Sir Hudson Lowe and his staff. On that occasion he chose as his text, “ Verily I say unto you that publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of God before you.” In this way did Boys ring down the curtain on the drama of the captivity, and repay the official persons for their judgments on his conduct. The Council called upon him for a copy of his sermon, which he flatly refused to give, and Mr. Brooke was deputed to go to church the next Sunday and report on the utterances of the Chaplain. His report was to the effect that the said utterances were disgraceful.

Boys went to Rio Janeiro, but Sir William Thornton was compelled to send him away on account of “ his indecent behaviour when a catholic procession was passing by.”

So far as the captivity of Napoleon was concerned, Mr. Boys was brought into contact with Longwood on one occasion only. He buried Cipriani, and for this service was given by Napoleon on April 18th, 1818, a snuff-box for himself, and £25 for the poor. The snuff-box was returned, however, on account of having been given in a manner contrary to the regulations. (See “ Forsyth,” Vol. III, p. 8.)

Boys was vicar of Loose in Kent from 1854 to 1867, and he published two works, “ Elements of Christian Knowledge ” and “ Primitive Obliqui-



ties." So much has been said of the peculiar incidents in the career of Boys in St. Helena, that it is only right that the other side should be heard. This is found in Robson's "Memoirs of St. Helena," p. 64, and is quoted from a private letter of Lieutenant G. H. Wood, of the 20th Regiment. It is as follows :—

"Mr. Boys was only to be well known to be heartily and fully loved ; for, for a long while, we had been greatly prejudiced against him, by the scandalous reports we were in the habit of hearing from many quarters, and we only regretted we did not know him before. But, however, we soon became on the strictest terms of brotherly love and intimacy ; and he became a Father in Christ to all the young Christians in the navy and army ; and opened his house, and his heart, and all his soul to receive them, and to promote their growth in grace, and knowledge, and love, and obedience to the gospel. All this was blessed abundantly to himself, and he became more spiritual, earnest, and active in every way in the cause of the Lord. We had meetings in his house every week, frequently assembling to the number of twenty ; and two days in the week we used to be there to breakfast, and spend the whole day in religious exercises. He would read the Word, and expound, for which he had a most happy talent ; then he would pray, then read a chosen sermon, or some good book ; then one of us would pray ; then all sing an hymn, and pray, and sing alternately till dinner-time ; after which, we all walked out together, choosing each his companion, and talked of Christ by the way, till our hearts would often burn within us ; then, after dusk, return to his house to take tea, and spend the remainder of the evening, till about ten o'clock, in the same joyous manner.



"Such scenes and hours never can be forgotten, but must ever be remembered with inexpressible happiness.

"He watched over us as a father over his family, and sought by every means to promote our welfare ; and as all were young men, and young converts, and stood in need of that instruction which experience alone could afford, he became a peculiar blessing to us ; and this proved to himself a renewal of spiritual life and activity in the labour of the ministry, which continues, undiminished to this day. And now that a new and amiable Governor commands the Island, and is his friend and patron in promoting the cause of Christ, the work of the Lord is flourishing abundantly, particularly among the slaves ; who, by the Governor's new regulations, commanding their masters to send them to church at all regular services, have the gospel preached constantly by Mr. Boys and Mr. Vernon ; and the schools have greatly increased in numbers, so that the rising generation, in this once abandoned profligate Island, is now brought up strictly in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. I mention this in justice to his character, who although his instrumentality was not blessed to the conversion of any of the young saints, became a father to them all, so that I know not what we should have done without him. He made his house a regular hospital for any of the naval Christians when sick, and both he and dear Mrs. Boys (a true mother in Israel) not only attended to their bodily wants, but, above all, to their souls. The Lord of the vineyard reward them both abundantly here and hereafter. I mention these circumstances thus particularly, for it is a debt of love absolutely due to him."



BREAME, Thomas. The East India Company's Farmer.

Almost the whole of volume 20,238 of the "Lowe Papers" consists of an enquiry into the irregularities discovered in Breame's accounts. He apparently sold stock from the Company's farms, and forgot to account for the money thus received.

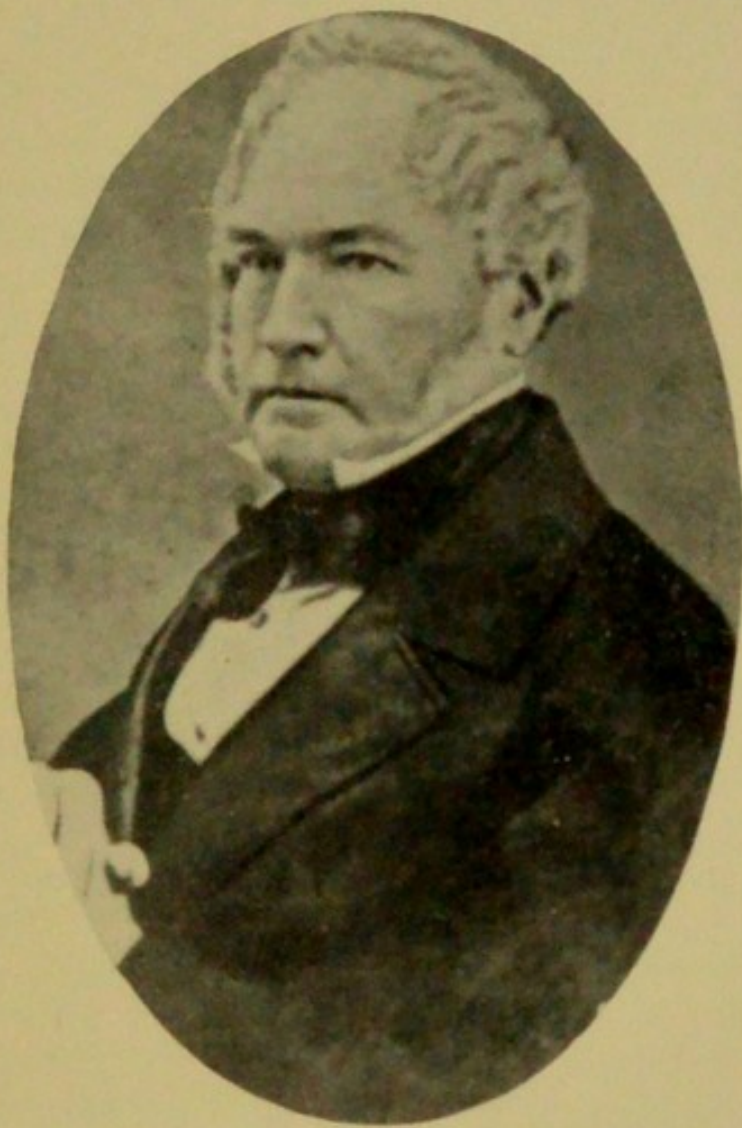
BROOKE, Thomas Henry (1774-1849). Secretary and Member of the Council in St. Helena. Married, in 1797, Anne Wright, the daughter of Colonel Wright, of the St. Helena Regiment.

Brooke was the nephew of Colonel Robert Brooke, the Governor of St. Helena in 1798. During the whole period of the captivity he was Secretary to the Council, and by far the most active personality in the civil administration. All the minutes of the Council, which fill two volumes of the "Lowe Papers," are from his pen, and are remarkable for clearness of style.

Brooke was received by Napoleon on January 7th, 1816, and possibly on other occasions. After Lowe's departure he became acting governor until the arrival of General Walker, and in 1828 again filled the office. In 1808 he published a "History of St. Helena," and a further edition appeared in 1824. Some letters of Brooke and a portrait have been published by Mr. Clement Shorter in the "Sphere" for April 22nd, 1905.

BROWN, Captain Thomas. In command of the "Vigo" from 1820 to 1821.

He entered the Navy in 1781, and eventually commanded the "Flora," which brought to Malta the body of Sir Ralph Abercromby. Brown was one of the three naval captains who inspected the body of Napoleon on the morning of May 6th.



DR. WALTER HENRY





BUONAVITA, the Abbé Antonio, who was sent out to St. Helena at the instigation of Cardinal Fesch. He had been a missionary in Mexico, and was old and incapable. He arrived on September 20th, 1819, and left on March 17th, 1821.

BURTON, Francis, M.D. (1784-1828). Surgeon to the 66th Regiment. Author of the death-mask of Napoleon.

Burton was born at Tuam, and after studying medicine at Dublin, entered the Army in 1805. He served much of his time in the Peninsula, and in 1813 was appointed Surgeon to the 4th Foot. In 1819, on the special recommendation of Sir James Macgrigor, he became Surgeon to the 66th Regiment, and arrived in St. Helena on March 31st, 1821. He was present at the post-mortem examination of Napoleon, and signed the official report. An important letter of Burton's can be found in the "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,214, in which he explains why Antommarchi failed to sign the official report of the appearances observed at the autopsy.

But Burton will be remembered chiefly as the author of the famous death-mask of Napoleon. Thanks to the labours of M. Frédéric Masson, and Mr. G. L. de St. M. Watson, it is now established beyond doubt that Burton was responsible for the mould of Napoleon's features, after Antommarchi had made the attempt and had failed. Sir Richard Burton was a nephew of Burton, and Lady Burton, in the "Life of her Husband," says that Dr. Burton had in his possession letters from Antommarchi, in which he acknowledged that Burton was the author of the mask, but that Mrs. Burton destroyed these after her husband's death.



## C

CARR, the baker to Longwood. He is chiefly remembered for having laid down the proposition that it was impossible to say whether flour would be good until it had been baked.

CHANDELIER, Jacques, a cook at Longwood. He was born at Melun in 1798, and was in the service of the Princess Borghese. He was chosen to succeed Laroche, and arrived at St. Helena on September 20th, 1819. Chandelier was a highly skilled chef, and in his hands the cooking at Longwood became really good. In Antoine Carême's "*L'Art de Cuisine*," Chandelier gives an account of the dishes preferred by Napoleon.

CIPRIANI, the Maître d'Hôtel at Longwood. He was suddenly seized with acute abdominal pain while attending at dinner, and died after a few days' illness, on February 26th, 1818. He was buried by Mr. Boys.

CLAVERING, Lady. A French lady, and a friend of Las Cases. She lived at 19 Portland Place, and it was to her that one of the secret letters found in Scott's waistcoat was addressed. (See "Scott.")

COCKBURN, Admiral Sir George, G.C.B., F.R.S. (1772-1853).

Cockburn entered the Navy in 1781 as "Captain's servant," and obtained command of the "*Speedy*" in 1792. In 1796, while in command of the "*Minerve*," he earned the praise of Nelson for running in under the batteries of Larma and capturing six of the enemy's ships. In the same year he captured the "*Sabina*," and the "*Matilde*," and in 1797 he took part in the Battle of St. Vincent. After serving in the West Indies, India, Mar-



tinique, and Holland, he obtained flag rank in 1812, and was ordered to North America, where he showed his great capacity as a naval commander in the brilliant operations on the Chesapeake, the Sassafras, and the Potomac rivers. In this war he co-operated with General Ross at the battles of Bladensburg and Baltimore, and, after the former battle, entered Washington, which was destroyed.

For these services Cockburn was created K.C.B. in 1815, and was selected to convey Napoleon to St. Helena in the "Northumberland." He sailed from the Start on August 8th, and arrived at St. Helena on October 15th, 1815. He remained in command at St. Helena until the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe on April 14th, 1816, and left the Island on June 19th, 1816.

Cockburn became Vice-Admiral in 1819, and commanded on the North American and West Indian Stations from 1833 to 1836. In 1837 he became full Admiral, and in 1841 First Naval Lord. An account of the voyage of the "Northumberland" has been published. (See "Napoleon's Last Voyages," "Glover's Diary," "Napoleon's Fellow Travellers"; and for full Biographies of Cockburn, see Marshall's "Naval Biographies," O'Byrne's "Naval Biography," and Ralfe's "Naval Biographies.")

COLE, Joseph. The Postmaster in St. Helena, and a member of the firm of Balcombe, Fowler and Co.

COOPER, the "one-eyed," *alias* William Gordon.

He brought up to Longwood a large tub, twelve feet square, to serve as a reservoir for Napoleon's garden, and for this service the Emperor gave him a glass of wine with his own hand. This event occurred on January 12th, 1820. (See Nicholls' Journal, "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,210.)



COURSOT, Jacques. A butler who arrived in St. Helena on September 20th, 1819, and replaced Pierron, who had been appointed Maître d'Hôtel.

CROAD, Lieutenant Frederick, of the 66th Foot.

Croad acted as understudy to Captain Nicholls, the Orderly Officer, and, having some knowledge of French, was most useful. He eventually joined the 20th Foot Regiment, and retired from the Army in 1845, having attained the rank of Major.

CROKAT, William (1789-1879). Orderly Officer, Longwood, from April 15th to May 7th, 1821.

Crokat was born near Edinburgh, and in 1807 joined the 20th Foot, in Sicily, as Ensign, being then in his eighteenth year. In 1808 he became a lieutenant and served in the Peninsular War, where he was present at the battles of Corunna, Vimiera, Vittoria, and Roncesvalles. At the last-mentioned engagement he was severely wounded, and carried the effects of this wound for the rest of his life. In 1809 Crokat took part in the disastrous expedition to Walcheren, but was soon invalided, on account of the deadly fever which decimated the troops. In 1814 he was gazetted Captain, and in 1819 he proceeded with the 20th to St. Helena. On April 15th, 1821, Captain Lutyens resigned his post of Orderly Officer to Longwood, and Crokat was appointed in his place. He was thus on duty during the closing scenes of Napoleon's life, and saw him immediately after death. He was present at the post-mortem examination, and on May 7th marshalled all the people who filed before the dead Emperor. On the evening of the 7th, Crokat sailed in the "Heron" with Lowe's despatches announcing the death of Napoleon, and reached England on July 4th. For this service he was



given his majority, and £500. After this he served in India for some years and retired on half-pay in 1826.

Croat then spent several years travelling in Italy with Lord Panmure, who was engaged in inspecting and buying pictures. His subsequent promotions were:—Lt.-Colonel in 1837, Colonel in 1851, Major-General in 1855, Lt.-General in 1861, and General in 1871. Once when in Paris, Croat was urged to attend an official reception, but demurred on account of the known animosity towards those who had taken part in guarding Napoleon. He, however, yielded to the pressing request to attend, but on the way home was attacked, and owed his life to a button of his uniform which deflected the dagger of the would-be assassin.

Croat lived at 52 Inverleith Row, Edinburgh, and there he died at the advanced age of ninety on November 6th, 1879. He was the last to survive of those who had seen Napoleon on his death-bed. Captain Croat was of commanding presence, being six feet two inches, and if the portrait which accompanies this memoir be compared with the one in Steuben's famous death-bed scene, the faithfulness of the likeness will be appreciated. Although never tired of talking about the eventful days spent at Longwood, he left no written account behind him, and so much that would be of great interest to students of the period is, therefore, lost. He possessed numerous relics of Napoleon, amongst which may be mentioned—a silver plate and knife, used by the Emperor in St. Helena; a portrait of Napoleon, which, encircled with diamonds, formed the lid of one of the snuff-boxes; the wooden spatula, used by Napoleon to clean his spade when gardening; the cord worn during the Hundred Days, and a pair of silk stockings and garters. For



much of the information contained in this account of Crokat I am indebted to his niece, Miss Crokat, who has a vivid remembrance of her uncle.

## D

DACRE, Captain G. H. In command of the "Experiment," storeship. Mr. Watson points out in the "Polish Exile" that Lowe considered Dacre to be the author of the anonymous "Letters from St. Helena."

DARLING, Andrew (1784-1841). Upholsterer in St. Helena.

Darling was frequently brought into direct contact with Napoleon in connection with his duties at Longwood of superintending the painting and repairs to the furniture. On the death of the Emperor, Darling was the undertaker, and when the exhumation took place in 1840 he was present, and his knowledge of the arrangements made at the funeral in 1821 was of much assistance. Lockwood, in his "Guide to St. Helena," published in 1851, states that he had in his possession a manuscript left by Darling, in which an exact account of the arrangements made for the funeral of Napoleon was given. Lockwood further states that he published this document in the "St. Helena Advocate" for 1851. Unfortunately no copy of the periodical exists in England.

DAVID. A serjeant in the 66th Foot Regiment, and of great assistance to Captain Nicholls in his attempts to obtain a view of Napoleon.

DAVIE, Captain John (1770-1825). In command of the "Conqueror."

Captain Davie came out to St. Helena in 1817, but was soon taken ill and invalided home. He



never recovered from his illness, and died in 1825, after six years' suffering. He was presented to Napoleon on July 3rd, 1817. Davie was the author of a very popular manual, entitled "Observations and Instructions for Officers."

DE FOUNTAIN, John. A senior merchant in the East India Company's service, who was dismissed, in company with another, for serious defalcations.

DENMAN, Captain Edmund. In command of the "Red-pole." According to Marshall's "Royal Naval Biography," Denman, through his friendship with the Balcombes, spent an evening with Napoleon and played whist with him. He died in 1846.

DILLON, Captain W. H. In command of the "Horatio" and the "Phaeton." Dillon was a cousin of the Countess Bertrand, and came to see her on two occasions. He had been taken prisoner in Holland in 1804, and remained in captivity in that country, and at Verdun, for four years. On this account he was not presented to Napoleon.

DODGIN, Major Daniel. In command of the 2nd Battalion of the 66th Foot Regiment. He arrived in St. Helena in 1816, and commanded the two battalions in the absence of Colonel Nicol, and after Colonel Lascelles had been sent home. He was one of the officers presented to Napoleon, as described by Henry in his "Events of a Military Life." Dodgin filed an affidavit in favour of Sir Hudson Lowe. He died in 1837.

DODGIN, Captain Henry Duncan. Of the 66th Regiment.

Dodgin was attached to the 2nd Battalion of the 66th, and came to St. Helena in 1816. After the reduction of this battalion, Dodgin was transferred to the 1st Battalion, and he eventually joined the 20th Foot. He was presented to Napoleon with



the other officers of the 66th. Dodgin's chief claim to fame rests on his skill as an amateur artist, and he made sketches of Napoleon from life on several occasions. He retired from the Army in 1839.

DOVE. The postilion at Longwood, and so addicted to drink that it was considered unsafe for Napoleon to take carriage exercise.

DOVETON, Sir William Webber (1753-1843). Member of the Council of St. Helena.

Doveton was a native of St. Helena, and lived at Mount Pleasant, Sandy Bay. He received his knighthood on account of his public-spirited exertions in connection with the government of the Island. Napoleon paid a visit to Sandy Bay on January 3rd, 1816, but it is not recorded that he saw Doveton on that occasion. On October 4th, 1820, however, he paid another visit, and had breakfast on the lawn with the Doveton family. This proved to be the last excursion made by Napoleon outside the "limits," and a full account of it will be found in "Forsyth," Vol. III, p. 242. Doveton was present at both the funeral in 1821 and the exhumation in 1840.

## E

ELLIS, The Right Honourable Sir Henry (1777-1855). Secretary to the Amherst Mission to China.

Ellis had been Minister Plenipotentiary to Persia in 1814. He was presented to Napoleon on July 1st, 1817, and has given an account of the occurrence in his "Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy to China" (John Murray. 1818). From 1825 to 1834 Ellis was Clerk of the Pells.

EMMETT, Major Anthony (1789-1872). In command of the Engineers in St. Helena.







COLONEL JOHN MANSEL, C.B.



Emmett entered the Army in 1808, and served in the Peninsular and American Wars. He came to St. Helena in the "Phaeton," arriving on April 14th, 1816, and remained until September, 1821. As chief of the Engineers, Emmett was entrusted with the repairs to Longwood, the building of the New House, Bertrand's Villa, and Napoleon's grave. On July 20th, 1817, in company with Basil Jackson, he had an interview with Napoleon. This interview is fully reported in Basil Jackson's "Reminiscences," and also in "Extracts from Emmett's Diary," published in the "Century Magazine," January, 1912. The two accounts differ materially, and should be read together. Indeed, it seems to be clear that the "Diary of Emmett," from which the extracts are taken, was written some time after, for it contains inaccuracies which could hardly have occurred had it been written during the progress of the events to which it refers. For instance, Emmett states that Lord Mulgrave and General Mann were passengers by the "Phaeton," but the "Muster Rolls" of that ship do not bear out the statement. He omits also to mention Lady Bingham's name as a passenger, and spells "Gorrequer," "Lorrequer," and "Janisch," "Jamisch." He also states that he has forgotten the name of "Vignali," and places his interview with Napoleon in 1816 instead of 1817.

Emmett was not *persona grata* to Lowe, and the diary exhibits the Governor in no very pleasing light. The dislike was probably mutual, for Lowe has placed on record his objection to the conduct of Emmett, in a letter which exists in the "Lowe Papers," and it was well known that the Engineer officer held advanced opinions.

Emmett retired from the Army with the rank of Major-General, and died at Brighton in 1872.



## F

FAGAN, Lt.-Colonel Christopher. Judge Advocate-General in Bengal.

Colonel Fagan belonged to the 19th Native Infantry Regiment, and spent the whole of his military service in India. He had an interview with Napoleon on June 19th, 1817, and Sir Thomas Reade reported to Lowe that Fagan had been guilty of the terrible crime of speaking of Napoleon as the "Emperor."

