

A ST. HELENA
WHO'S WHO

Arnold Chaplin







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A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO



ARCHIBALD ARNOTT, M.D.

See page 51.

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

OR A DIRECTORY OF THE ISLAND
DURING THE CAPTIVITY
OF NAPOLEON

BY

ARNOLD CHAPLIN, M.D. (CANTAB.)

Author of The Illness and Death of Napoleon, Thomas Shortt, etc.

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REVISED AND ENLARGED

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PREFACE

THE first edition of *A St. Helena Who's Who* was limited to one hundred and fifty copies, for it was felt that the book could appeal only to those who were students of the period of Napoleon's captivity in St. Helena. The author soon found, however, that the edition was insufficient to meet the demand, and he was obliged, with regret, to inform many who desired to possess the book that the issue was exhausted. In the present edition the original form in which the work appeared has been retained, but fresh material has been included, and many corrections have been made which, it is hoped, will render the book more useful.

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A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

INTRODUCTION

I HAVE ventured to print this 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

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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 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 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 re-

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search 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 monument 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

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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 supply 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 in one volume other information likely to prove useful to the student of that period.

In addition to the "Lowe Papers" and the Colonial Office Records which cover the period of the captivity, I have found various series of documents in the Public Record Office to be of the greatest assistance. The "Muster Rolls," the "Casualty Returns," the "Monthly States," the "Paymasters' 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 the other residents in the Island, use has been made of documents relating to St. Helena in the India Office. These consist of six volumes containing the minutes of the weekly Council Meetings in St. Helena from 1815 to 1821, and the very valuable registers of births, marriages and deaths taking place in the Island from 1767 to 1835.

To many friends I am deeply grateful for the way in which they have helped me during the research required

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for this little work. Dr J. F. Silk has placed at my disposal his extensive and valuable St. Helena collection, and Mr Norwood Young has afforded me great assistance. The fine St. Helena collection of the Rev. E. Brook-Jackson has also been at my service, and from his wide acquaintance with the St. Helena period I have derived much help.

The twenty-two 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 tender my thanks to the following owners:—

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

Dr Silk, for the portrait of his great-uncle, Dr Baxter.

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

The late 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 Aleyne Reade, 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.

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

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

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

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

Dr Sankey, for the portrait of the Rev. Richard Boys.

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

Miss Hodson, for the portraits of Colonel and Mrs Hodson.

Colonel Skelton, for the portrait of Mrs Skelton.

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.

A. C.

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 Keigwin. 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 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 & Co., 1903.

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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.	Dr 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.

THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA

In command of the Artillery.	James Power, Major.
In command of the Dragoons.	J. W. Hoath, Cornet.
Of the Staff Corps.	Basil Jackson, Lieutenant.

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 Engelbert Lutyens, 20th Regiment. From
February 10th, 1820, to April 26th, 1821.

Captain William Crokat, 20th Regiment. From
April 26th 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.

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Robert Plampin, Admiral.	Rear-	Arrived July 20th, 1817, in the <i>Conqueror</i> (Capt. Davie). Left July 20th, 1820.
Robert Lambert, Admiral.	Rear-	Arrived July 14th, 1820, in the <i>Vigo</i> (Capt. Brown). Left September 11th, 1821.

CIVIL

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. Appointed May 21st, 1818.

THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA

Thomas Greentree. Storekeeper. Appointed May 10th, 1819.

Sir George Bingham was an unofficial Member of Council, but the H.E.I.C. refused to confirm the appointment. Appointed May 21st, 1818. Retired May 10th, 1819.

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.

Richard Huddart Leech. Died 1817.

Junior Merchants—

David Kay. Pensioned in 1817. Died August 7th, 1820.

John Kay. Deputy Secretary. Pensioned in 1817. Died March 15th, 1820.

George Blenkins. Deputy Paymaster.

Robt. Francis Seale. Deputy Storekeeper.

Anthony Beale. First Assistant Paymaster.

Factors—

George Voteur Lambe. First Assistant Storekeeper. Died July 2nd, 1848.

Nathaniel Kennedy. Deputy Accountant. Died 1823.

Charles Blake. First Assistant Secretary.

David L. Leech. Assistant Accountant. Died August 2nd, 1820.

Writers—

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

Thomas P. Hollis. Retired in 1816.

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Thomas B. Brooke.

R. Brooke.

John Young.

John G. Doveton.

Judges and Magistrates—

Sir W. W. Doveton.

Robert Leech.

T. H. Brooke.

Thomas Greentree.

Judge Advocate—

Major C. R. G. Hodson. Died 1858.

Town Majors—

Capt. John Barnes. Died 1817.

Capt. Thomas J. B. Cole. Died June 4th, 1827.

Superintendent of Police—

Thomas Rainsford. Died 1817.

In Charge of Telegraphs—

Capt. Henry Huff Pritchard. Died June 8th, 1828.