FARQUHAR, Sir Robert. The Governor of Mauritius, and a correspondent of Lowe.

FEHRZEN, Major Oliver George (1786-1820). In command of the 53rd Regiment in St. Helena.

This talented and respected officer entered the Army as Ensign in the 39th Foot in 1803, but in 1805 he exchanged into the 53rd Foot, with the rank of Captain. He distinguished himself in many of the important engagements in the Peninsula, and in 1813 was promoted Major. In 1815, when the 2nd Battalion of the 53rd was ordered to St. Helena, Fehrzen was placed in command, during the absence of Colonel Mansel. In this capacity he came into contact with Napoleon, and on several occasions had the honour of lunching and dining with him. The Emperor was always ready to receive Fehrzen, and probably his fine presence and engaging manner were responsible for this favourable impression.

Fehrzen left St. Helena with the regiment in July, 1817, but on January 19th, 1820, he was seized with cholera while at Namecul, India, and died the same day. On the monument erected at Salem to his memory, it is recorded that he was "celebrated



for his learning, distinguished for his valour, esteemed for his piety, a soldier by nature, a gentleman by birth, a friend to all, an enemy to none." Many of the affidavits filed on behalf of Lowe in his action against O'Meara deal only with the question of whether Fehrzen said that officers of the 53rd were forbidden to visit the people at Longwood.

**FESTING**, Captain Robert Worgan George, C.B. In command of the "Falmouth" and the "Racoon" on the St. Helena Station.

Festing entered the Navy in 1799, and served much of his time in the Dutch East Indies. He obtained post rank in 1811, and from September 26th, 1815, to August 3rd, 1817, was engaged on the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena Stations. During this time he had two interviews with Napoleon—on August 1st, 1816, and on March 25th, 1817. In 1838 he was given a C.B., and was advanced to the rank of Rear-Admiral in 1846. Festing died in 1862.

**FINLAISON**, John. The Keeper of the Records at the Admiralty. He lived at 30 Craven Street, Strand, and was a friend of O'Meara. It was to Finlaison that O'Meara addressed his famous letters from St. Helena.

**FORSYTH**, William, Q.C., M.A. Author of the "History of the Captivity of Napoleon" (3 vols. Murray, 1853).

Forsyth was born in 1812, at Greenock, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained a high degree in classics. He was elected a Fellow of his college, and then devoted himself to law. In addition to the "History of the Captivity," compiled from the "Lowe Papers," he was the author of "Hortensius," a "Life of Cicero,"



"The Law of Compounding Creditors," "Hannibal in Italy," a Drama, and the "History of Trial by Jury." He was also Commissary for the University of Cambridge, and sat as Member of Parliament for the Borough of Cambridge in 1856, and for Marylebone in 1874.

## G

GENTILINI. An Elban, and footman at Longwood. He left the Island with his wife at the end of 1820.

GORREQUER, Major Gideon (1777-1841). Aide-de-Camp and Acting Military Secretary to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Gorrequer entered the Army as Ensign in the 18th Foot in 1797, and became successively, Lieutenant in 1798, Captain in 1804, Brevet-Major in 1814 and Lt.-Colonel in 1826. While on active service, most of his time was spent in Sicily and the Ionian Islands, and it was at these places that he came into contact with Sir Hudson Lowe. For his services he was made a Knight of the Royal Hanoverian and Guelphic Order. When Lowe was appointed Governor of St. Helena, he at once offered Gorrequer the post of Aide-de-Camp and Acting Military Secretary. He accepted it, and sailed for St. Helena in the "Phaeton," arriving on April 14th, 1816.

With the exception of Sir Hudson Lowe, Gorrequer occupied by far the most important position of all those connected with the captivity. He had a faultless knowledge of the French tongue, and a most retentive memory. In addition he was a most diligent secretary, and a master of the art of précis writing. For five years he was at Lowe's side, and whether it was an interview with the French at Longwood, or a conversation concerning official matters at Plantation House, he was



always at hand with his notebook, and the minutes thus made formed the basis of the lengthy reports addressed to Lord Bathurst by Sir Hudson Lowe. It is no exaggeration to say that we owe it entirely to the industry of Gorrequer that we possess such a complete record of the captivity of Napoleon in St. Helena. He knew the peculiar temperament of Sir Hudson better than any man, and all the manifold twists and turns of his intricate policy were to him an open book.

From his official correspondence it would appear that he was a whole-hearted supporter of Lowe's policy; but Sturmer, no mean judge of human character, described him as *un finaud*, and his real impressions have always given rise to doubts. Placed in the position of confidential clerk to Lowe, and in possession of unrivalled knowledge of events in St. Helena, it has always been accounted strange that Gorrequer left no record of his private views of the policy towards Napoleon. Documents are, however, in existence which give Gorrequer's ideas concerning certain phases in the history of the captivity, but they are so jealously guarded that it is doubtful if their contents will ever be revealed. Indeed, on one occasion many years ago, when the question arose as to whether these documents should be taken from their secure resting-place, it was decreed by a high authority that since they contained remarks of such high political importance it was better that they should not see light.

Gorrequer died suddenly while walking in Jermyn Street on July 18th, 1841.

GORS, Captain Jean Claude de. The Secretary to the Marquis de Montchenu. He arrived with his master in the "Newcastle" on June 17th, 1816, and left St. Helena in June, 1821.



GOULBURN, Henry (1784-1856). Under-Secretary to the Colonies from 1812 to 1826, and therefore much engaged in writing and receiving despatches concerning St. Helena. (See D.N.B. Art., "Goulburn.")

GOURGAUD, Gaspard, General Baron de (1783-1852). Master of the Horse at Longwood.

Gourgaud came to St. Helena in the "Northumberland," and left on March 14th, 1818. Before leaving he stayed for some weeks with Lieutenant Basil Jackson at Bayle Cottage. He returned in 1840 for the exhumation, and wrote an account of that voyage. His Journal was published in 1899, and is most valuable as a record of dates. For a full account of Gourgaud, see "Autour Ste. Hélène" and "Napoléon à Ste. Hélène," by Masson.

GRANT, Robert (1799-1820). Midshipman on board the "Vigo."

Grant died at High Peak Hospital of consumption, but during the early part of his illness he lived at Mason's Stock House, and was one of the small band of devout men who prayed nightly for Napoleon's salvation. (See "St. Helena Memoirs," by Robson, and "What happened at Mason's Stock House" in this volume.)

GREATLY, Captain Thomas (1781-1849). Of the Royal Artillery.

Greatly was in charge of the Royal Artillery detachment on board the "Northumberland." He left the Island in 1817, and figures as one of the witnesses to Gorrequer's will.

GREENTREE, Thomas. Member of Council, and son-in-law of Sir W. Doveton.



## H

HALL, Captain Basil, F.R.S. (1786-1844). In command of the "Lyra."

Hall was a son of Sir James Hall, of Dunglass, and entered the Navy in 1802. He was appointed to the command of the "Lyra," one of the vessels chosen to accompany the "Alceste," conveying the members of Lord Amherst's Mission to China. On the way home from China, the "Lyra" reached St. Helena on August 11th, 1817, and on August 13th, Captain Hall was granted an interview with Napoleon. A full account of this most interesting reception is given in Hall's book, "A Voyage of Discovery to the Western Coast of Corea, and the Great Loo Choo Island," published in 1817, but it can also be found in Marshall's "Royal Naval Biography," Supplement to Pt. LV, p. 154. Mr. Clifford and Mr. Hervey were presented at the same time, and the former has left an account of his impressions.

Captain Hall was a voluminous writer, chiefly on nautical science, but his "Extracts from a Journal, 1820 to 1822" will be found interesting.

HALL, James. The Surgeon to the "Favourite," who testified to the fact that O'Meara, at Ascension, had stated openly that Napoleon would not now be alive had he (O'Meara) paid attention to Sir Hudson Lowe's suggestions.

HALL, Miss Mary. The governess or nursemaid to the Bertrand children. She was selected by Lady Jerningham, and arrived on June 26th, 1818. On October 16th, 1819, she married St. Denis.

HAMILTON, Captain Gawen William, C.B. (1784-1834). Commander of the "Havannah."

Captain Hamilton was born and educated in



France, and entered the Navy in 1801. He was promoted Lieutenant in 1807, and was employed on the Mediterranean Station. In 1811 he was advanced to post rank, and commanded the "Termagant" and the "Rainbow." While thus employed he captured three privateers, destroyed some batteries on the coast of Valencia, and took part in the unsuccessful attack upon Leghorn. Afterwards he commanded the "Havannah," which formed one of the escort of the "Northumberland," and was presented to Napoleon on April 21st, 1816. Subsequently he commanded the "Cambrian" at the Battle of Navarino, and in other operations in the Grecian waters.

HARRISON, Captain Charles. Brigade-Major in St. Helena during the whole period of the captivity.

He came out to the Island in October, 1815, as Captain in the 53rd Regiment, and was at once appointed Brigade-Major. On the departure of this regiment, Harrison remained on the Island performing the same duties, and on March 29th, 1821, he became attached to the 20th Regiment as Captain. He was present at the post-mortem examination of Napoleon, and enjoyed the distinction, with Ibbetson, of being one of the two British officers who came out to St. Helena with Napoleon, and who remained until his death. Harrison apparently retired from the Army in 1833.

HENDRY, Captain William. In command of the "Rosario," 1819-21. Hendry was one of the three naval captains who inspected the body of Napoleon on the morning of May 6th. He was appointed by Admiral Lambert to carry home, in the "Heron," the despatches to the Admiralty announcing the death of Napoleon.



REAR-ADMIRAL ROBERT J. PLAMPIN





HENRY, Walter (1791-1860). Assistant-Surgeon to the 66th Regiment.

Henry was the eldest son of John Henry, a merchant in Donegal, and after being apprenticed to his uncle he studied medicine at Glasgow, St. Thomas', Guy's, and St. George's. In 1811 he passed the examination qualifying him to be appointed a surgeon to a regiment, and joined the 66th Foot as Assistant-Surgeon. He served through the Peninsular War, and went with the 1st Battalion to India. He arrived with this battalion in St. Helena on July 5th, 1817, and remained to the end. His subsequent promotions were: Surgeon in 1826, Staff Surgeon in 1839, Deputy Inspector-General in 1845, and Inspector-General in 1852. These two last appointments were held in Canada, and he died at Belleville in 1860, having retired in 1855.

Henry will be chiefly remembered for his book, "Events of a Military Life," published in 1843, which was previously published anonymously under the title of "Trifles from My Portfolio," and in the first ninety pages of the second volume he recounts his impressions of his life in St. Helena. He was present at the post-mortem examination, and in the "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,214, p. 200, is his full and most graphic account of the proceedings on that occasion.

HOATH, Cornet J. W. In command of about twenty men of the 21st Light Dragoons, who were employed in St. Helena as despatch riders. Lowe ordered Hoath to give up his command and to proceed to the Cape. Thereupon, Hoath demanded an enquiry, since he felt himself insulted by being asked to hand over his cavalry command to a mere infantry officer. He died in 1837.



**HODSON, Major Charles Robert George.** Of the St. Helena Regiment, and Judge-Advocate.

Hodson was in St. Helena during the whole of the captivity, and before that time he had filled the position of Town Major. He was a tall man, over six feet in height, and of imposing appearance. For these reasons Napoleon, who had for him a warm personal regard, styled him "Hercules." On November 20th, 1815, the evening of Sir George Cockburn's ball, the Emperor paid Hodson a visit at his house, and on January 4th, 1816, he entertained him and his wife at dinner at Longwood. Hodson was present at the funeral of Napoleon, and also at the exhumation in 1840. He died in 1855, having attained to the rank of Lt.-Colonel.

**HOLMES, William.** A commission agent, who carried on business at Lyon's Inn, Holborn.

He was a friend of O'Meara, and it was on the latter's recommendation that he was employed by the people at Longwood to carry through the business of negotiating bills drawn by Bertrand on the Banking House of Lafitte at Paris.

At first he was successful in getting the documents honoured, for, in an intercepted letter to O'Meara, he states that various sums lent, amounting to 395,000 francs, have been repaid. (See Forsyth, Vol. III, p. 61.) Apparently, however, he soon encountered difficulty in Paris, on account of the Bankers there thinking that he was not supplied with sufficient authority. Holmes therefore applied to Prince Eugene Beauharnais, who held funds at Napoleon's disposal, and, according to Bertrand, he received from the Prince 182,000 francs. None of this money ever found its way to St. Helena, nor did Holmes repay the amount, or render any account of it. Counts Bertrand and



Montholon, in a letter dated May, 1827, and now published for the first time (see the "Case of Reardon"), state this fact, and assign £365 of Holmes' debt to Reardon, and in 1857 Reardon's son is advised to sue Holmes for the amount, to be paid him out of the 182,000 francs which he still owed the estate of Napoleon.

Napoleon's paper was hawked about Europe, the favourite countries for these operations being England, France, and Italy, and owing to the fact that correspondence with Longwood was difficult, it is possible that much of the money intended for the needs of the illustrious prisoner found its way into the pockets of the unscrupulous. Holmes was one of the executors under O'Meara's will.

Hook, Theodore (1788-1841). Stayed in St. Helena, on his way home from Mauritius, from November 2nd to the 26th, 1818. (See Mr. Watson's "Polish Exile," p. 255.) He published in 1819, probably at the instance of Sir Hudson Lowe, "Facts Illustrative of the Treatment of Napoleon," and these have since been reprinted by Mr. Shorter. O'Meara published, in 1819, his "Exposition" as a reply. Hook was ready to sell his pen to anybody, and his doubtful character renders his opinions of little value.

## I

IBBETSON, Denzil (1788-1857). The Commissary in St. Helena.

Ibbetson entered the Commissariat Department of the Army as clerk in 1808, and went through the Peninsular War, receiving the medals for Roleia and Vimiera. In 1814 he was promoted Assistant Commissary General, and was selected to proceed to St. Helena in 1815. He sailed on board the



"Northumberland" with Napoleon, and remained in St. Helena until June, 1823. He thus shares, with Brigade-Major Harrison, the distinction of being one of the two British officers who remained in St. Helena during the whole period of the captivity. For the first three years of his stay in St. Helena, Ibbetson had little to do with Longwood, for the Purveyorship was in the hands of Balcombe, Fowler and Co. ; but after the departure of Balcombe, Ibbetson assumed charge, and apparently performed his duties to the satisfaction of Lowe, for the Governor wrote him an eulogistic letter afterwards.

But Ibbetson's chief claim to distinction rests upon his ability as an artist. While on board the "Northumberland" he made sketches of Napoleon, many of which are in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley. Again, while in St. Helena, he did several portraits and sketches of Napoleon and his followers, notably the sketch of Napoleon on his death-bed, and before he was dressed in his uniform. For a full account of Ibbetson, see the excellent article by Mr. A. M. Broadley, in the "Century Magazine," April, 1912.

## J

JACKSON, Lt.-Colonel Basil (1795-1889). Lieutenant in the Staff Corps in St. Helena.

Jackson came out in the "Phaeton" with Sir Hudson Lowe, and arrived on April 14th, 1816. He was charged with the duty, under Major Emmett, of supervising the repairs to Longwood, the building of Bertrand's Villa, and Longwood New House. He was thus brought into close contact with the residents, and his knowledge of French made his society agreeable. On July 20th, 1817,



in company with Major Emmett, he had an interview with Napoleon, and on July 8th, 1819, he left St. Helena in the "Diana."

Jackson was an artist, and did several water-colour sketches of views in St. Helena, and one at least of Napoleon himself. He also drew the plans of Longwood New House. Jackson died at the advanced age of ninety-four, in 1889, and has, therefore, the distinction of being the last to survive of those connected with the captivity. For a full account of Jackson, see his book, "Reminiscences of a Staff Officer," published in 1877, and again in 1903.

**JACKSON, Major Edward, К.Н.** In command of the 20th Foot during the absence of Colonel South.

Jackson figures in the history of the captivity on account of the action he took when Napoleon presented to the 20th Regiment the "Campaigns of Marlborough" on April 14th, 1821. These books were transmitted through Captain Lutyens, the Orderly Officer, and Major Jackson wrote to him, asking how the 20th could accept books which bore the "Imperial Inscription." Lowe had already mentioned his doubts concerning the wisdom of accepting such a present from such a source, and the books were returned. Eventually the 20th regained possession of them, and they now rest in the archives of the Lancashire Fusiliers.

Jackson became Lt.-Colonel in 1826, and died in 1841.

**JANISCH, William.** Came out in the "Phaeton" with Lowe, as a clerk to Ibbetson, the Commissary, but having little to do, he was employed by the Governor in secretarial duties. Janisch was a neat writer, and on comparing much of the copied matter in the "Lowe Papers" with his handwriting, the



supposition seems warrantable that he was largely occupied with these duties. Janisch stayed on in St. Helena, and was present at the exhumation, an account of which he wrote. He married the daughter of Major Seale, by whom he had a son, Hudson, who became Governor of the Island, and who published "Extracts from the St. Helena Records."

JOHNSON, Miss Charlotte. Stepdaughter of Sir Hudson Lowe. She married, in March, 1820, Count Balmain, the Russian Commissioner.

JOHNSON, Miss Susanna. The younger stepdaughter of Sir Hudson Lowe.

JONES, Captain Jenkin. Came out to St. Helena as officer of the "Newcastle," and in 1817 was given the command of the "Julia." This vessel was wrecked off Tristan D'Acunha. Captain Jones was presented to Napoleon on June 4th, 1816, and on June 19th, 1817. He died in 1843.

JONES, Reverend Samuel. Senior Chaplain in St. Helena, from 1808 to 1815.

It is abundantly clear from a perusal of the St. Helena Records that Mr. Jones was hardly less troublesome to the authorities than Mr. Boys. In April, 1812, for some reason not evident, the Council appointed him "Inspector of the Strayed Sheep and Goats." Mr. Jones thereupon wrote to the Council and stigmatised his appointment as a public insult, and said, amongst other things, that he already had a very wild herd of goats to look after in his own congregation. At this time he adopted the practice (afterwards followed so notoriously by Boys) of voicing his views concerning the Government and private people from the security of the pulpit, and such a nuisance did he



become that the Council ordered him not to make any more allusions from the pulpit. To this order Jones replied in a letter of twenty-eight pages. Early in 1815, the bitter controversy between the two chaplains, Jones and Boys, began, and this continued with increasing virulence until, on April 10th, Mr. Jones was suspended from his duties, and was retired on an allowance of five shillings per day.

When Napoleon arrived, Mr. Jones was acting as tutor to the children of Balcombe, and he was received by the Emperor on May 27th, 1816. On the following day O'Meara records the fact that Napoleon was of opinion that Mr. Jones was used most shamefully, and that he should not have been superseded, if only for the sake of his wife and children. On being asked by Napoleon whether Mr. Jones was a good man, O'Meara replied that he believed so, but that he was rather prone to meddling.

## K

**KAY, Dr. David.** The Superintendent of the Medical Establishment in St. Helena, and a Senior Merchant. He retired from the former position in 1820, and was succeeded by Matthew Livingstone. He died in 1833.

**KEATING, Sir Henry Sheehy, K.C.B.** Lt.-General, and Governor of the Île de Bourbon.

Keating paid a visit to Napoleon on July 27th, 1816, and at Lowe's last interview with the Emperor, a heated discussion took place as to what Keating had said concerning the book Mr. Hobhouse had sent Napoleon, but which had been detained by Lowe on account of the "Imperial Inscription" on the fly-leaf. The substance of Keating's interview is given in Forsyth, Vol. I,



p. 193, and when Keating arrived in England, he detailed it to the Prince-Regent, who, in turn, told it to Louis Philippe. Keating died in 1847.

**KERR, John.** Afterwards styled John Kerr Trattle. Paymaster to the 66th Regiment, and one of the artists.

He is mentioned by Mrs. Shortt in her letters recently published in the "English Review," as being engaged on the morning of Napoleon's funeral in making sketches of the scene. Six of his water-colour sketches, with explanatory notes, and dedicated to Lady Lowe, were engraved by Havell, and published by Colnaghi under the title of "Kerr's Views of St. Helena." Mr. Broadley possesses one set, and Dr. Silk another. Kerr, or Trattle, died in 1849.

**KIRTS.** Sergeant of the 66th Regiment. Mentioned frequently in Nicholls' Journal as helping to obtain a view of Napoleon.

**KNIFE, Miss.** "Le Bouton de Rose." The daughter of a farmer, and much admired by Napoleon and his followers. She married a Mr. Hamilton in 1820, and left the Island.

## L

**LACEY.** Sergeant of the 66th Regiment. Was stationed at Longwood, and frequently reported to Captain Nicholls that he had seen Napoleon.