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

Henry Porteous. Died June 23rd, 1819. Succeeded
in 1819 by A. A. Seale.

Postmaster—

Joseph Cole. Appointed June, 1815. Died 1835.

The Company's Farmer—

Thomas Breame.

The Company's Gardener—

Edward Charlton.

Gaoler—

Charles Weston. Died 1832.



MRS. BALCOMBE

See page 52.

THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA

Superintendents of Public Sales—

William Balcombe. Appointed in 1807.

William Fowler. Appointed in 1818.

Master Attendant—

William Brabazon.

Steward of Stores—

D. Brockway.

Foreman of Works—

Daniel Smith.

Register Master—

Thos. Dutton.

Boat Builder—

John Adams.

Chaplains—

Senior: Rev. Richard Boys.

Junior: Rev. Bowater James Vernon.

School Establishment—

Revs. Boys and Vernon.

J. M'Daniel.

John Norcross Firmin.

Henry Kay.

Medical Establishment.

Superintendents—

David Kay. Retired Feb. 10th, 1820. Died 1833.

Matthew Livingstone. Appointed Assistant Surgeon

April 13th, 1816. Died 1821.

Surgeons—

Robt. Crout. Appointed June 1815. Died 1817.

George Mead. Appointed Assistant Surgeon August

7th, 1815. Died August 29th, 1826.

J. Cruikshank. Appointed June 19th, 1815.

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Assistant Surgeons—

John Mellis. Died 1820.

John Hammond. Appointed June 19th, 1815. Died
March 8th, 1822.

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," 1814-1836; "St. Helena Council Minutes"; "Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths," India Office.)

THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA

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	
Total Population		7998

("Lowe Papers," vol. 20,240, ff. 131-132.)

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
NAPOLEON'S Expenses	11,678
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. „ „

NAPOLEONE DE MONTHOLON. „ „

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

EMANUEL 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. „ „

NOVERRAZ. 3rd Valet. „ „

ARCHAMBAULT. The coachman. „ „

PIERRON. The butler. „ „

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

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

ARCHAMBAULT. The groom „ „

ROUSSEAU. The lampiste. „ „

THE RESIDENTS AT LONGWOOD

- 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 AND DAUGHTER. Servants 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.

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WILLIAM RIDSDALE. Employed to clean the silver.

MRS DICKSON.

MRS KAYE.

MRS GOODSON.

MRS QUILTON.

MRS LOWDEN.

} Maternity nurses to the Countesses
Bertrand and Montholon.

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

TOPOGRAPHY—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.

Principal 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.
„	„	Arno's Vale, 4 miles 3 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.

THE PRINCIPAL RESIDENCES IN ST. HELENA

Plantation House.—The residence of the Governor.

The Castle.—The offices of the Government in Jamestown.

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

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- Longwood New House.*—Close to Longwood, and built for Napoleon, but never occupied by him.
- Bertrand's Villa.*—Close to Longwood ; the residence of General Bertrand.
- 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 Sturmer and Count Balmain.
- Knollcombe.*—Occupied by Sir George and Lady Bingham, and afterwards by General and Mrs Pine-Coffin.
- Hutt's Gate.*—A small house occupied by the Bertrands until "Bertrand's Villa" at Longwood was built.
- Ibbetson's House.*—Opposite Hutt's Gate and occupied by Denzil Ibbetson during the captivity.
- The House of Mr Porteous.*—Next to the Castle in Jamestown. Napoleon slept here the first night after arrival. It was much used by the officers on the Naval Station as a lodging-house, and the Marquis Montchenu also lived there.
- Andrew Eyre's Boarding-House.*—Situated in Jamestown, and much frequented by sea captains.
- Alarm House.*—Occupied by Colonel and Mrs Wynyard. Sir Thomas Reade also resided here at times, but he also had quarters in Jamestown.
- Mount Pleasant, Sandy Bay.*—The residence of Sir William Doveton. Napoleon paid two visits to this house, and on October 4th, 1820, had breakfast there.

TOPOGRAPHY—PRINCIPAL RESIDENCES

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

Castle of Otranto.—The residence of Major Seale.

Prospect House.—The residence of Mr T. H. Brooke.

Smith's Gate House.—The residence of the Rev. Mr Boys.

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

High Knoll.—The residence of Mr Robert Leech.

Maldivia.—The residence of Colonel Hodson.

Fairyland.—The residence of Mr Thomas Greentree.

Chubb's Springs.—The residence of Captain James Bennett.

The Hutt.—The house of John Robinson and his daughter, "The Nymph."

Oakbank.—For a time the residence of Major Hodson.

Friar's Lodge.—The residence of Mr Baker.

Oaklands.—The residence of Mr Fowler.

Green Hill.—The residence of Mr Alexander.

Orange Grove.—The residence of Miss Mason.

Half Moon Farm.—The Farm of Richard Knipe.