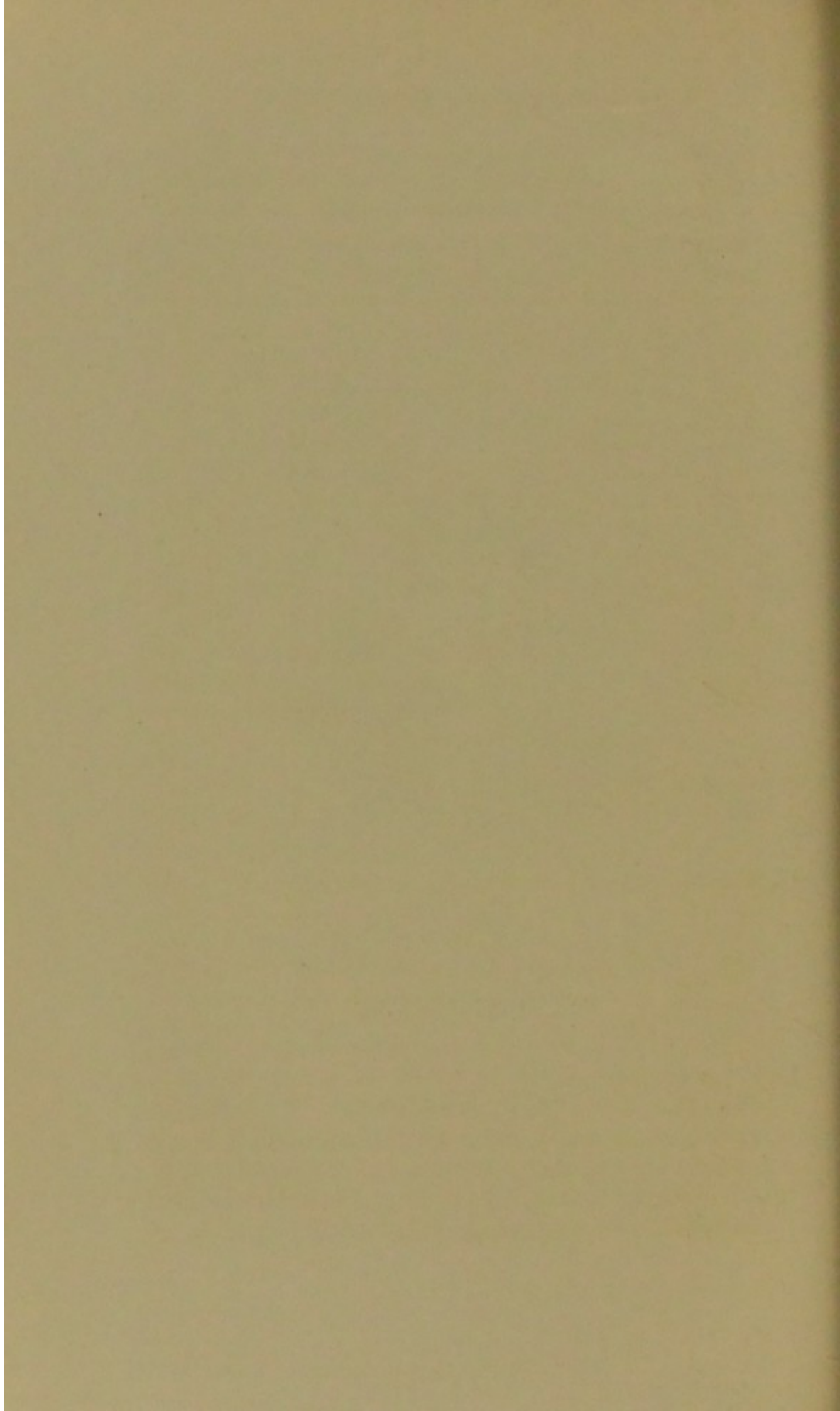
**LAMBERT, Rear-Admiral Robert (1772-1836).** In command of the St. Helena Station from July 14th, 1820, to September 11th, 1821.

Admiral Lambert was the eldest son of Captain Lambert, R.N., and entered the service at a very early age. In 1791 he was promoted Lieutenant to the "Barfleur," bearing the flag of Admiral



SIR THOMAS READE





Cornwallis, and in this ship he took part in the action of June 1st, 1794. In 1795 he was appointed to the "Suffolk" as Flag-Captain to Admiral Rainier, and served in this capacity at the reduction of Ceylon, Amboyna, and Banda. Ill-health compelled Lambert to relinquish this command in 1798, and he did not go to sea again until 1801, when he commanded the "Saturn" in the expedition to the Baltic, under Sir Hyde Parker. After this he commanded the "Duncan," and the "Royal Sovereign," and was employed on the Mediterranean Station until the end of the war. In 1819 he was advanced to the rank of Rear-Admiral.

In 1820 Lambert was appointed commander of the St. Helena Station, and reached that Island on July 14th, 1820, in the "Vigo." He left his card at Longwood, but was not received by Napoleon. The morning after the Emperor's death he viewed the body, with three naval captains, and sent home to the Admiralty Captain Hendry with the official despatch announcing the death. Many interesting and original letters of Lambert concerning his period of service in St. Helena are in the possession of Mr. Sabin.

LA ROCHE. A cook at Longwood who was left on the Island by Lord Amherst. He succeeded Le Page, but was rendered ill by the fumes from the cracked cooking stove. He was interviewed, in London, by his successor, Chandelier, as to the kind of dishes preferred by Napoleon.

LAS CASES, Emmanuel Auguste Dieudonné Marius Joseph, Marquis de (1776-1842). Accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena. He was arrested at Longwood on November 25th, 1816, and deported in the "Griffon" on December 30th. His famous "Memorial" was published in 1823.



LAS CASES, Emmanuel Pons Dieudonné, Comte de (1800-54). Son of the above; came to St. Helena with his father, and was deported with him. He returned for the exhumation, and published an account of the occurrence. For full accounts of Las Cases, see "Napoléon à Ste. Hélène," by Masson.

LASCELLES, Lt.-Colonel Edmund. In command of the 66th Regiment.

During the absence of Colonel Nicol, Lascelles commanded the regiment from September 13th to November 12th, 1817, and again from February 25th to October 23rd, 1818. Becoming implicated in the question of the attendance of O'Meara at the mess of the 66th, he was sent home by Lowe on October 29th, 1818. He was, however, permitted to return in 1820. Lascelles filed an affidavit in favour of Lowe in the case of Lowe v. O'Meara, and eventually he became Barrack Master at Gibraltar. He died in 1853.

LE PAGE, Michel. The cook at Longwood. He became morose and left the Island in May, 1818.

LEVY. A corporal of the 20th Regiment, who was present in the room when the body of Napoleon was enclosed in the coffins.

LIVINGSTONE, Matthew. Surgeon and Superintendent of the East India Company's Medical Establishment in St. Helena. Came to St. Helena in 1815, and died there on October 10th, 1821.

He was frequently called in to attend the Bertrands and the Montholons, and raised difficulties about giving Madame Montholon a certificate of health, to enable her to proceed to Europe. He also differed from Dr. Verling as to the nature of Montholon's complaint, and this led to a quarrel



between the two doctors, which is related by Sir Thomas Reade (see "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,207). In Verling's journal is a curious account of Livingstone's professional visit to Madame Bertrand, and the extraordinary conversation between the Bertrands as the result of his examination of Madame Bertrand. Livingstone attended the post-mortem examination of Napoleon, but went away before the completion of the operation, and in Dr. Shortt's original draft of the report, Livingstone's name is omitted. These facts led Lowe to suspect that he had been sent away by Dr. Shortt for some special purpose. In the final draft of the report, however, his name appears. Livingstone was asked by Lowe in the presence of Shortt whether he observed anything abnormal in the liver at the post-mortem examination, and he replied in the negative. In St. Helena his services were in request on account of his skill as an accoucheur. (See Verling's Journal, and "Lowe Papers," vols. 20,133, 20,140.)

LOUDOUN, The Countess of (1780-1840).

Was the wife of Lord Moira, the Governor-General of India, who afterwards became Marquis of Hastings. She stayed at St. Helena for a short time, on her passage to England, with her son, Lord Hungerford, and was the unwitting cause of Lowe's tactless invitation to Napoleon to come and meet the Countess at dinner. This invitation was sent on May 11th, 1816.

LOWE, Sir Hudson, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., Lt.-General, Governor of St. Helena. Born at Galway, July 28th, 1769. Died at Chelsea Cottage, January 10th, 1844, aged seventy-four. Buried in St. Mark's Church, North Audley Street. Married Mrs. Johnson, the sister of General Sir William de Lancy, December



31st, 1815. Heard of his appointment as Governor of St. Helena at Marseilles, August 1st, 1815. Left for St. Helena in the "Phaeton" frigate, January 29th, 1816, and arrived April 14th, 1816. First visit to Napoleon, April 17th, 1816. Second visit, April 30th, 1816. Third visit, May 17th, 1816. Fourth visit, June 20th, 1816. Fifth visit, July 16th or 17th, 1816. Sixth visit, August 18th, 1816. Saw Napoleon by accident on August 4th, 1819, and again about November 20th, 1820. Left St. Helena, July 25th, 1821.

**LUTYENS, Captain Englebert (1784-1830).** Orderly Officer at Longwood.

Lutyens joined the 20th Foot Regiment, and went through the Peninsular War. He became Captain in 1813, and was given his majority in 1821, at a date previous to that of Captain Crokot, who received the same promotion on account of having been entrusted with the despatch announcing the death of Napoleon. The regiment claimed that Lutyens should have carried the despatch, and the claim was allowed.

Lutyens was appointed Orderly Officer at Longwood on February 10th, 1820, but resigned the appointment on April 15th, 1821, because Major Jackson, the commander of the 20th Foot, blamed him for receiving the "Life of Marlborough," which had been presented to the regiment by Napoleon, through Arnott. No portrait exists of Captain Lutyens, nor did he leave behind him any papers. He died on January 26th, 1830, two days out from Bombay.

**LYSTER, Thomas.** Inspector of Coasts and Volunteers in St. Helena, with the local rank of Lt.-Colonel.

Lyster had served with Lowe in the early years of the nineteenth century, and was specially



selected to go out to St. Helena. On July 16th, 1818, he was appointed Orderly Officer at Longwood, in succession to Captain Blakeney, who had resigned. Napoleon took umbrage at this appointment on the grounds that Lyster was not an officer of the regular army, and because he believed that he had served in the Corsican Rangers. As a result of these disputes, Lyster lost his temper, and, after having been shown by Lowe Bertrand's intemperate letter of complaint, challenged the Grand Marshal to a duel. He was, therefore, removed from Longwood, and Blakeney was reappointed. By far the best letter of O'Meara to Finlaison is that in which he describes this incident. Lyster died in 1845.

## M

**MACLEOD, John.** Surgeon to the "Alceste," which conveyed the Amherst Mission to China, and which, on the return home, was wrecked outside the Gaspar Straits. MacLeod wrote the interesting account of the voyage, entitled "The Voyage and Shipwreck of the 'Alceste,'" Murray, 1818, and in the last five pages he describes his impressions of the visit to Napoleon on July 1st, 1817.

**MALCOLM, Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.** (1768-1838).

Malcolm succeeded Sir George Cockburn on the St. Helena Station, and arrived in the "Newcastle" on June 17th, 1816. On account of his handsome presence and engaging manners he soon gained the warm regard of Napoleon, and with his wife, who was Miss Elphinstone, and a relative of Lord Keith, he paid him many visits at Longwood. Although Malcolm did all he could to smooth over the differences between Lowe and Napoleon, his



close relations with the Emperor were viewed with suspicion by the Governor. No open rupture took place, but at the expiration of his command in June, 1817, Malcolm left the Island with no very friendly feeling towards Lowe. Lady Malcolm's diary, containing the substance of the conversations with Napoleon, was published in 1899. For an account of Malcolm's career, see D.N.B. Art., "Malcolm," Ralfe's "Naval Biography," and Marshall's "Royal Naval Biography."

**MANNING.** The Thibetan traveller.

Manning was one of those who had been detained in France during the war, but who was released by order of Napoleon. On coming to St. Helena he was granted an interview by the Emperor on June 7th, 1817.

**MANSEL, Lt.-Colonel John, C.B. (1778-1863).** In command of the 53rd Foot Regiment.

Mansel was the son of Sir William Mansel, of Ischoed, in Carmarthenshire, and entered the Army as Ensign in the 53rd Foot in 1795. His first service was in the West Indies, but, having obtained his majority in 1807, he proceeded with the 1st Battalion to India, and in 1811 joined the 2nd Battalion in Spain, where he was present at Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Salamanca, and Toulouse. During part of this period he commanded the 2nd Battalion, and on two occasions was given the command of a brigade. Mansel accepted the command of the 2nd Battalion of the 53rd Foot, when ordered to St. Helena, on learning that his brother-in-law, Sir George Bingham, was to be the Brigadier-General. He did not, however, proceed with the regiment, but arrived on May 6th, 1816, and left again in January, 1817. He was received by Napoleon on May 28th and August 3rd, 1816.



After his return to England, Mansel went to India and assumed the command of the 1st Battalion. This post he held until 1827, when he retired.

References.—“History of the 53rd Regiment,” by Rogerson. See also Mr. Shorter’s “Napoleon and his Fellow Travellers,” where an interesting letter of Mansel is published.

MARCHAND, Louis (1792–1876). First Valet to Napoleon at Longwood and executor under his will. His mother was nurse to the King of Rome. He remained throughout the captivity, and returned for the exhumation in 1840. Marchand married in 1823 the daughter of General Brayer, and was created a count in 1869. (See “Après la Mort de l’Empereur,” by Cahuet, for a full account of Marchand.)

MARRYAT, Captain Frederick (1791–1848). In command of the “Beaver” at St. Helena. He was one of the three naval captains who inspected the body of Napoleon on May 6th, and made a sketch of the dead Emperor at Lowe’s request, and also one of the funeral. Was, of course, the well-known novelist.

MARTIN, Mrs. The housekeeper to the Marquis de Montchenu, who tried to kiss her. When Napoleon was told of the incident by O’Meara, he remarked: “I suppose the old ram wanted to violate her.” (See O’Meara’s letters to Reade and Gorrequer, “Lowe Papers.”)

MASON, Miss Polly. One of the chief landowners in St. Helena. She lived on the further side of Prosperous Valley, and Lowe proposed to rent her house for Napoleon at £100 per month. According to Mr. Norwood Young she is remembered at the present day in St. Helena on account of her habit of riding on an ox.



**MAXWELL**, Sir Murray, C.B., F.R.S. In command of the "Alceste." In company with Lord Amherst he was presented to Napoleon on July 1st, 1817. He died in 1831.

**MEYNELL**, Captain Henry (1789-1865). Commander of the "Newcastle." During the year that the "Newcastle" was on the St. Helena Station, Captain Meynell frequently accompanied Admiral Malcolm when visiting Napoleon at Longwood, and his diary recording the conversations on these occasions was published in 1911. Meynell sat as Member of Parliament for Lisburn, Ireland, from 1826 to 1847, and in 1862 he became full Admiral.

**MILLINGTON**, Abraham. The armourer who soldered up the coffin of Napoleon on the evening of May 7th, 1821. He has left an account of the proceeding. (See "Military Gazette," 1838.)

**MITCHELL**, Charles, M.D. (1783-1856). Surgeon on board the "Vigo," the flagship on the St. Helena Station from 1820 to 1821.

Mitchell entered the Navy in the early years of the nineteenth century, and in 1806 became full Surgeon. While at St. Helena he was called in on May 3rd to consult with Shortt, Arnott, and Antommarchi concerning Napoleon's grave condition, but he was not allowed to see the patient. He attended the post-mortem examination, and signed the official report. After retiring from the service, Mitchell lived at Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight, where he died on December 22nd, 1856.

**MONTCHENU**, Claude Marin Henri, Marquis de (1757-1831). The French Commissioner in St. Helena. He came to St. Helena on June 17th, 1816, on board the "Newcastle," attended by his secretary, Captain de Gors, and his servant, Thomas Salambre. He left on July 29th, 1821. For further particulars



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concerning the grotesque personality of Montchenu, see "Autour Ste. Hélène," by Masson, and "Events of a Military Life," by Henry. Also "La Captivité de Ste. Hélène, d'après les Rapports inédits du Marquis de Montchenu," Firmin-Didot, 1894.

**MONTHOLON, Charles Tristan, Comte de (1783-1853).**

Came out to St. Helena with Napoleon, and remained the whole time. He married Albine Hélène de Vassel (b. 1780), by whom he had three children. Madame de Montholon left St. Helena with her children on July 2nd, 1819, and Montholon left on May 27th, 1821, on board the "Camel." He published his "Récits" in 1846. For a full account of Montholon, see "Autour Ste. Hélène" and "Napoléon à Ste. Hélène," by Frédéric Masson.

**MURRAY, Captain James Arthur.**

Captain Murray, the son of Lord William Murray, and nephew of the Duke of Atholl, was born in 1790, and entered the Navy in 1803. After promotion to the post of Lieutenant in the "Unicorn" in 1809, he was employed off the coast of Portugal during the Peninsular War, and while performing these duties, the Surgeon of the "Unicorn" was sentenced to imprisonment in the Marshalsea for striking Captain Murray at the officers' mess. On May 14th, 1816, Captain Murray was given the command of the "Griffon" on the St. Helena Station, and on November 15th of the same year he was appointed to the "Spey." This last command he held until November 21st, 1817; but in the following March he was tried by court-martial, at the instance of Admiral Plampin, for failing to send supplies to the "Julia," and the Island of Ascension. He was, however, acquitted.

Captain Murray had an interview with Napoleon on August 1st, 1816.



## N

NAGLE, Michael (1795-1841). Lieutenant in the 53rd Foot.

Married on July 30th, 1815, at Portsmouth, Emma Valentine, a daughter of a clergyman of that town.

In 1811, at the age of sixteen, Nagle was attached to the 1st Portuguese Regiment, and saw considerable service in the Peninsular War. During the progress of the conflict he joined the 53rd Regiment, and was wounded on more than one occasion. In 1815, in company with his wife, he proceeded to St. Helena with his regiment, and they soon became on friendly terms with the inhabitants of Longwood, especially Gourgaud. They were also noticed by Napoleon. On June 10th, 1816, Mrs. Nagle won an action at law against Mrs. Younghusband (the wife of Captain Younghusband), who had aspersed her character, and was awarded £250 damages.

The Nagles left the Island on October 19th, 1816; but before they left Piontkowski attempted, without success, to prevail upon Nagle to carry to England some clandestine correspondence.

On the reduction of the 2nd Battalion of the 53rd, Nagle went on half-pay; but on November 4th, 1827, he was appointed Quartermaster to the 47th Foot, and occupied that position until he died in Malta in 1841.

NAPOLEON. BORN AT AJACCIO, AUGUST 15TH, 1769. DIED AT LONGWOOD, ST. HELENA, MAY 5TH, 1821, AT 5.49 P.M. AGED FIFTY-ONE. ARRIVED AT ST. HELENA ON OCTOBER 15TH, 1815, AND LANDED ON THE EVENING OF OCTOBER 17TH. SLEPT THE FIRST NIGHT AT THE HOUSE OF MR. PORTEOUS, THEN STAYED AT THE "BRIARS" UNTIL DECEMBER 10TH, 1815, WHEN HE REMOVED TO LONGWOOD.



NICHOLLS, Captain George (1776-1857). Of the 66th Regiment, and Orderly Officer at Longwood.

Nicholls joined the 66th Foot in 1791, and his further promotions were:—Lieutenant in 1803, Captain in 1809, Major in 1821, Lt.-Colonel in 1837, Colonel in 1851, and Major-General in 1855. He served in the Peninsular War, and was wounded in the leg at Vittoria. He came to St. Helena in 1818, and on September 5th was appointed Orderly Officer at Longwood. He resigned this position on February 9th, 1820, having been in residence seventeen months. While at Longwood, Nicholls compiled a journal, a copy of which is in the "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,210. This journal, which describes the difficulties encountered by Nicholls in obtaining ocular evidence of the presence of Napoleon, exhibits much unintentional humour. A strong point has always been made of the methods of strict seclusion adopted by Napoleon to defeat the regulations of Lowe. On investigation, however, it is found that, of the 421 days that Napoleon was said to be in seclusion, Captain Nicholls was assured of his presence on 68 per cent of those days, and the longest period of seclusion was 11 days. Nicholls died at 18 Rodney Terrace, Cheltenham, in 1857.

NICOL, Colonel Charles, c.B. In command of the 66th Regiment in St. Helena.

Nicol arrived in St. Helena with his battalion in 1817, and remained until the early part of 1818, when he left for England. He returned, however, in 1820.

Nicol entered the Army in 1795 as Ensign, and during the same year was advanced to the rank of Captain. He attained his majority in 1806, and became Lt.-Colonel in 1811. He commanded his



regiment in the Peninsula and was present at the battles of Vittoria, Pyrenees, Niville, and Nive. He also commanded a division in the Nepaulese War. In 1837 he became Major-General, and in 1846 Lt.-General. He was then appointed Colonel-Commandant of the 68th Regiment, and died in 1854. He supported Lowe in an affidavit in the case of *Lowe v. O'Meara*.

NOVARREZ, Jean Abram (1790-1849). The third valet at Longwood. He was a Swiss, and married in July, 1819, Josephine Broule, the *femme de chambre* of the Countess de Montholon. Was at Longwood throughout the captivity, and returned for the exhumation.

NUDD, John. A carpenter in St. Helena between 1816 and 1821. He was responsible for the woodwork at Longwood and the New House. He retired to Blackheath, and made an affidavit in favour of Lowe, in which he gives an account of the exact height of the railings around the New House, to which Napoleon objected so much.

## O

OAKES, Captain Orbell, R.N. Lieutenant on board the "Conqueror" and the "Rosario," from 1817 to 1820.

Oakes belonged to an old Suffolk family, and was nephew of Admiral Plampin. For the greater part of his career afloat he served in the various ships commanded by his uncle, and on his return home from St. Helena, he acted as his Flag-Lieutenant on the Irish Station. After this, Oakes quitted the sea, and was employed in the coast-guard.



O'MEARA, Barry Edward (1782-1836). Medical Attendant to Napoleon in St. Helena, until July 25th, 1818.

O'Meara was a native of County Cork, and began his medical career as Assistant Surgeon to the 62nd Regiment. But this position he was compelled to resign, because he had contravened the regulations in force by acting as second in a duel. He then joined the Navy and became Surgeon to the "Goliath" and the "Bellerophon." He was on this latter ship when Napoleon came on board, and after Maingaud had refused to accompany the Emperor to St. Helena, O'Meara was offered the post. He accepted, and remained in attendance until July 25th, 1818, when Lowe caused him to be removed from Longwood. He left St. Helena on August 2nd, 1818, and soon after his arrival in England was dismissed the service. O'Meara published his "Exposition" in 1819, in reply to Theodore Hook's "Facts Illustrative," and in 1822 the famous "Voice" appeared. Besides these, O'Meara was the author of a series of Letters to John Finlaison, the Keeper of the Records at the Admiralty, and these can be found in the "Lowe Papers."

O'Meara qualified as a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1825, and lived at 16 Cambridge Terrace, where he died on June 10th, 1836. In his will, which is at Somerset House, he directs that the following sentences shall be placed on his tomb: "I take this opportunity of declaring that with the exception of some unintentional and trifling errors in the 'Voice from St. Helena,' the book is a faithful narrative of the treatment inflicted upon that great man Napoleon by Sir Hudson Lowe and his subordinates, and that I have even suppressed



some facts which although true might have been considered to be exaggerated and not credited."

His grave has been re-discovered recently by Mrs. Chaplin, under the floor of St. Mary's Church, Paddington Green. Here he was laid to rest on June 18th, the anniversary of "Waterloo," and his burial certificate reads as follows :—

Page 227. Burials in the Parish Church of Paddington in the year 1836.

Name.	Abode.	When buried.	Age.	By whom.
Barry Edward O'Meara, (Surgeon for Napoleon).	16 Cambridge Terrace.	June 18th.	54.	J. G. Giffard, Curate.

## P

PIERRON. The butler at Longwood. He arrived with Napoleon, and remained the whole time. In 1840 he returned to St. Helena and was present at the exhumation.

PINE-COFFIN, Brigadier-General John. In command of the troops in St. Helena, from August 23rd, 1820, to the end.

Pine-Coffin belonged to the Royal Staff Corps, of which he was a Colonel, but when he came to St. Helena he was granted the local rank of Brigadier-General. For the burlesque character of Pine-Coffin, see "Events of a Military Life," by Henry. Pine-Coffin died on February 10th, 1830.

PIONTKOWSKI, Captain Charles Frédéric Jules (1786–1849).

Piontkowski obtained permission to join Napoleon, and left England on October 8th, 1815, in the "Cormorant," arriving at St. Helena on December 29th. After staying some months at Longwood, he was sent home in the "David" on October 19th, 1816, and arrived in England on board the "Orontes" on February 15th, 1817. For a com-



plete account of Piontkowski, see Mr. Watson's valuable book, "A Polish Exile with Napoleon."

PLAMPIN, Rear-Admiral Robert J. (1762-1834). Commander-in-Chief of the St. Helena and Cape of Good Hope Naval Stations from July, 1817, to July, 1820.

Plampin, who was born at Chadacre Hall in Suffolk, entered the Navy in 1775, on board the "Renown," and served chiefly in North America until 1776. He then lived for thirteen months in France, in order to acquire proficiency in the language, and several months in Holland for the same purpose. In 1793 he was selected, on account of his knowledge of Dutch and his familiarity with the country, to accompany the Forces, and served in the gunboats off Wilhelmstad, which was then being besieged by Dumouriez.

His knowledge of French stood him in good stead, for in September, 1793, he was appointed Aide-de-Camp to Admiral Goodall, the Governor of Toulon, and afterwards filled the same post under Lord Hood, until the end of the siege of that town.

Plampin was appointed Commander of the "Albion," sloop, in 1794, and attained post rank in the following year. In 1801, while in command of the "Lowestoft," he was cast away on the Great Heneaga, while attempting the windward passage. He next assisted in the attack on Boulogne, and helped Fulton to prepare his "locks" designed to explode under the water. In 1805 he assumed the commands of the "Antelope," 50 guns, and the "Powerful," 74 guns, but was disappointed in arriving in the latter ship at Trafalgar just too late for the battle. After this Plampin sailed to the East, and greatly distinguished himself by the capture of the "Henriette" and the famous fast sailing-ship, "La Bellone," off the coast of India.

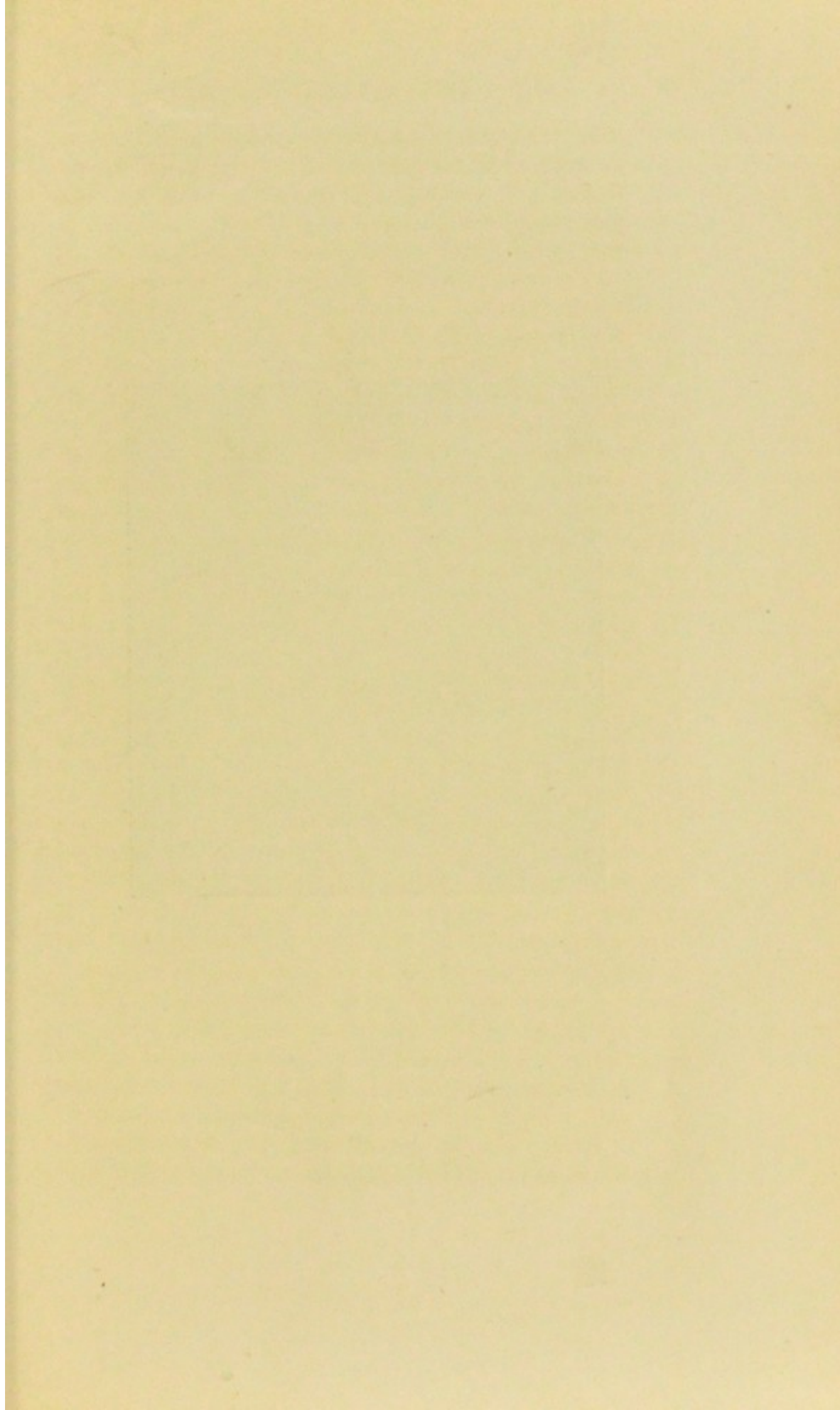


After this cruise he arrived in England in 1808, in a serious condition of ill-health owing to scurvy. At Walcheren he commanded the "Courageux," 74 guns, and was afterwards appointed to the "Gibraltar" and the "Ocean." For the remainder of the war he cruised off Toulon, and in 1817 hoisted his flag on the "Conqueror" as Commander of the St. Helena Station. After returning from this station, Plampin was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Station. He became Rear-Admiral in 1814, and Vice-Admiral in 1825.

While in command of the St. Helena Station, Plampin played a noteworthy part in the arrangements made for the safe custody of Napoleon, and throughout he was a firm supporter of the policy of Sir Hudson Lowe. He lived at the "Briars," and was especially singled out as the object of the Rev. Mr. Boys' strictures from the pulpit. He showed no sympathy with the lot of Bonaparte, and always spoke of him in the most disparaging terms. His attitude towards Mr. Stokoe, the Surgeon of the "Conqueror," who attended Napoleon for three days in 1819, was unduly harsh, and it was largely owing to the Admiral's attitude at the court-martial that Stokoe was dismissed the Navy. Plampin had two interviews with the Emperor on July 3rd and September 5th, 1817. The conversation turned upon the amount of water carried on board ship, and the experiences of the Admiral when cruising off Toulon. The opinion of Napoleon concerning Plampin was no more favourable than the Admiral's concerning him.

POPPLETON, Captain Thomas William, of the 53rd Regiment, and Orderly Officer at Longwood, from December 10th, 1815, to July 24th, 1817.

Poppleton, the first Orderly Officer, appears to have been respected and appreciated by the resi-







CAPTAIN C. B. H. ROSS

dents at Longwood. He also retained Lowe's good will until it was found that he had received a snuff-box from Napoleon in a manner contrary to the regulations. Unlike the other Orderly Officers, Poppleton did not dislike his work at Longwood, for when his regiment was ordered home, he applied for permission to remain, but this was not allowed. He was promoted Major in December, 1817, and was placed on half-pay for a short time, but he soon joined the 12th Foot, and there remained until 1825, when he retired from the Army. Poppleton is the only Orderly Officer who had the honour of dining with Napoleon.

Poppleton died in 1827, aged fifty-two, and was buried in the vault belonging to his wife's family at Killanin, near Ross, Co. Galway. The inscription on the tombstone mentions that he was "honoured by the esteem of Napoleon, who was under his personal charge for two years in St. Helena."

**PORTEOUS, William.** Superintendent of the H.E.I.C.'s gardens. He also kept a boarding-house in Jamestown, and there Napoleon spent his first night on arrival. The Marquis de Montchenu also lodged there.

**POWER, Major James (1778-1851).** In command of the Royal Artillery Corps in St. Helena during nearly the whole period of the captivity.

Power entered the Army as Second Lieutenant in 1794, and was successively promoted—Second Captain in 1799, Captain in 1804, Major in 1823, Lt.-Colonel in 1824, Colonel in 1835, Major-General in 1841, and Colonel-Commandant in 1846. He served with distinction in the Peninsular War, and also at Waterloo.

Beyond the performance of his duties in St. Helena as Commandant of the Artillery, Power



does not appear to have played an important part in the Island, and, except in connection with purely official matters, his name is not mentioned in the "Lowe Papers."

## R

**RAFFLES, Sir Thomas Stamford, F.R.S. (1781-1826).**

Was Lt.-Governor of Bencoolen, founder of Singapore, and one of the original promoters of the Zoological Society. He called at St. Helena on his way to England in the "Ganges," and on May 19th, 1816, had an interview with Napoleon. Captain Travers, who was with him, has left an account of this interview, and Sir Stamford also gave his impressions in a letter to a friend, which is now in the possession of Mr. A. M. Broadley. Part of this letter has been published in the "Daily Mail."

**RAINSFORD, Thomas.** The Inspector of Police. He arrested Las Cases, and was presented to Napoleon on June 24th, 1816. He died in 1817.

**READE, Sir Thomas, Kt. (1785-1849).** Deputy Adjutant-General in St. Helena. Married on September 8th, 1824, at the Parish Church, Manchester, Miss Agnes Clogg, of Longsight, Cheshire.

Sir Thomas Reade joined the 27th Foot as Ensign in 1799, and became Lieutenant in 1800. In 1805 he was promoted Captain, in 1811, Major, and in 1815, Lt.-Colonel. During his professional career he was largely occupied in the Mediterranean, and was engaged in diplomatic work of various kinds. For these services he received the honour of knighthood.

In 1815 Sir Hudson Lowe selected him to occupy the post of Deputy Adjutant-General on the staff he was then forming for service in St. Helena, and Reade sailed with him in the "Phaeton," arriving



on April 14th, 1816. Throughout the captivity Sir Thomas was actively engaged with the official matters connected with that episode. He was a whole-hearted supporter of the Government policy, and performed his duties with marked zeal and energy. Indeed, it would appear that he was more pronounced than Lowe himself in the interpretation of the duties concerning the safe custody of Napoleon, for in the "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,207, a large number of Reade's letters can be found, and from the attitude exhibited by them, it is reasonable to infer that he often thought Lowe too lenient in his administration.

Reade was present at the post-mortem examination, and has left a minute and valuable account of what took place on that occasion ("Lowe Papers," vol. 20,133). He left St. Helena on July 12th, 1821, and on his return to England lived for some years on his estate at Congleton in Cheshire. He retained his connection with the Army, and exchanged into the 24th Foot as Captain, in 1824; but on May 10th, 1836, he was appointed Consul-General in Tunis, and there he remained until his death in 1849. Reade saw Napoleon on three occasions, viz. on April 17th, May 27th, and October 4th, 1816.

REARDON, Rodolphus Hobbs (1790-1847). Lieutenant in the 66th Regiment.

Reardon was born in Tipperary Town, and entered the Army in the 3rd West India Regiment, but afterwards became a Volunteer with the 71st Foot.

On August 3rd, 1808, he landed in Portugal, and after the Battle of Vimiera was promoted Ensign to the 82nd Foot. He carried the colours of this regiment at Corunna, and on account of his conduct



was promoted Lieutenant in the 66th Foot in February, 1810. He then served with the regiment in India, and came to St. Helena in July, 1817.

In St. Helena he was stationed at Mason's Stock House, one of the guard houses surrounding Longwood. He was on friendly terms with O'Meara and this brought him into trouble with Sir Hudson Lowe. Soon after O'Meara's retirement, Count and Countess Bertrand rode out to Mason's Stock House (October 13th, 1818), and held a conversation with Reardon, touching the conduct of O'Meara, in which the action of the Governor came in for severe criticism. As a result of this, Reardon was ordered to attend before a board of enquiry, and on the findings of the board, he was sent home on October 29th, 1818, in company with Lt.-Colonel Lascelles, who was also implicated.

Reardon made repeated attempts to get back to his regiment, but without success. He joined the 49th Foot in 1822, and the 22nd Foot in 1824. In 1830 he sold out of the Army with the rank of Captain, and in 1841 he was appointed Barrack Master at Drogheda, which post he held until his death. He was referred to by Napoleon as "Mr. Methodist." (See "The Case of Lieutenant Reardon.")

**RETHERWICK**, or Radovitch. The gunner of the "Baring" who brought to Napoleon the bust of his son on May 5th, 1817.

**RICH**, Captain George Frederick. In command of the "Racoon" and the "Falmouth" on the St. Helena Station. He was employed at Walcheren, and assisted at the bombardment of Dieppe. He had an interview with Napoleon on July 11th, 1816. Rich died in 1862, having attained to the rank of Admiral.



**RICKETTS, Charles Milner.** A kinsman of Lord Liverpool, and a member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta.

Ricketts entered the East India Company's service in 1791, and became chief secretary to the Governor in 1815. In 1817 he obtained a seat on the Supreme Council and, on his way home, on leave, had a long interview with Napoleon on April 2nd, 1819. At this interview Napoleon presented him with a paper containing reasons why Lord Liverpool should permit him to leave St. Helena. Ricketts was the last person to be granted an interview by Napoleon.

**ROBINSON, Miss.** Known to Longwood as "The Nymph." She was the daughter of a small farmer who lived on the further side of Prosperous Valley, and was noticed by Napoleon in the course of his rides. She came to Longwood on two or three occasions, and on July 26th, 1817, she brought her newly-married husband to bid adieu to Napoleon. The husband's name was Edwards, and he may have been the Captain of the "Dora," the ship in which Mrs. Edwards sailed for England on July 29th.

**ROBSON, Rev. Thomas.** The author of "St. Helena Memoirs," 1827, in which he gives an account of the conversion of Robert Grant. Robson spent some time in St. Helena after the captivity.

**Ross, Captain Charles Bayne Hodgson, C.B. (1778-1849).** In command of the "Northumberland."

Captain Ross was the son of Lieutenant Ross, R.N., and joined the Navy in 1788 as "captain's servant" on board the "Echo." He became a Lieutenant in 1796, and Commander in 1800, being appointed to the "Diligence," in which vessel he



was wrecked on the Honda Bank near Cuba. After commanding the "Druid," he was advanced to post rank in 1802, and was appointed to the "La Desirée" and the "Pique" on the Jamaica Station. In the latter vessel Captain Ross was most successful, capturing many armed vessels of the enemy, in all 140 guns and 1500 men. During the American War, Ross acted as Flag-Captain to Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn in the "Marlborough," the "Sceptre," and the "Albion," and took part in all the principal operations in that war. His next appointment was Flag-Captain to the "Northumberland," where he was brought into contact with Napoleon, and during the voyage to St. Helena he appears to have been on good terms with the Emperor, who often referred to him as "*uno bravissimo uomo*." While in St. Helena, Ross lived at a cottage not far from Longwood, which, to this day, is called "Ross Cottage." After his return in 1816, he filled the post of Superintendent of the Ordinary at Plymouth in 1819, and afterwards became Commissioner to the Navy at Jamaica and Malta. Captain Ross obtained flag rank in 1837, and from that year to 1841 he was in command of the Pacific Station. In 1847 he was promoted to Vice-Admiral. Ross was twice married, first in 1803 to Miss Cockburn, the sister-in-law of the Admiral, and one son, who predeceased him, resulted from this union. He married again, and had one daughter, who married Mr. Scobell, of Meavy.

Captain Ross does not appear to have left any papers concerning his association with Napoleon; but Brenton, in his "Naval History," when describing the voyage of the "Northumberland," states that he quotes from the diary of Captain Ross which has been lent to him for the purpose.



Mr. Shorter also, in his "Napoleon and his Fellow Travellers," has published an interesting letter from Captain Ross to a friend, but there is no trace of any other documents. For fuller particulars of the career of Captain Ross, reference may be made to O'Byrne's "Naval Biographies," Marshall's "Royal Naval Biography," Vol. III, pt. II, p. 735, and the "United Service Magazine," 1849.

**ROUS, Captain the Hon. Henry John (1795-1877).**

Rous came out to St. Helena in the "Conqueror," and served in that ship until August, 1817, when he was appointed to the "Podargus." He retained this command until January, 1818, but was then transferred to the "Mosquito," and in July, 1819, he left St. Helena. Rous, who in after-life became such a power on the Turf, had much to do with the institution of the Races at Deadwood, and the part he played is described in Basil Jackson's "Reminiscences of a Staff Officer."

**ROUSSEAU, Theodore.** The Lampiste, and worker at odd jobs at Longwood. He was deported on October 19th, 1816, and arrived at Spithead on February 15th, 1817. After this he retired to the United States, and took service with Joseph.