Besides the above were the houses of the Pritchards, the Torbetts, the Wrights, the Lambes, and the Beales, viz. Rural Retreat, Rockrose Hill, Walbro Cottage, and Woodlands. The military camps were situated at 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

THE REGIMENTS IN ST. HELENA

those to be disbanded sailed in the *Moir* 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.

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

John Fernandez.	Died 1824.
J. R. Mackay.	Died in India, June 17th, 1818.
T. W. Poppleton.	Orderly Officer at Longwood. Died 1827.
Robt. C. 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. Left the Island, July 26th, 1819, in the <i>Providence</i> . 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.



WILLIAM BALCOMBE

See page 52.

THE REGIMENTS IN ST. HELENA

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 January 1st, 1846.
Robt. Thos. Greene.	
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 at Bangalore, August 28th, 1820.
Quartermaster—	
Robt. Blakie.	Died in India, March 25th, 1822.
Paymaster—	
John Maclean.	Died 1829.
Surgeons—	
Peter Papps.	Left in May, 1816. Died at Trichinopoly, 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.)

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

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*, *Abeona*, *Queen*, *Regulus* (arriving on May 13th), *Barossa*, *Berwick*, and *West Indian* (arriving April 20th), *Adamant* (on May 6th), and the *Hassareen* (on May 4th). 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.

J. J. Seelinger. Died at Hambledon, June 18th, 1819.

Captains—

H. P. Blakeney. Left the Island in 1820. Orderly Officer at Longwood. Died at Cheltenham, January 7th, 1823.

S. Turton. Died on November 22nd, 1816.

THE REGIMENTS IN ST. HELENA

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|-------------------------|--|
| 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. |
| Lieutenants— | |
| Chas. M'Carthy. | 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. Left July 8th, 1819, in the <i>Dunira</i> . 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. |

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

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.	Left April 5th, 1818, in the <i>Atlas</i> . Placed on half-pay, August, 1818. Died 1865.

Ensigns—

Thomas Chatterton.	Left November 9th, 1817, in the <i>Abeona</i> . Placed on half-pay, March, 1818. Died at Cherbourg, April 2nd, 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 in St. Helena, April 20th, 1822.

THE REGIMENTS IN ST. HELENA

Adjutant—

W. M. Gilbert. Left April 13th, 1818, in the *Thallia*. Died at St. Servan, November 19th, 1826.

Surgeons—

Francis Leigh. Placed on half-pay, December, 1817. Died 1839.

George Dunlop. Transferred to 29th Foot in 1820. Left September 12th, 1819, in the *Hyæna*. Died 1827.

Hugh Cunningham. Arrived 1818. Placed on half-pay, January, 1819. Died 1826.

Paymaster—

Thos. Lediard. Placed on half-pay, December, 1817. Died April 4th, 1855.

66TH REGIMENT

(1st Battalion)

This battalion arrived from India between June 27th and July 5th, 1817, in the *Cæsar* (June 27th), *Catherine Griffiths* (June 30th), *Dorah* (July 3rd), and the *Moirra* (July 5th). 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*.

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

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

Lt.-Colonel—

Charles Nicol.

Left the Island, February 25th, 1818, in the *William Pitt*. Returned February 29th, 1820, in the *Camel*, and came home finally in the *Camel*, May 27th, 1821. Died 1850.

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. Returned on March 7th, 1820, in the *London*. Died 1851.

Captains—

James Baird.

Left the Island, April 29th, 1819, in the *Oromocto*. Retired 1838.

Anthony Richards.

Arrived March 14th, 1819, in the *Eurydice*. Left the Island in 1820. Retired 1823.

T. B. Dunn.

Arrived August 21st, 1819, in the *Abundance*. Died 1823.

THE REGIMENTS IN ST. HELENA

Peter Duncan.	Left October 9th, 1818, in the <i>Racoon</i> . Returned in the <i>Camel</i> , February 29th, 1820. 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, in the <i>Lady Carrington</i> . Left September 12th, 1820, in the <i>Hyæna</i> . Died 1857.
G. L. Goldie.	Arrived June 26th, 1818, in the <i>Lady Carrington</i> . Died 1863.
Lieutenants—	
Wm. Davy.	Drowned while fishing, December, 14th 1818.
Jno. L'Estrange.	
T. H. Moffett.	
John Codd.	Left the Island, September 28th, 1819, in the <i>Coquette</i> . Died 1826.
R. H. Reardon.	Left October 29th, 1818. Died 1847.
John Ellis.	Died at Moulmein, 1841.
James Roberts.	Left June 8th, 1818, in the <i>General Kyd</i> .
John Usher.	Arrived Nov. 9th, 1817, in the <i>Abeona</i> . Left November, 1818. Returned August 21st, 1819, in the <i>Abundance</i> , and remained to the end. Died 1868.

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

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| John Donelan. | Arrived November 9th, 1817, in the <i>Abeona</i> . Left the