**RUTLEDGE, George Henry, M.R.C.S. (1789-1833).** Assistant Surgeon to the 20th Foot Regiment.

Rutledge entered the Army in 1809 as Hospital Mate, and in 1815 was appointed Assistant Surgeon to the 20th Foot. He came to St. Helena in 1819, and was present at the autopsy of Napoleon. He was appointed by Sir Thomas Reade to watch over the body until it had been securely closed up in the coffin, and has left a memorandum of the way in which he performed his task. (See Forsyth, Vol. III, p. 291.) In addition, Rutledge has also left a criticism of "Les Derniers Moments de Napoléon," by Antom-



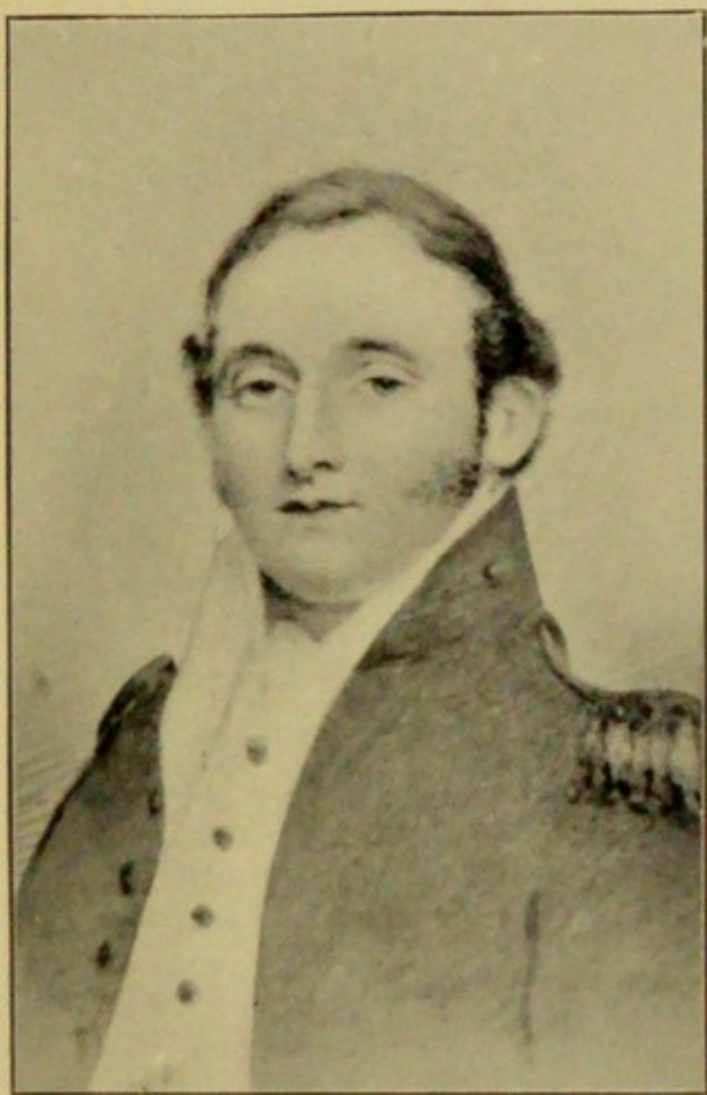
marchi, and this is a most valuable document, for it is the only medical criticism of Antommarchi coming from one who was actually present at the post-mortem examination. In 1826 Rutledge was appointed Surgeon to the 55th Foot, and while serving in this capacity he died of cholera at Tripasore, near Bellary, on July 18th, 1833. Rutledge was married, but left no children, and no papers relating to his connection with St. Helena have been discovered.

## S

SANTINI, Jean Giovan-Natale (1790-1862). An Usher at Longwood.

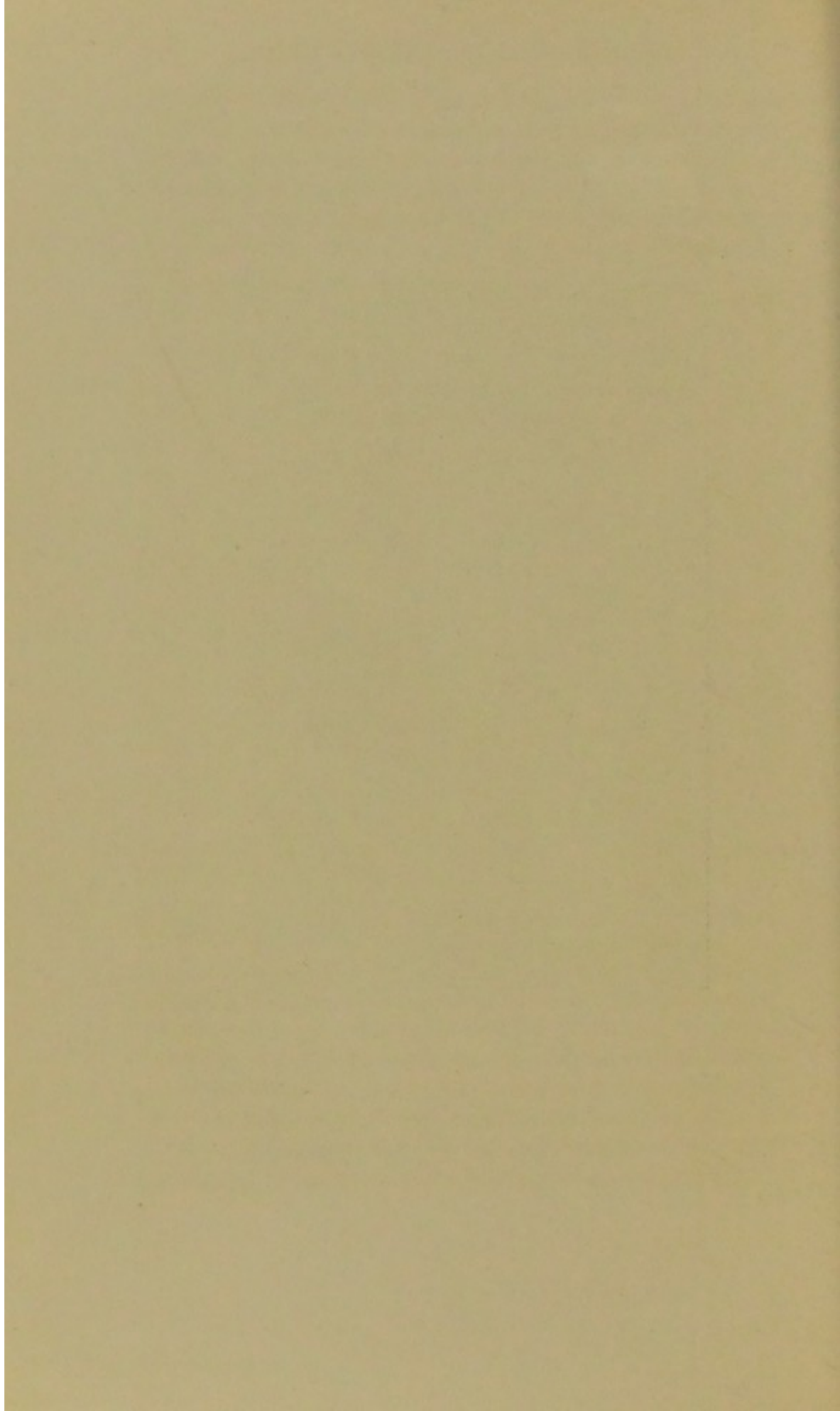
Santini, who was a Corsican, had been in the service of Napoleon at Elba. He was deported from St. Helena on October 19th, 1816, and arrived at Spithead on February 15th, 1817. After this he was imprisoned at Mantua and Vienna, and was kept under police supervision until the death of Napoleon. For a time he was the reputed author of "An Appeal to the British Nation," until Colonel Maceroni avowed it. He was also credited with the desire to shoot Sir Hudson Lowe. Eventually Santini became the guardian of the Emperor's tomb at Les Invalides. For a full account of Santini, see "Après la Mort de l'Empereur," by Cahuet, 1913.

SCOTT, James. The mulatto servant of Las Cases. On November 24th, 1816, it was discovered that Scott had letters from Las Cases to Lucien and Lady Clavering, sewn in the lining of his waistcoat. The letters were written on taffeta silk, and were to be sent to Europe in this manner. This discovery was the cause of the arrest of Las Cases.



THOMAS SHORTT, M.D.





SEALE, Major R. F. Assistant Storekeeper in St. Helena.

Seale published, in 1834, "The Geognosy of St. Helena," and also made a model of the Island, which was accepted by Addiscombe College, and there exhibited. It is said that Seale received £1000 for this work.

SHORTT, Thomas, M.D. (1788-1843). Principal Medical Officer in St. Helena.

Shortt joined the Army in 1806 as Assistant Surgeon to the 10th Foot, and in 1813 became Surgeon to the 20th Light Dragoons. In 1814 he was Acting Staff Surgeon, and in 1819 he received the appointment of Physician Extraordinary to the King in Scotland. He served most of his time in the Army in Italy, Sicily, and Egypt. He arrived in St. Helena in December, 1820, and assumed chief medical control of the Island. Shortt did not see Napoleon professionally, but was consulted concerning his illness. He attended the post-mortem examination, and drew up the official report, the original draft of which is in the possession of the Shortt family. Shortt left St. Helena on September 29th, 1821. (See "Thomas Shortt," Chaplin, 1914.)

SKELTON, John (1763-1841). Lt.-Colonel in the Indian Army, and Lt.-Governor of St. Helena from 1813 to 1816.

Skelton joined the 8th Native Infantry Regiment in the Bombay Presidency in 1780, and became Lt.-Colonel in 1807. In 1813 he was appointed Lt.-Governor of St. Helena, and came to the Island with Wilks in the same year. He lived at Longwood until the arrival of Napoleon, and when the Emperor was installed there, Skelton and his wife were frequent visitors. The Skeltons were much liked by Napoleon, and were on terms of friendship



with him until they left the Island on May 14th, 1816; but Lowe suspected them of having assisted the people at Longwood in the transmission of clandestine correspondence.

In 1817 Skelton became a Colonel, in 1821 a Major-General, and in 1837 a Lt.-General.

**SOWERBY.** The gardener of Longwood, and often mentioned in Nicholls' Journal as being instrumental in obtaining a view of Napoleon.

**STANFELL**, Captain Francis, R.N. In command of the "Phaeton" and the "Conqueror."

Stanfell was appointed Lieutenant in 1795, Commander in 1803, and Captain in 1810. He saw much service in the West Indies, the Channel, and North America, and while thus engaged, captured "La Glaneuse" and "Le Glaneur" in the Channel, and "l'Oreste" off Guadaloupe.

Stanfell brought out Sir Hudson Lowe and his staff in the "Phaeton," and after the retirement of Captain Davie, was given the command of the "Conqueror." He was a strong supporter of the policy of Sir Hudson Lowe, and was very popular with his men. On March 25th, 1817, Stanfell was presented to Napoleon. He died in 1831.

**ST. DENIS**, Louis Etienne (1788-1856). The second valet at Longwood, and "Garde des livres." He married Mary Hall, the governess, or nursemaid, to the children of the Countess Bertrand, and was at Longwood throughout the captivity. He returned in 1840 for the exhumation.

**STOKOE**, John (1775-1852). Surgeon to the "Conqueror."

Stokoe was summoned to attend Napoleon on January 17th, 1819, and between that date and January 21st he paid the Emperor five visits. But



in doing so he had incurred the displeasure of Lowe, and after going home on leave, he was ordered to return to St. Helena. He arrived on August 21st, and on the 30th was placed on his trial before a court-martial, which sentenced him to be dismissed the Navy. It is difficult to understand why Stokoe was treated so harshly, unless partisanship on the part of his judges is admitted. For a full account of Stokoe, see "Napoléon Prisonnier," by M. Paul Frémeaux.

**STURMER, Barthelemy, Baron de (1787-1853).** The Austrian Commissioner in St. Helena.

He arrived in the "Orontes" on June 18th, 1816, with his wife and the Botanist, Philippe Welle. He left, or was removed, on July 3rd, 1818, and afterwards held appointments in Rio, London, Lisbon, and Paris.

## T

**TAYLOR.** The under-gardener at Longwood, and often instrumental in enabling Captain Nicholls to say that Napoleon had been seen.

**TORBETT, Richard.** A merchant and shopkeeper in St. Helena during the captivity.

He lived very close to Longwood, on a property which contained Geranium Valley, and it was in this ground, belonging to Torbett, that Napoleon was buried. The Council of St. Helena granted him an indemnity of £650, and an annual subsidy of £50, so long as the body of the Emperor should remain in the tomb. Eventually this arrangement was commuted for a capital sum of £1200.

Torbett was dead when the exhumation took place in 1840, but his widow derived some pecuniary advantage from visitors to the tomb.



## U

URMSTON, James Brabazon. A supercargo in Macao under the East India Company, and eventually President of the Select Committee at Canton. Urmston was in St. Helena during the early part of the captivity; and on May 5th, 1816, in company with Balcombe, had breakfast with Napoleon. Afterwards he corresponded frequently with Lowe, and gave him information regarding opinion in the East as to the possibility of Napoleon's escape. (See "East India Register.")

## V

VERLING, James Roche, M.D. (1787-1858). Surgeon to the Royal Artillery in St. Helena.

James Verling was born at Queenstown in Ireland on February 27th, 1787, and studied medicine at Dublin and Edinburgh. At the early age of twenty-three he obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Edinburgh, and selected "De Ictero" (Jaundice) as the subject of his thesis. He entered the Ordnance Medical Department of the Army in 1810, and soon after was ordered to join the Forces in the Peninsula. He took part in many of the important engagements of the war, and after reaching England in 1814, was rewarded for his services with promotion in rank, and the Peninsula medal with five clasps.

In 1815 he proceeded to St. Helena in medical charge of the Artillery detachment destined for that island, and sailed in the "Northumberland" on August 8th with Napoleon as a fellow-passenger.

On August 25th, 1818, after the removal of O'Meara, Verling was appointed to reside at Longwood, to be in readiness to afford medical assistance



to Napoleon should his services be required. But the Emperor refused to receive any doctor appointed by Sir Hudson Lowe, and Verling continued to reside at Longwood with little occupation until September 20th, 1819, when he was relieved by the arrival of Antommarchi. He left the Island on April 25th, 1820, and carried with him the regard of both Sir Hudson Lowe and the French followers of Napoleon.

Subsequently Verling rose to high positions in the Army, and in 1850 was appointed Deputy Inspector-General of the Ordnance Medical Department. He retired in 1854, and died at Queenstown in 1858, in his seventy-first year.

While at Longwood, Verling compiled a most interesting journal, which is now in the "Archives Nationales" in Paris.

**VERNON**, the Reverend Bowater James. Chaplain in St. Helena during the whole of the captivity.

He was born in 1789 in Jamaica, where his father, Captain Bowater Vernon, was A.D.C. to the Governor. Mr. Vernon officiated at the church in Jamestown, and was able to keep aloof from the squabbles in which his senior, the Rev. Mr. Boys, was engaged. At Napoleon's funeral he attended officially, but Vignali objected to his walking beside him in the procession. Mr. Vernon published a little book of reminiscences, in which he deals with the events in St. Helena, and gives general support to the policy of Lowe. His son was the well-known ophthalmic surgeon.

**VIGNALI**, the Abbé Ange. A Corsican, selected by Cardinal Fesch to administer spiritual consolation to Napoleon. He was low-born, very ignorant, and, it is said, quite illiterate.

He arrived in St. Helena on September 20th,



1819, conducted the funeral ceremony, and left on May 27th, 1821, in the "Camel." Eventually he perished in a vendetta.

## W

**WALLIS, Captain James.** In command of the "Podargus" and "Racoon."

He entered the Navy as captain's servant, and in 1797 was nominated Acting-Lieutenant. He was present in the "Victory" at the Battle of Cape St. Vincent, and, in 1804, was appointed First Lieutenant to the "Vincejo," under the command of Captain John Wesley Wright. On May 8th of that year, this vessel was compelled to yield to superior force at the mouth of the Morbihan, and Wright and Wallis were detained in captivity. Wright met his death under unexplained circumstances in the Temple, but, in 1813, Wallis made his escape from Verdun.

In August, 1814, Wallis was appointed Commander of the "Podargus" on the St. Helena Station, and in 1817 he commanded the "Racoon." After commanding the "Conqueror" for a short time in 1818, he returned to the "Racoon" and paid that ship off in 1818. It has been held to have been an act of bad taste on the part of the British Government to send Wallis to St. Helena during Napoleon's captivity, but he was appointed to that station before it was decided to send the Emperor there.

On September 14th, 1817, O'Meara gives in his diary a conversation with Napoleon concerning the death of Wright, which was initiated by O'Meara mentioning that he had dined with Wallis the night before.



WARD, Ensign John. Of the 66th Regiment.

Ensign Ward joined his regiment in St. Helena towards the end of the captivity. He made a sketch of Napoleon during life, and one after death, when dressed in uniform. He also executed a medallion in plaster of the head of the Emperor on his death-bed, and assisted Burton (so it was said) to take the death-mask.

Ward eventually joined the 91st Regiment, and was present at the exhumation in 1840. He therefore occupies the unique position of being the only British officer, with the exception of Hodson, who attended the funeral in 1821 and the exhumation in 1840.

Mrs. Ward has given an account of the part played by her husband at the death of Napoleon, in a pamphlet, now in the possession of Alfred Brewis, Esq. This pamphlet is also published in Lady Burton's life of her husband. Ward died in 1878.

WARDEN, William (1777-1849). Surgeon on board the H.M.S. "Northumberland."

While on the passage to St. Helena, and until the departure of the "Northumberland" from that Island on June 19th, 1816, Warden had many opportunities of seeing Napoleon, and in St. Helena especially he was a frequent visitor to Longwood. The result of these visits was the famous "Letters" published in 1816, which speedily ran through many editions. A reply to these under the title of "Letters from the Cape," which is generally attributed to Las Cases, was published in 1817. For a full account of Warden, and for a republication of his "Letters," see the interesting book, "Napoleon and his Fellow Travellers," by Mr. Shorter (Cassell, 1908).



WARREN, John. Private in the Engineer Company at St. Helena. In company with private James Andrews of the same Corps, he dug the grave for the vault in which Napoleon was buried. (See "History of the Royal Engineers," Connolly.)

WELLE, Philippe. A botanist who came out to St. Helena with the Austrian Commissioner, Baron Sturmer, in the "Orontes." He arrived on June 18th, 1816, and was charged by Marchand's mother, who was nurse to the King of Rome, with a letter containing a lock of the King of Rome's hair. This he delivered to Marchand, who transmitted it to Napoleon. The transaction aroused Lowe's suspicions, and Welle left the Island on March 1st, 1817.

WILKS, Miss Laura. Daughter of Colonel Wilks.

In company with her father, Miss Wilks was received by Napoleon on several occasions, and was much complimented by him on her beauty and personal charm. Gourgaud also frequently referred to her beauty in his journal. Miss Wilks afterwards became Lady Buchan, and died in 1888.

WILKS, Colonel Mark (1760-1831). Governor of St. Helena from June, 1813, to April, 1816.

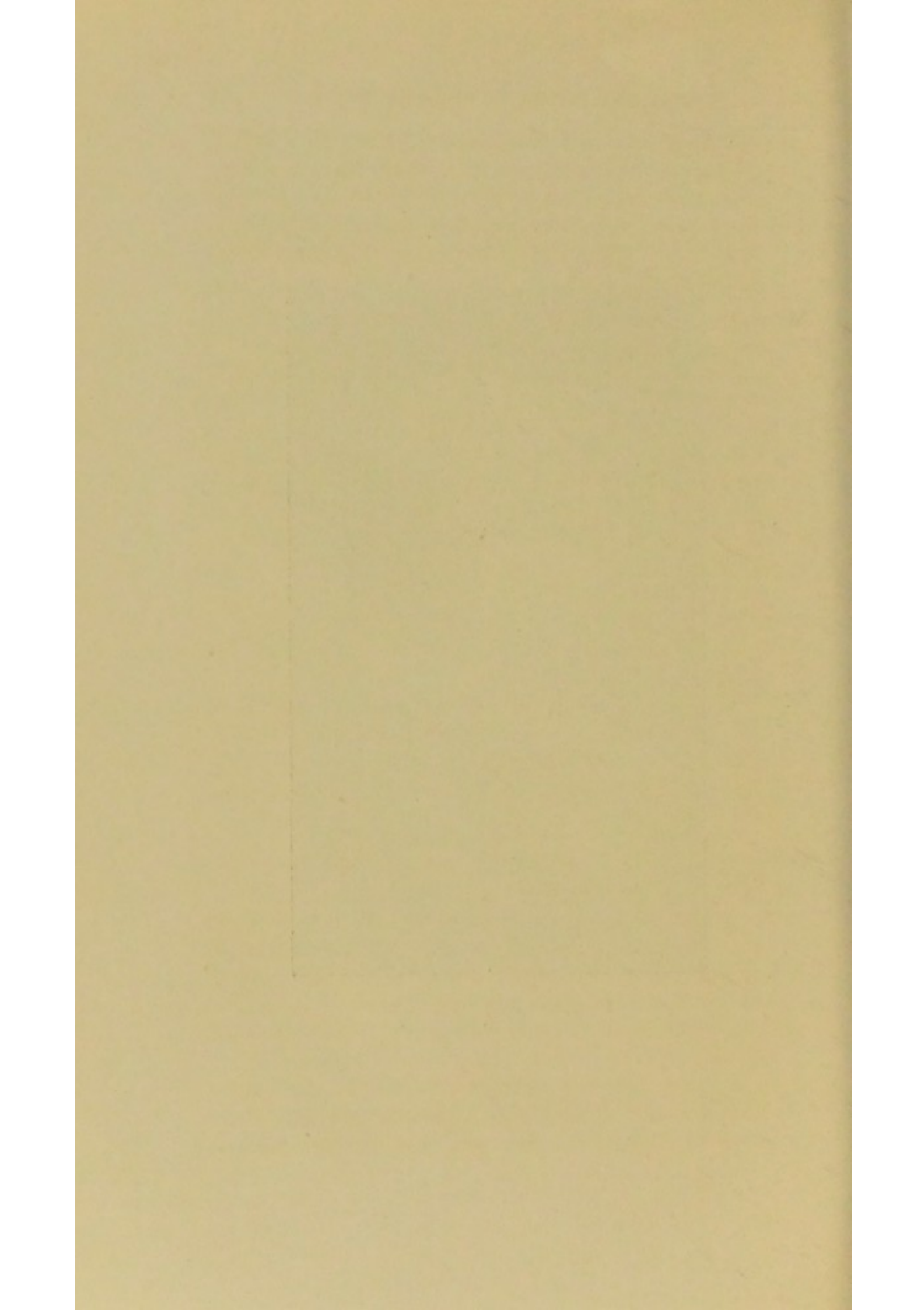
Colonel Wilks was a highly cultured man, of considerable intellectual attainments. Being intended for the ministry, he was given a first-rate classical education, and during his career in the Indian Army he occupied many distinguished positions. He contributed much to the history of India in papers to the Asiatic Society, of which body he was a Vice-President; but his chief work is "Historical Sketches of South India."

Colonel Wilks sailed from St. Helena on April 23rd, 1816. He had several interviews with



JAMES VERLING, M.D.





Napoleon, notably on December 12th, 1815, and on January 20th, and April 20th, 1816. The Emperor took pleasure in his society, and the conversations they held have been published in the "Monthly Magazine," 1901, under the title of "Colonel Wilks and Napoleon."

WORTHAM, Lieutenant Hale Young (1794-1882). Second in Command of the Engineers at St. Helena.

Wortham entered the Royal Engineers in 1812, and saw some service in the Peninsular War. He sailed for St. Helena in the "Phaeton," and, under the directions of Major Emmett, superintended the repairs and works around Longwood, in succession to Lieutenant Basil Jackson, who had performed that duty. When the dispute between Captain Lutyens and Major Edward Jackson arose (see Lutyens), Wortham considered that his conduct had also been criticised unjustly, and he was allowed to resign his position at Longwood on April 15th, 1821.

Wortham became Lt.-Colonel in 1847, and held for some years the post of Superintendent of Turnpike Roads in South Wales. He retired from the Army in 1858, and died in 1882, having reached the advanced age of eighty-eight.

WYNYARD, Colonel Edward Buckley (1780-1865). Military Secretary to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Colonel Wynyard arrived in St. Helena in May, 1816, and remained until June, 1820. Although Military Secretary, he does not appear to have occupied a very prominent part in St. Helena, for the functions of his office were in the able hands of Gorrequer.

Colonel Wynyard belonged to the Grenadier Guards, and saw service at Santa Maura, where he was wounded. He was present also at the



attacks on Ischia and Procida, and it was at these operations that he became known to Sir Hudson Lowe. In after-life Colonel Wynyard became Aide-de-Camp to William IV, and Colonel of the 58th Regiment. He was created C.B. in 1840.

## Y

YOUNGHUSBAND, Captain Robert (1785-1853). 53rd Regiment.

He entered the Army in 1801 as Cornet in the 17th Dragoons, and became Lieutenant in 1803. On the reduction of this regiment, Younghusband went on half-pay with a promise from Colonel Gordon, the Military Secretary of the Duke of York, that he should return to his regiment if opportunity offered.

On November 24th, 1803, Younghusband joined the 53rd Foot, as Lieutenant, and became Captain in 1811. He proceeded with this regiment to India, and married on June 8th, 1811, in Calcutta, Catherine Robertson (formerly Miss Whinyates), the widow of Captain Robertson, of the Bengal Artillery. Younghusband came out to St. Helena with the regiment, and during the absence of Major Fehrzen at the Cape, was placed in command. On April 20th, and again on June 18th, 1816, he was received by Napoleon. On the reduction of the 53rd, he was placed on half-pay on December 24th, 1817, with the rank of Major, and spent the remainder of his life at Middleton Hall, Belford, and Clive Cottage, Alnwick.

Mrs. Younghusband was a source of great trouble to her husband while in St. Helena. On December 7th, 1816, Gourgaud states in his journal that the Captain had suffered many misfortunes on account of his wife. "Almost a duel with Captain Harrison; a

fine of 300 louis, because she had aspersed the moral character of Mrs. Nagle; and trouble with the Governor, because a letter of hers had been found amongst the papers of Las Cases when he was arrested." When Lowe's action against O'Meara came on in 1823, Younghusband was one of those who swore an affidavit in favour of the latter. (See "The Genealogist," Vol. II, Old Series, p. 53, where will be found a complete pedigree of the Younghusband family.)



## A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF NAPOLEON'S VISITORS IN ST. HELENA

October, 1815.

- 15th. Colonel Wilks, the Governor of St. Helena, was presented to Napoleon on board the "Northumberland."

November, 1815.

- 20th. Napoleon walked from the "Briars," and paid a visit to Major Hodson, the Judge-Advocate.
- 26th. Sir George Bingham, in command of the troops, and Major Fehrzen, in command of the 53rd Regiment, paid a visit to Napoleon at the "Briars."

December, 1815.

- 8th. Bingham called and proposed to accompany Napoleon to Longwood.
- 9th. Captain Mackay, of the "Minden," with Mr. Hall, a midshipman, presented to Napoleon.
- 10th. Balcombe had lunch with Napoleon at the "Briars," and Napoleon arrived at Longwood at 4 p.m. with Sir George Cockburn.
- 12th. Colonel Wilks received in audience.
- 13th. Major Fehrzen dined with Napoleon.
- 27th. Sir George Bingham presented the officers of the 53rd Regiment to Napoleon.
- 30th. Major Fehrzen lunched with Napoleon, and Sir George Cockburn called.
- 31st. Lt.-Colonel Skelton, the Lt.-Governor of St. Helena, and Mrs. Skelton dined with Napoleon.



## January, 1816.

- 2nd. Sir George Bingham dined with Napoleon.
- 3rd. Sir George Cockburn proposed to ride with Napoleon to Sandy Bay, and, after hesitation, the proposition was accepted.
- 4th. Major and Mrs. Hodson and several officers of the 53rd Regiment dined with Napoleon.
- 5th. Sir George Cockburn and Major Fehrzen dined with Napoleon.
- 7th. Captain Poppleton dined with Napoleon and Mr. Porteous and Miss Knipe (le Bouton de Rose) spoke to him. He also received Sir W. Doveton and Mr. Leech, the two members of the Council, and Mr. Brooke, the Secretary.
- 14th. Captain Theed, Commander of the "Leveret," received by Napoleon.
- 15th. Captain Ross, of the "Northumberland," dined with Napoleon.
- 20th. Colonel Wilks received by Napoleon.
- 22nd. Lt.-Colonel Skelton and Captain Devon, of the "Icarus," received by Napoleon; they drove and dined with him.
- 23rd. Sir George Cockburn received by Napoleon.

## February, 1816.

- 4th. Sir George Bingham and an Artillery officer granted a reception.
- 9th. Captain Leslie, the Commander of the "Theban," received by Napoleon. A Doctor and Colonel Mackay were also presented.
- 13th. Sir George Bingham went for a drive with Napoleon.
- 24th. The Balcombes called and saw Napoleon.

## March, 1816.

- 4th. Some Captains of the China Fleet were received by Napoleon.



- 6th. Some more Captains were received.
- 8th. Dr. Warden came to see Gourgaud, and dined with Napoleon.
- 13th. Lt.-Colonel and Mrs. Skelton called, and drove with Napoleon.
- 13th. A colonel from the "Île de France" saw Napoleon. Captain Murray, of the "Spey," and Captain Hamilton, of the "Ceylon," were also received.
- 18th. Lt.-Colonel and Mrs. Skelton drove with Napoleon.
- 29th. Many captains of the China Fleet presented to Napoleon.

April, 1816.

- 7th. The officers of the 53rd, with Fehrzen and Younghusband, were introduced to Napoleon.
- 11th. Lt.-Colonel and Mrs. Skelton dined with Napoleon.
- 14th. Sir George Bingham called and informed Napoleon of the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe.
- 17th. Sir Hudson Lowe had his first interview with Napoleon, and presented Sir Thomas Reade, the Deputy Adjutant-General, and Major Gorrequer. According to Gourgaud, Major Emmett and Lieutenant Wortham, of the Engineers, Dr. Baxter, the Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, and Lieutenant Basil Jackson, of the Staff Corps, were presented.
- 20th. Colonel and Miss Wilks and Captain Younghusband, of the 53rd Regiment, received by Napoleon. According to Wilks, three other ladies were present.
- 21st. Captain G. W. Hamilton, of the "Havannah," and his officers received by Napoleon.
- 30th. Lowe's second visit to Napoleon.



## May, 1816.

- 5th. William Balcombe, the Purveyor and the owner of the "Briars," with Mr. Urmston, of Canton, had lunch with Napoleon.
- 8th. Captain Huntley, of the "Cornwallis," with many English passengers, presented.
- 11th. Mrs. Skelton said good-bye to Napoleon, and played chess with him. Dr. Warden was also received.
- 12th. Captain Bowen, of the "Salsette," presented to Napoleon.
- 13th. Dr. Warden received by Napoleon.
- 14th. Judge Burroughs, Mr. Arbuthnot, and Sir Thomas Strange, on their way from India, presented to Napoleon.
- 16th. Lowe's third visit to Napoleon. (Lowe gives the date as the 17th.)
- 19th. Sir Stamford Raffles, Sir Thomas Sevestre, Captains Garnham and Travers, received by Napoleon.
- 20th. The Balcombes saw Napoleon.
- 23rd. The Bingham's visited Napoleon.
- 24th. Mrs. Fernandez, wife of Lieutenant Fernandez, received by Napoleon.
- 27th. Sir Thomas Reade, and Mr. Jones, the Chaplain, received by Napoleon.
- 28th. Sir George and Lady Bingham and Colonel John Mansel received by Napoleon.

## June, 1816.

- 3rd. Captain Mackay, of the 53rd Regiment, received, previous to his departure for England.
- 17th. Dr. Warden and Lieutenant Blood, of the "Northumberland," received by Napoleon, and lunched with him.
- 18th. Captain Younghusband and his brother saw Napoleon.



- 20th. Sir Hudson Lowe introduced Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, Captain Meynell, of the "Newcastle," Captain Cochrane, of the "Orontes," and Mr. Irving, the Admiral's secretary.
- 24th. Dr. Alexander Baxter, the Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, and Mr. Rainsford, Superintendent of Police, presented to Napoleon.
- 25th. Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm received by Napoleon.

July, 1816.

- 4th. Sir Pulteney Malcolm introduced the officers of the "Newcastle" to Napoleon.
- 11th. Captain Rich, of the "Racoon," presented to Napoleon.
- 16th. Lowe's fifth visit to Napoleon. (Some accounts say the 17th.)
- 19th. Sir Pulteney Malcolm and Mr. Hicks, the Master of the "Newcastle," received by Napoleon.
- 21st. Mr. Porteous, Mrs. and Miss Knipe talked to Napoleon in the garden.
- 25th. Sir Pulteney Malcolm was received by Napoleon.
- 27th. Colonel Keating, the Governor of the "Île de Bourbon," and Sir George Bingham, received by Napoleon.

August, 1816.

- 1st. Captain Festing, of the "Falmouth," Captain Murray, of the "Griffon," Captain Meynell, of the "Newcastle," and Captain Griffin received by Napoleon.
- 3rd. Colonel John Mansel, in command of the 53rd Regiment, and Sir George Bingham presented to Napoleon.



MISS LAURA WILKS





- 6th. Mr. Drake, a midshipman, was spoken to by Napoleon, with reference to the tent he was erecting at Longwood.
- 10th. Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm called; the latter rode round the Park with Napoleon.
- 16th. Sir Pulteney Malcolm saw Napoleon and brought the ice machine.
- 18th. Lowe's sixth and last visit to Napoleon, with Sir Pulteney Malcolm.
- 25th. Mr. Lewis and Captain Gray, R.A., from the "Île de France," received by Napoleon.
- 30th. Captain Poppleton sent for by Napoleon.
- 31st. Major Fehrzen and Sir George Bingham received by Napoleon.

September, 1816.

- 21st. Sir Pulteney Malcolm said good-bye to Napoleon previous to sailing for the Cape.

October, 1816.

- 4th. Sir Thomas Reade received by Napoleon.
- 15th. Napoleon asked two strangers at Longwood to carry a message to Lord Bathurst.

November, 1816.

- 25th. Sir Pulteney Malcolm and Captain Meynell saw Napoleon.

December, 1816.

- 23rd. William Balcombe saw Napoleon.

January, 1817.

- 9th. Sir George Bingham was received by Napoleon.
- 11th. Sir Pulteney Malcolm, Captain Meynell, and Captain Wauchope, of the "Eurydice," were received by Napoleon.



- 17th. Balcombe was received by Napoleon.
- 31st. Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm and Captain Meynell received by Napoleon.

February, 1817.

- 12th. Mrs. Balcombe and daughters dined with Napoleon.
- 14th. Mrs. and Miss Balcombe saw Napoleon. Fehrzen saw Napoleon. (Doubtful.)
- 28th. Balcombe saw Napoleon.

March, 1817.

- 7th. Sir Pulteney Malcolm called and saw Napoleon.
- 8th. Mrs. Balcombe and daughters saw Napoleon.
- 14th. Sir George and Lady Bingham saw Napoleon.
- 25th. Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm, Captain Festing, of the "Falmouth," and Captain Stanfell, of the "Phaeton," received by Napoleon.

April, 1817.

- 2nd. Captain Cooke, of the "Tortoise," and a midshipman received by Napoleon.
- 19th. Captains Campbell, Innes, and Ripley, commanders of East Indiamen, received by Napoleon.

May, 1817.

- 3rd. Sir Pulteney Malcolm saw Napoleon.
- 23rd. Colonel Dodgin spoke to Napoleon. (Doubtful.)

June, 1817.

- 7th. Captain Balston, of the "Princess Amelia," and Mr. Manning, the Thibetan traveller, received by Napoleon.
- 14th. A major of the 80th Regiment, on the way to England, had an interview with Napoleon.



- 19th. Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm, Captain Meynell, Major Boys, of the Marines, Captain Jenkin Jones, of the "Julia," Captain Wright, of the "Griffon," and Colonel Fagan, Judge-Advocate-General in Bengal, received by Napoleon.
- 29th. Mr. Leech and Captain Johnson, of the "Ocean," spoke to Napoleon in the garden.
- July, 1817.
- 1st. The reception of Lord Amherst and suite, viz. Captain Murray Maxwell, of the "Alceste," Mr. Ellis, Mr. Griffiths, the Chaplain, Dr. MacLeod, Dr. Clark Abel, Dr. Lynn, Lieutenant Cook, Mr. Hayne, the secretary, and Jeffery Amherst.
- 2nd. Mr. Irving, the secretary to Admiral Malcolm, is seen by Napoleon.
- 3rd. Admiral Plampin and Captain Davie, of the "Conqueror," and Mr. Elliott, the secretary, introduced to Napoleon by Sir Pulteney Malcolm.
- 13th. Balcombe spoke to Napoleon.
- 14th. Napoleon received the officers of the 53rd Regiment previous to leaving the Island. Sir George Bingham presented them.
- 18th. Napoleon received the officers of the 66th Regiment, who were about to depart for England, introduced by Sir George Bingham.
- 20th. Major Anthony Emmett, in command of the Engineers, and Lieutenant Basil Jackson, of the Staff Corps, were granted an interview by Napoleon.
- 22nd. Balcombe spoke to Napoleon at Bertrand's.
- 26th. Napoleon talked with the "Nymph" (Miss Robinson), who was about to depart for England with her newly-married husband, Edwards.



## August, 1817.

- 10th. Dr. Alexander Baxter saw Napoleon. (Doubtful.)
- 13th. Captain Basil Hall, of the "Lyra," Mr. Hervey, and Mr. Clifford were received by Napoleon.
- 14th. Sir George and Lady Bingham were received by Napoleon, also possibly Colonel Nicol.
- 17th. Balcombe met Napoleon in Montholon's rooms.
- 19th. Dr. Alexander Baxter had an interview with Napoleon lasting an hour.
- 22nd. Mr. Cole, Balcombe's partner, saw Napoleon.

## September, 1817.

- 1st. The officers of the 66th Regiment, thirty-seven in all, presented to Napoleon. Sir George Bingham presented them. An officer of the Artillery from the Cape also presented.
- 2nd. Captain Lord, Lieutenants Patullo, Higgins, and Talbot, of the R.A., presented. (Doubtful.)
- 5th. Admiral Plampin received by Napoleon.
- 26th. Balcombe saw Napoleon.

## October, 1817.

- 1st. Dr. Alexander Baxter and Mr. Cole saw Napoleon.
- 9th. Dr. Stokoe, the Surgeon of the "Conqueror," introduced to Napoleon by O'Meara.
- 11th. Balcombe talked to Napoleon.

## April, 1819.

- 2nd. Mr. C. M. Ricketts, a kinsman of Lord Liverpool, had an interview with Napoleon.

October, 1820.

- 4th. Napoleon paid a visit to Sir William Doveton at his house at Sandy Bay, and had breakfast there.

William Warden, the Surgeon of the "Northumberland," had several interviews with Napoleon between October 15th, 1815, and June, 1816.

References.—All the contemporary published accounts and the "Lowe Papers," particularly the weekly reports of the Orderly Officers, Captains Poppleton and Blakeney.

NOTE.—In some cases the dates given by different authorities have not agreed, and where this has been the case, the most probable date has been adopted.



## CHRONOLOGY OF THE EVENTS AFTER NAPOLEON'S DEATH

SATURDAY, May 5th, 1821, at 5.49 p.m.

Death of Napoleon. Present at the death, or soon after, were : Bertrand, his wife and children, Montholon, Marchand, Pierron, St. Denis, Novarrez, Chandelier, Coursot, Archambault, Dr. Antommarchi, Dr. Arnott, and possibly Madame St. Denis, and Madame Novarrez. Vignali, the priest, offered prayers for the dying in an adjoining room.

During the night of May 5th.

Dr. Arnott watched over the body at the request of Count Montholon. (See "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,133.)

Sunday, May 6th, up to 2 p.m.

The body lay on the bed in sleeping attire, with a crucifix on the breast. During this period the sketches by Ibbetson, Marryat, Crokat, Arnott, and Vidal were made.

The body was viewed in the morning by Sir Hudson Lowe, Rear-Admiral Lambert, General Pine-Coffin, Captains Marryat, Brown, and Hendry, Marquis Montchenu, Sir Thomas Reade, Major Gorrequer, other senior British officers, and Mr. Brooke and Mr. Greentree, members of the St. Helena Council.

Sunday, May 6th, 2 to 3.30 p.m.

The post-mortem examination took place, and was performed by Antommarchi, in the presence of Bertrand, Montholon, Sir Thos. Reade, Major



Harrison, Captain Crokot, Vignali, Marchand, St. Denis, Pierron, and Drs. Shortt, Arnott, Burton, Mitchell, Livingstone, Henry, and Rutledge. After completion of the post-mortem examination, the body was washed and dressed in the uniform of a colonel of the Chasseurs de la Garde, with the cocked hat on, and a crucifix on the breast.

Sunday, May 6th, 5 p.m., to Monday, May 7th, 7.30 p.m.

Assistant Surgeon Rutledge was in charge of the corpse, which lay in state all day Monday. People were admitted to see the body, marshalled by Captain Crokot. During this period the portraits by Ensign Ward, Rubidge, and the Chinaman were sketched. (See the account of his vigil by Rutledge in Forsyth, Vol. III, and the "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,133.)

Monday, May 7th, 7.30 p.m.

Abraham Millington, the armourer-sergeant, arrived, and soldered up the coffins in the presence of Bertrand and his wife, Montholon, Vignali, Antommarchi, Andrew Darling, the upholsterer, Rutledge, the French domestics, and Samuel Levy, private of the 20th Regiment. (See the account of Abraham Millington, "Military Gazette," March 3rd, 1838.)

Tuesday, May 8th.

The sealed coffins lie in state all day.

Wednesday, May 9th.

The funeral took place. During the latter part of the journey, the coffin was borne to its last resting-place by twenty-four specially selected men from the Grenadier Companies of the 20th and the 66th Regiments. It is a matter for regret that the names of the men who performed this duty, which would have been coveted by the greatest captains in any age, cannot now be traced.



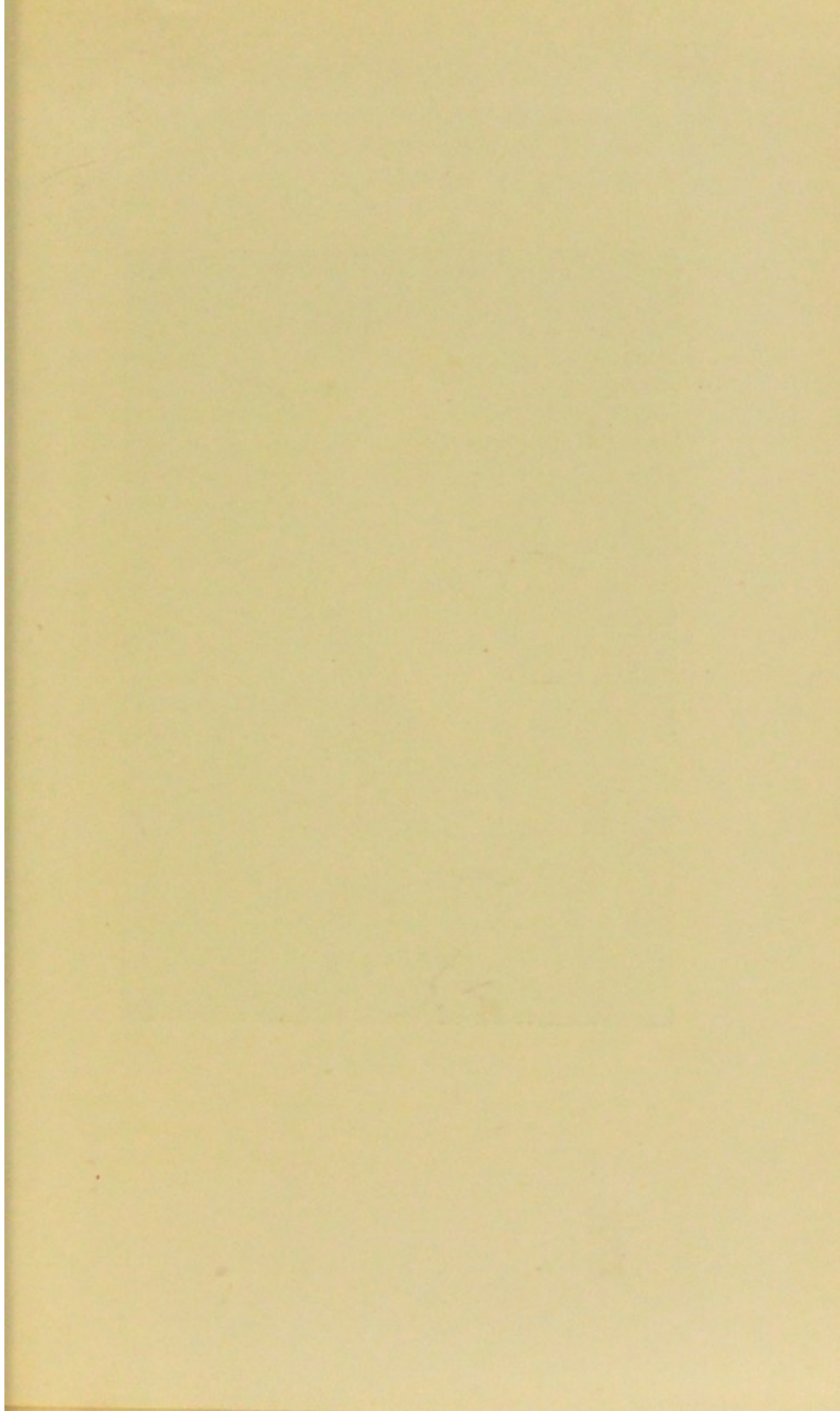
## THE CONSTRUCTION OF NAPOLEON'S TOMB

"A PIT was dug sufficiently capacious to allow a wall of masonry, two feet in thickness, to be built within it round the sides. The dimensions were: depth, twelve feet; length, eight feet; and breadth, five feet. At the bottom of the pit, where was also a layer of masonry, a large white stone was placed, and the coffin rested on eight stones one foot in height. Four other large white stones were placed on each side of the grave, and the whole cemented together. The top was enclosed by an additional large white stone let down by pulleys, and firmly cemented with the other portions of the grave, so as to form a stone coffin or sarcophagus; two layers of masonry were then built over, joined, and even clamped to the side walls. The remaining depth of eight feet to the surface of the ground was filled up with earth, and above the surface flat stones were laid over the grave, the length of which was twelve feet, and the breadth eight feet." (See "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,133.)

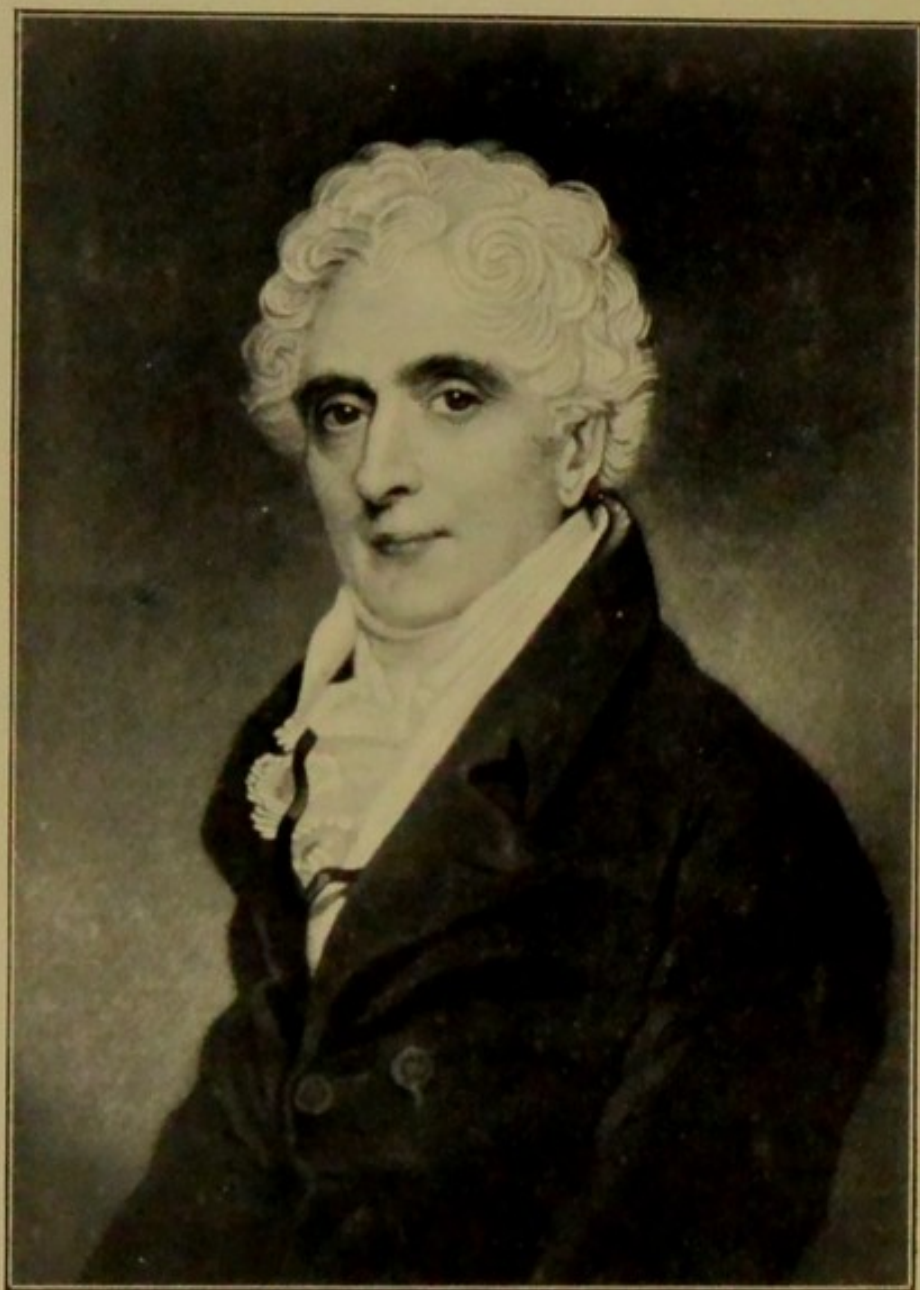
The pit for the grave was dug by Warren and Andrews, two privates of the Engineers, and the whole was devised and planned by Major Anthony Emmett.

## THE POST-MORTEM REPORTS

UPON the conclusion of the post-mortem examination, it fell to the lot of Dr. Shortt, the Principal Medical Officer, to draw up the Official Report of the appearances observed. He thereupon wrote out a draft report in which he stated that "the liver was perhaps a little larger than natural." This he signed together with Burton, Mitchell, and Arnott. Lowe, however, rejected this report on the grounds that the remark concerning the liver did not represent the view of the majority of the doctors present, and that the name of Livingstone did not appear amongst the signatures.







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This original draft is now in the possession of the Shortt family, and a footnote in Dr. Shortt's handwriting states that the sentence regarding the liver was suppressed by order of Sir Hudson Lowe.

Several original copies of the amended Official Report are in existence with the remarks concerning the liver omitted, and all have the five signatures appended. One, in Shortt's handwriting, is in the Record Office, two other copies in the handwriting of a clerk, but with the five original signatures, are in the "Lowe Papers," vols. 20,133, 20,214, and a fair copy of the same is in volume 20,157. Another one, possibly in Shortt's handwriting, and with five holograph signatures, is in the possession of Mr. W. T. Sabin. A very interesting draft report, with the remarks concerning the liver crossed out, and the amended sentence written in the margin in another hand, is in the possession of Mr. A. M. Broadley. This copy is most probably the first attempt made to draw up the Official Report as it was intended to appear finally.



## THE ARTISTS IN ST. HELENA

A LIST of those who made Sketches, Portraits, and Maps :—

ARNOTT, Archibald, M.D. Surgeon to the 20th Foot Regiment. In St. Helena from June, 1819, to the end. Made a sketch of Napoleon on his death-bed, and before he was dressed in uniform.

BAGGE, John. A cartographer. A map of St. Helena was published by him in 1824, with explanations in French. This map was made to illustrate Las Cases' "Memorial."

BELLASIS, George H. Visited the Island in 1812, and published, in 1815, a volume of views.

BLAKE, E. S. A lieutenant in the Bombay Artillery. He painted a view of St. Helena.

BURTON, Francis, M.D. Surgeon, 66th Regiment. Arrived in St. Helena on March 31st, 1821, and took the famous cast of Napoleon's features after death.

CHINAMAN, A. This unknown Oriental, who is said to have been a cook at Longwood, made a sketch of Napoleon after death. (Doubtful.)

CORBETT, Miss. Painted views in St. Helena.

CROKAT, Captain William. 20th Foot Regiment, and the last Orderly Officer at Longwood. In St. Helena from June, 1819, to May 7th, 1821. Sketched Napoleon after death, and before he was dressed in uniform.

DAVIS, Samuel. Made a series of sketches for the purpose of illustrating Beatson's book on St. Helena, published in 1816.



DODGIN, Henry Duncan. Lieutenant in the 66th Foot, and afterwards in the 20th Foot. In St. Helena from 1816 to 1821. Made several sketches of Napoleon during life.

EMMETT, Major Anthony. In command of the Engineers. In St. Helena from 1816 to 1821. An excellent plan of Longwood, by Emmett, drawn to scale, exists in the Record Office, C.O. Series.

ERSKINE, David. Captain in the Royal York Rangers. Painted a view in St. Helena, and also did a portrait of Napoleon (now in Mr. Broadley's Collection), while calling there on his way home from India.

FORREST, Captain. Painted a view in St. Helena in 1805.

GOURGAUD, General. In St. Helena from 1815 to 1818. A portrait sketch of Napoleon is attributed to him.

HARDING, J. D. Portraits of Napoleon, probably copies from Ibbetson.

HUGGINS, W. J. Marine painter to the King. A view of St. Helena.

IBBETSON, Denzil. Commissary in St. Helena from 1815 to 1823. Numerous portraits in water colours of Napoleon on board the "Northumberland," and in St. Helena. A portrait of Napoleon after death, and before he was dressed in uniform. Also portraits of Napoleon's companions in exile, and sketches of the tomb. (See article, "Century Magazine," April, 1912, by A. M. Broadley.)

JACKSON, Basil. Lieutenant in the Staff Corps. In St. Helena from 1816 to 1819. Made portrait sketches of Napoleon from life, and executed the plans for the New House at Longwood. He also did a fine series of views in St. Helena in water colours.



JOHNSON, J. A view of the Roads before Jamestown.

KERR, John. Paymaster to the 66th Regiment. He painted in water colours a series of six views of St. Helena, including the Funeral, the Tomb, Longwood New House, Sir William Doveton's House, and Plantation House. These were engraved by R. Havell, and published by Colnaghi, with letterpress and key, under the title of "Series of Views in the Island of St. Helena," dedicated to Lady Lowe. Mrs. Shortt, in her diary, mentions that Kerr was busily sketching views of the Funeral, intended for a panorama of St. Helena. Kerr afterwards assumed the name of Trattle.

LANGLEY, Captain. An imaginative view of Napoleon standing on the cliffs at St. Helena surrounded by his suite.

LAS CASES, Emmanuel. Drew the plan of Longwood, published in his father's "Memorial."

LUARD, Major John. 16th Light Dragoons. Published in 1833, "Views in India, St. Helena, and Car Nicobar."

MARCHAND, Louis. An "Aquerelle" of the gardens of Longwood, published by M. Masson.

MARRYAT, Captain. In command of the "Beaver," sloop, in 1821. Sketched the well-known portrait of Napoleon when dead, and before he was dressed in uniform. Also sketches of the Funeral.

MONTHOLON, Count. Drew an excellent plan of the gardens around Longwood.

POCK, Lieutenant W. Innes, R.N. Published in 1815, "Five Views of the Island of St. Helena taken on the Spot."

READ, Lieutenant R. P., R.N. Author of the well-known Map of St. Helena. The first edition was issued in 1815, before Napoleon had arrived in the



Island, and in it, Plantation House is given as his residence. In the second edition, in 1816, this is corrected, and Longwood is substituted.

RUBIDGE, William. A portrait painter. A portrait of Napoleon on his death-bed, and dressed in uniform. Also sketched the Tomb, and executed a death-mask of Napoleon. (See Mr. Watson's account.)

SHORTT, Mrs. Henrietta. Wife of Dr. Shortt. In St. Helena, 1820-1. Two views of the Island (unpublished).

STEWART. Major of the 24th Foot Regiment. Called at St. Helena in the "Bombay Castle," on his way home from India, and painted a view of "The Briars."

TOBIN, Captain, R.N. Views of St. Helena in 1815.

VIDAL, Emeric Essex. Secretary to Admiral Lambert on board the "Vigo," in St. Helena, 1820-1. Views of St. Helena, and a sketch of Napoleon when dead. (See article in "Century Magazine," September, 1914, by A. M. Broadley.)

WARD, John. Ensign of the 66th Foot. Sketched Napoleon on his death-bed dressed in uniform, and also moulded in plaster a medallion of the head of Napoleon when dead.

WATHEN, James. Visited St. Helena, and published views of the Island in 1821.

WEIGALL, George. A sketch of Napoleon when dead.

This list has been submitted to Mr. A. M. Broadley, the well-known authority upon Napoleonic Iconography, and has been approved by him.



## THE EFFECT OF THE CLIMATE OF ST. HELENA UPON THE LONGEVITY OF THOSE QUAR- TERED THERE

IN the following tables the expectation of life has been taken from Dr. Farr's Tables, published in 1844, in the case of British residents ; and from the Tables of the " French Annuitants before 1826," in the case of French residents.

### RESIDENTS AT LONGWOOD

Name.	Age next birthday in 1815.	Expectation of life in 1815.	Age at death.	Years lived above or below the expectation in 1815.
NAPOLEON . . . . .	46	23	52	-17
MONTHOLON . . . . .	32	32	70	6
BERTRAND . . . . .	42	26	71	3
LAS CASES . . . . .	49	21	76	6
GOURGAUD . . . . .	32	32	69	5
MARCHAND . . . . .	23	39	84	22
ST. DENIS . . . . .	27	36	68	5
NOVARREZ . . . . .	25	37	59	-3
SANTINI . . . . .	25	37	72	10
O'MEARA . . . . .	33	31	54	-10
LAS CASES (Fils) . . .	15	45	54	-6

## RESIDENTS IN THE REST OF THE ISLAND

Name.	Age next birthday in 1816.	Expectation of life in 1816.	Age at death.	Years lived above or below the expectation in 1816.
LOWE .....	46	22	74	6
READE .....	31	32	64	1
GORREQUER .....	38	27	64	-1
EMMETT .....	29	34	85	22
VERLING .....	29	33	71	9
NICHOLLS .....	42	25	81	14
WYNYARD .....	36	29	85	20
HENRY .....	26	35	69	8
WORTHAM .....	22	40	88	26
BAXTER .....	39	27	64	-2
BOYS .....	31	32	82	19
BINGHAM .....	38	27	56	-9
PLAMPIN .....	54	17	72	1

THE MORTALITY AMONGST THE TROOPS DURING THE  
CAPTIVITY

Average strength of all regiments .....	1056
Deaths during the captivity .....	256
Deaths per annum .....	42
Death-rate per annum .....	40 per thousand

(See "The Fatal Illness of Napoleon," Chaplin. "History of Medicine Section," Seventeenth International Congress of Medicine, 1913.)

In connection with longevity in St. Helena it is interesting to note that Forsyth, writing in 1853, in the Preface to his "History of the Captivity of Napoleon" says that Colonel Basil Jackson was almost the only one left of those who were engaged in the duty of guarding the Emperor. The following list will, however, show how far from the truth this statement was.



Archibald Arnott	.	.	.	died	1855
James Verling	.	.	.	„	1858
Walter Henry	.	.	.	„	1860
George Nicholls	.	.	.	„	1857
William Crokat	.	.	.	„	1879
Anthony Emmett	.	.	.	„	1872
Hale Young Wortham	.	.	.	„	1882
Col. Ed. Wynyard	.	.	.	„	1865
Col. Ed. Lascelles	.	.	.	„	1853
Sir George Cockburn	.	.	.	„	1853
Rev. Richard Boys	.	.	.	„	1867
Denzil Ibbetson	.	.	.	„	1857
Col. John Mansel	.	.	.	„	1863
Captain Younghusband	.	.	.	„	1853
Captain Festing	.	.	.	„	1862
Major Hodson	.	.	.	„	1855
Captain Meynell	.	.	.	„	1865
Dr. Charles Mitchell	.	.	.	„	1856
Major Power	.	.	.	„	1851

## THE CASE OF LIEUTENANT R. H. REARDON

LIEUTENANT REARDON, of the 66th Regiment, was ordered home from St. Helena by Sir Hudson Lowe, as a result of a military enquiry held by Sir George Bingham, the Commander of the Troops, and Sir Thomas Reade, the Deputy Adjutant-General, on October 20th and 21st, 1818.

The charges dealt with in this enquiry were: (1) That Reardon had held a conversation with the Count and Countess Bertrand on October 13th, 1818, touching the removal of O'Meara from Longwood, which event had taken place on July 25th, 1818. In this conversation, which occurred at Mason's Stock House (a guard-house near Longwood in which Reardon resided), the Bertrands had passed severe strictures on the conduct of the Governor towards O'Meara. (2) That Reardon had shown to others a copy of a letter from O'Meara, under date June 20th, 1818, addressed to Colonel Lascelles, in command of the 66th Regiment, in which O'Meara used insulting terms regarding the Governor. Colonel Lascelles had requested Reardon, as a friend of O'Meara, to inform him that in consequence of his differences with Sir Hudson Lowe, and certain other irregularities, he must discontinue the practice of dining at the mess of the 66th. The letter in question, which Reardon had shown to others, was O'Meara's reply to Colonel Lascelles.

These charges were enquired into, and the following is the full report of the proceedings drawn up by Sir Thomas Reade, and found in the "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,207, ff. 138-41.



“Question 1. Is this your report from Mason's Stock House ?

Answer. Yes.

Q. 2. If you thought it necessary to report the visit of Count and Countess Bertrand, why did you not do it immediately it occurred ?

A. It is in the book of orders that if General Bonaparte or any of his attendants enter a house, it is to be reported, but I did not know that it meant the house I lived in. I made no secret of the visit, and I told my brother officers of it, who advised me to report it.

Q. 3. Was there any particular conversation which took place between yourself and the Count and Countess Bertrand ?

A. They talked to me about my friend O'Meara, as they always did when they met me, and said by this time he was in England, where he would get justice done for the ill-treatment he had received in the Island. I said what he had done here would hang him, and that I should be ruined for being his friend. Madame Bertrand laughed, and said what he had done would not hurt him, and that no ill would come to me for having been his friend.

Q. 4. Have you ever heard that Count Bertrand had been threatened to be horse-whipped by Colonel Lyster, and do you consider him a fit person for a British officer to associate with under such circumstances ?

A. I did hear something about it, backwards and forwards in Town, but I never heard the right story, and since that villain O'Meara has gone away I have always avoided as much as possible having anything to say to them.

Q. 4 a. Did you ever see the original letter of which this is a copy ? (O'Meara's letter to Colonel Lascelles.)

A. Colonel Lascelles read me part of it.

Q. 5. Did you ever show this copy to any one, and to whom ?



A. I believe I showed it to Captain Jordan and to Mr. Mack. I did to Mr. Davy in Town. I do not recollect whether I showed it to Dr. Stokoe or not, but I believe I might have done so as we had some conversation about it. I had some other notes by me from Mr. O'Meara, which contained some violent expressions about the Governor, which lay amongst other papers. I, however, burnt them when the last business regarding Mr. O'Meara was found out.

Q. 6. Do you know if Colonel Lascelles showed the letter to any other officers?

A. I do not know.

Q. 7. Do you know if Colonel Lascelles met Mr. O'Meara at dinner anywhere after he had left the 66th mess?

A. I beg to correct myself from what I told Sir Thomas Reade the other day. I had some conversation with Colonel Lascelles this morning on the subject. I do not know whether Colonel Lascelles dined with Mr. O'Meara at Captain Jordan's, but I know he sent an excuse to Mr. Mack's. Before Colonel Lascelles wrote to Mr. O'Meara desiring him to withdraw from the mess, I heard him tell Mr. O'Meara (near the water-tubs) that if he withdrew himself from the mess quietly, he would be happy to see him as a guest at any time.

Q. 8. During the time that you were at Mason's Stock House had you any other visitors?

A. Yes, Mr. Mason, Mr. Wardell, and Dr. Stokoe. With the latter I had some conversation about Mr. O'Meara, and we both agreed it would be very hard if we who had worked so hard should lose our bread from being a friend of this person.

October 21st, 1818. Second day of the enquiry.

Q. 9. How long were the Count and Countess with you on the 13th inst.?

A. To the best of my belief about half an hour.



Q. 10. You replied yesterday, that Count and Countess Bertrand when they visited you talked about your friend O'Meara. You are required to state every particular of what they said respecting Mr. O'Meara, in short, the whole of the conversation that passed betwixt you and Count Bertrand, or the Countess Bertrand, or both together.

A. Lieutenant Reardon here repeated exactly what he said yesterday, and added, 'Count Bertrand said O'Meara was an innocent man, that he had done nothing wrong, and that he would be well received by the ministers when he got to England.' Count Bertrand also asked if I had heard of the death of Mr. Balcombe. I replied I had. Madame Bertrand pitied his family. I asked Count Bertrand how General Bonaparte was and he said he was very ill.

Q. 11. You are required to state explicitly at what time and when you showed Dr. Stokoe a copy of O'Meara's letter to Colonel Lascelles.

A. In going down town to show the copy to Sir Thomas Reade, I had some conversation with Dr. Stokoe about O'Meara, but I am not certain whether I showed the copy of the letter. I lamented that two innocent persons were brought into trouble by being his friend. Dr. Stokoe regretted having had anything to do with O'Meara, and said that a letter had been received in which his name had been mentioned, that he had never authorised Mr. O'Meara to have letters addressed to him, and that he feared further letters might be sent him. He considered it very hard after so many years' service that he might be ruined by his intimacy with O'Meara.

Q. 12. How came the Bertrands to be informed of your being at Mason's Stock House?

A. About seven, the same morning that Count Bertrand visited me, Archambault, with a black girl, passed the Stock House, and I suppose he must have



told the Bertrands I was here. On the arrival of the Count and Countess at the Stock House they appeared surprised that I was there, for Madame Bertrand exclaimed, 'Oh, it is Mr. Reardon that is here.' I asked them if they knew I was quartered there, and they replied they did not.

Q. 13. Did you receive any message from the Count and Countess Bertrand during the last three weeks or at any time through your servant's wife?

A. No, I did not.

Q. 14. Did you speak to Archambault on the 13th when he passed Mason's Stock House?

A. No, I did not."

As a result of this enquiry Reardon was ordered to quit the Island, on leave.

It must be admitted that this enquiry did not reveal any greater degree of turpitude on the part of Reardon than that he had been indiscreet in showing a letter of O'Meara's to his brother officers, and had been unfortunate enough to have been the friend of the discredited medical attendant of Napoleon. He left on October 29th in the "Bombay Castle," having with him his companion in trouble, Colonel Lascelles. His fear that his connection with O'Meara would ruin him was fully justified by subsequent events, for when his leave had expired he made repeated applications to be permitted to rejoin his regiment in England; but this was refused. He was, however, told that he might proceed to St. Helena and join the battalion. But knowing the opinion of the Governor, he rightly objected to be sent there to be, as he said, "completely ruined." In spite of memorials and applications to the Commander-in-Chief and to Colonel Nicol, the commander of the 66th, no redress could be obtained, and being in sore straits he wrote a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, virtually asking him to remove the ban which had been cast upon him.



The letter is in the "Lowe Papers," in vol. 20,233, f. 158, and is as follows :—

" 15 MANCHESTER BUILDINGS,

" WESTMINSTER.

" *October 2nd, 1821.*

" SIR,

" When I presume to trespass on you, after having failed in my endeavour to explain, I hope you will kindly excuse and pardon the liberty. I flatter myself, if known to Sir Hudson Lowe, the situation I have been in for the last two months with an amiable wife, he would have relieved me, as I am confident it can never be his wish, or gratifying to his feelings to injure in any way an entire soldier of fortune who can boast of nothing but his pay. I must ever regret that anything I could have said should have brought your displeasure upon me, which I am told is the cause I am not allowed to join my regiment.

" I must beg leave to say that I never intentionally gave offence to you, and express my sorrow that you should think so. Trusting to your own feeling towards a soldier of fortune,

" I have the honour to remain,

" Your most obedient and humble servant,

" R. H. REARDON.

" To SIR HUDSON LOWE, Coulter's Hotel."

This letter, which is not without an element of pathos, apparently had no effect, for in 1822 Reardon's name appears in the Army List as a lieutenant in the 49th Foot. Sir Hudson was not very ready to forgive an officer who, by design or otherwise, had compromised himself with the people at Longwood, and Reardon's treatment was the same as that meted out to Major



Emmett, Captain Lutyens, Captain Poppleton, and Colonel Lascelles.

Amongst the private papers of Captain Reardon (now in the possession of Miss M. F. M. Mackay, his granddaughter, and to whom thanks are rendered for permission to use them) are letters relating to a claim, made on the French Government in 1856 by Captain Reardon's son, for the payment of the sum of £365, which had been promised his father by Bertrand when he left St. Helena in 1818.

It appears that when Reardon left the Island, he took with him a bill drawn in his favour by either Bertrand or Montholon, acting as Napoleon's agent, on William Holmes of Lyon's Inn, their usual intermediary in these private financial transactions. This bill, which was for £365, was given Reardon on account of the loss he had suffered "through his sentiments of humanity towards Napoleon at Longwood." Apparently the bill was presented to Holmes by Reardon, but was never honoured, by either Holmes or Lafitte, the banker in Paris. In 1827 Reardon made application to Bertrand for payment of the money, and in reply received the following document, which, if true, throws a lurid light upon the honesty of Mr. William Holmes.

The translation is as follows :—

"We the undersigned make the following declaration. It is in our knowledge that Mr. Reardon, Lieutenant in the service of his Britannic Majesty, by a factious connection of circumstances which he has had through sentiments of humanity towards the French prisoner at St. Helena, has been recalled from that Island and reduced in rank. Moreover, we are constrained to believe that if this officer had continued to be in authority in the service, he would have been Captain to-day, and from a letter from the office of the Commander-in-Chief that he has shown us, we see that even

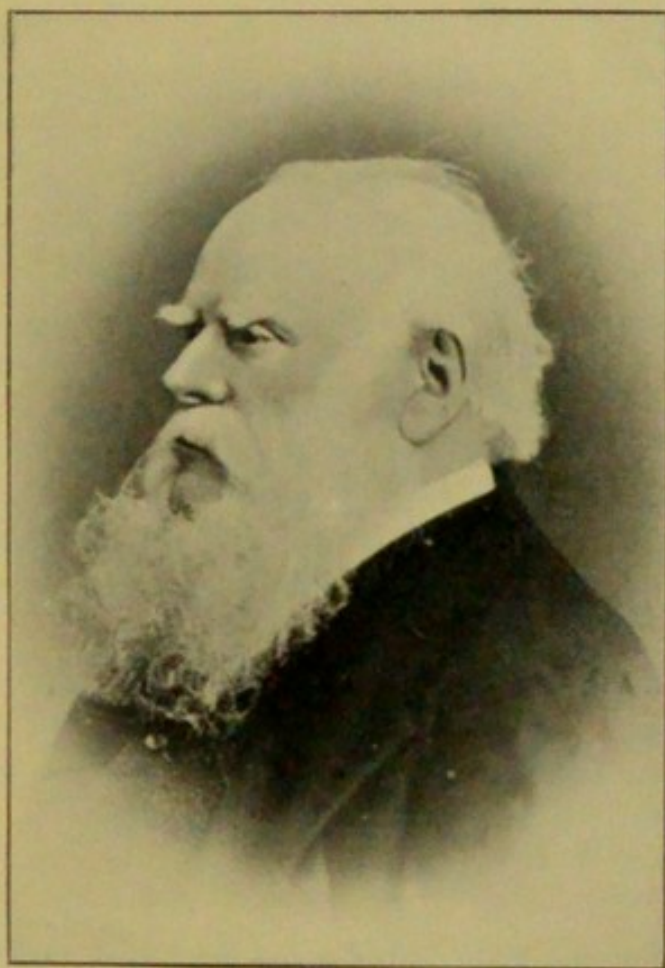


now if he furnished the said sum of £365, he could be appointed to the said rank.

“Consequently in our quality of legatees of his Majesty Napoleon, and commissioned with winding up the accounts of the sums belonging to him, remaining in the hands of Prince Eugene, his adopted son; we have given to-day, an assignment of £365 sterling, to Mr. Reardon on Mr. William Holmes, of London, debtor to the inheritance of H.M. Napoleon, as having received, by orders from Prince Eugene, different sums amounting to one hundred and eighty-two thousand francs, for the purpose of discharging letters of exchange drawn from St. Helena for the wants of the illustrious prisoner. The said Mr. William Holmes has not discharged any of these letters of exchange, nor rendered up to this day any account of their business. Written at Paris, May 3rd, 1827, signed, ‘Bertrand.’ ‘Montholon.’”

In this document no mention is made of any bill having been drawn on Holmes in favour of Reardon when he left St. Helena, but this may be inferred since Bertrand and Montholon made Holmes responsible for the payment of the money.

The matter was left in abeyance until 1856, when Reardon's son, who lived in the United States, applied, through the French Consul at New York, to the French Government for the money. The French Consul at that time was M. Tristan de Montholon, the son of General Montholon. In an interview in 1857, M. de Montholon said that he had only received his share under the will of Napoleon in 1855, that Mr. Reardon could only apply to Mr. Holmes for the payment of the drafts he may have in his possession, that all legacies contained in the will of Napoleon had been paid already, and that the drafts given by Napoleon at St. Helena were never honoured by the bankers with whom he deposited his money, that some of them like Mr. Holmes denied ever



LIEUT. HALE YOUNG WORTHAM





having received any, and that it was acknowledged now to be useless to sue these people.

Mr. Reardon then made direct application to Napoleon III through the United States' Minister in Paris, but received the following official letter, which closed the matter :—

“Monsieur le Ministre et Cher Collègue, par votre lettre du 24 Octobre dernier, vous m'informez que Mr. Reardome, citoyen des Etats Unis, et fils d'un officier anglais renvoyé du service en raison des témoignages de Sympathie qu'il aurait donnés au Captif de Ste. Hélène, désirait savoir si la somme de 365 livres sterling que les Généraux Bertrand et Montholon avaient accordée à son père a été payé postérieurement à 1827.

“La Commission chargée de l'exécution du Testament de Napoléon I vient de se réunir. J'ai eu l'honneur de lui communiquer votre lettre ainsi que la copie qui y était jointe de la déclaration des Généraux Bertrand et Montholon en faveur de Mr. Reardome. La Commission, après avoir consulté les comptes qui lui ont été fournis pour ses délibérations, n'y a trouvé aucune trace de cette affaire. Elle pense, d'après la déclaration des Généraux Bertrand et Montholon, que si Mr. Reardome fils veut élever des réclamations, c'est à Mr. William Holmes de Londres qu'il doit les adresser, puisque Mr. W. Holmes avait reçu du Prince Eugene les fonds nécessaires à l'acquittement des lettres de change tirées sur lui par le Captif de Ste. Hélène.

“Agréez, Monsieur le Ministre et Cher Collègue, les assurances, etc. —.

“Le Ministre d'Etat à S. Exc. M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

“Date, 1857.”



## WHAT HAPPENED AT MASON'S STOCK HOUSE

THIS small dwelling was situated on the opposite side of the Fisher's Valley, and commanded an excellent view of Longwood. On this account it was used as a place of observation, and a lieutenant's guard was always in occupation.

This house is famous for two episodes.

First, when Lieutenant R. H. Reardon, of the 66th, was posted there, the Bertrands rode out and conversed with him about the arrest and deportation of O'Meara. An investigation was held concerning this, and as a result, Reardon, in company with Lt.-Colonel Lascelles, was sent home to England. (See article, "Reardon.")

Secondly, when occupied by Lieutenant G. H. Wood, of the 20th Regiment, it was the home for a time of Mr. R. Grant, a midshipman of the "Vigo," who was dying of consumption. Wood and Grant, being of a serious turn of mind, used to ask others of a similar character to visit them. Accordingly, Lieutenants White and Oakley, of the 20th Regiment, Mr. Mellish, a midshipman, and Lieutenant Armstrong, of the St. Helena Regiment of Artillery, repaired nightly to Mason's Stock House and offered up prayers for the salvation of Napoleon's soul.

An account of this episode is found in "St. Helena Memoirs," by Robson, 1827, and is as follows:—

"The following little narrative, extracted from the communications afforded me by Lieutenant W—d, the dear friend of Mr. Gr—t, will tend to shew, not only more of the character and state of mind of the sufferer,



but also, what were the general feelings of the young St. Helena Christians towards their then royal prisoner. Mr. W—d thus writes : ‘ M—h and I used to carry poor Gr—t about in a tonjon ; but we, his hamauls, were as happy in the employment as himself ; and we would often compare him, his situation, state of soul, and eternal blessings and privileges, riding thus in his humble chair and pole, with the situation, state, honors, and attendants of the great and wonderful man, Buonaparte, who lived but about a gunshot from us, on the other side of the valley ; and who also was in the habit of riding out in the wood behind his house at Longwood, attended by his suite in full dress, whom we could plainly see from my piquet. We would often ask Gr—t, whose condition was the most desirable, his or the great man’s ? Poor Gr—t would smile, and pity this extraordinary man ; but would agree with his bearers, that his own situation, though on the point of bidding farewell to this world for ever, was far preferable to that of Buonaparte, at any time of his splendid history ; and that he would not exchange with any mere worldly potentate that ever existed.

“ But, at all our prayer meetings, we never omitted to pray for our exalted neighbour, pouring out our supplications abundantly and fervently in his behalf, that God would mitigate his severe bodily sufferings during his long illness, and sanctify them to his immortal soul’s conversion and salvation.

“ He was frequently the subject of our conversation, and we would say, ‘ O, if it pleased God to convert him, and make him a Christian, what a triumphant monument of grace would he be ! ’ Although, if he were led to true repentance, the world would say, he had turned coward ; or that it was his guilty conscience smiting him for the dreadful crimes laid to his charge ; and that it was natural enough so great a sinner should repent. We know that in this way the self-righteous world would



talk, if ever he should be brought to evangelical repentance unto life ; but still we continued to pray earnestly for him, and he was most truly an object of pity, compassion, and Christian benevolence. We were desirous to hear, if possible, anything relative to his spiritual or religious ideas and views ; but never could obtain any satisfactory information till after his death, when we heard from some of his suite, that latterly he was in the constant habit of praying with the priest, but particularly was often heard (when he knew not that any one was present in the room) to pray earnestly to God, through Jesus Christ, for his salvation ; but we could know no more than this. Every one said that he was not at all alarmed at death, as Dr. A—— also knows ; to whom he would talk of his approaching end with philosophical calmness. But all this calmness and unconcern was merely of a natural growth ; arising partly from his ignorance of the consequences of death, and also from the persuasion that he had not only not been guilty of the flagrant crimes imputed to him by his enemies, but that he had abused his power less, in what the world calls crime, than any other monarch ; and he used to appeal to history to vindicate his assertion. Nevertheless, although this might be true, such style of reasoning and calmness of philosophy (falsely so called) was a proof that then he had no gracious visitations, whatever he might have had on his dying bed ; when he was seen and heard to pray to God through Jesus Christ. We always heard that he believed in the scriptures as the nominal Christian may, and often does, to his own condemnation. He always spoke of them with respect and reverence, and often read them, particularly latterly. In the time of Dr. O'Meara he used to peruse them frequently, both for pleasure and information ; but then, chiefly the historical parts, especially the accounts of Joshua, David, etc., and their battles ; and ever valued the Bible as the oldest history extant,



independent of every other good quality which recommended it to him. But with the liberality he possessed, from his great knowledge of, and intercourse with, mankind, he was still very bigotted ; so much so, as to think no person could be saved out of the pale of the Roman Catholic Church ; and hence he used to urge Dr. A—— to go to mass. There is one thing certain, that he disbelieved the efficacy of the popish sacrament of extreme unction (as I suppose he did all other absurdities of that church), because he would not and did not receive it. But a day or two before his death, knowing that he was dying, he received, with great earnestness and devotion, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; this we heard from Madame Bertrand, and others of his household.

“The following is also an interesting and important fact concerning him, not generally known. It is this : The late good and venerable Father in Christ, Dr. Bogue, of Gosport, sent out several copies of the French translation of his ‘Essay on the New Testament,’ to Buonaparte and Suite. One of these copies, which had belonged to Buonaparte, I obtained through a Sergeant of ours, who taught the Count Bertrand's children writing and accounts, and who received it as a present from the Count with this statement, that it had been one of Napoleon's books which he had perused ; but did not say how much or how deeply ; and the Count knowing the Sergeant to be a pious man, for that reason gave it, along with some others, to him. On my arrival in England, I had the pleasure of presenting it to Dr. Bogue, who was delighted to receive his child back again, after his vicissitudes and peregrinations, particularly after having been adopted by that wondrous man Napoleon, and perhaps often under his eye.

“After all our conjecture, we know not but we may meet him in heaven, as a monument of mercy, saved at the last hour. The Christians who went to meditate over the lifeless body of this extraordinary man, were



peculiarly affected : and I remember how we called to mind that passage in Isaiah XIV, verses 9 to 21, which appeared to have been written as much for him, as for the king of Babylon—how wonderfully appropriate did the 12th verse appear to us—but more particularly we, who beheld him lying in death, and took that hand, which once swayed the sceptre of the world in ours, were struck with the application of the 16th, 18th, and 19th verses, which were then literally fulfilled.”

## THE CASE OF LOWE v. O'MEARA

A list of those who made affidavits concerning the case.

### FOR LOWE

Sir George Bingham.	Dr. Francis Burton.
Col. John Mansel.	Dr. Walter Henry.
Brigade-Major Harrison.	Capt. James Baird.
Capt. R. C. Mansel.	Lt. Kingsmill.
Capt. Francis Stanfell.	Lt. John Usher.
Major James Power.	Lt. Charles MacCarthy.
Dr. James Verling.	John Nudd.
Col. Daniel Dodgin.	Sir Thos. Reade.
Capt. George Nicholls.	Col. E. Wynyard.
Col. Nicol.	Major Gorrequer.
Col. Lascelles.	William Balcombe.

Alex. Baxter.

### FOR O'MEARA

Montholon.	Purser John Cumming.
Lt. John Fernandez.	Las Cases.
Lt. R. H. Reardon.	Las Cases (fils).
Lt. A. W. Birmingham.	Marchand.
Capt. Poppleton.	Pierron.
Capt. Thos. Cook.	Antommarchi.
Major Robt. Younghusband.	Coursot.
	Chandelier.

(See "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,230.)



## SOME OF THE LADIES IN ST. HELENA

Lady Lowe.	Miss Mason.
Lady Bingham.	Mrs. Balcombe.
Lady Malcolm.	Miss Betsy Balcombe.
Countess Bertrand.	Miss Knipe (Le Bouton de Rose).
Countess Montholon.	Miss Robinson (The Nymph).
Baroness Sturmer.	Mrs. Greentree.
Mrs. Wilks.	Mrs. Ibbetson.
Miss Wilks.	Mrs. Boys.
Mrs. Pine-Coffin.	Mrs. Vernon.
Mrs. Wynyard.	Miss Charlotte } Step-
Mrs. Skelton.	Johnson, } daughters
Mrs. Hodson.	Miss Susanna } of Sir
Mrs. Brooke.	Johnson, } Hudson.
Mrs. Lascelles.	
Mrs. South.	
Mrs. Shortt.	
Mrs. S. S. C. Younghus-	Mrs. Blakeney.
band.	Mrs. Harriet Papps, wife of
Mrs. Nagle.	Surgeon Papps, 53rd
Mrs. Kingsmill, wife of Lt.	Regt.
Kingsmill, 66th Regt.	Mrs. Wilton, wife of Adj.
Mrs. Fernandez, wife of Lt.	Wilton, 53rd Regt.
Fernandez, 53rd Regt.	Mrs. Blakie, wife of Qtmr.
Mrs. Matthias, wife of Lt.	Blakie, 53rd Regt.
Matthias, R.A.	

References.—East India Registers, 1825, and “Admiralty Muster Rolls” of the various troopships, Record Office.

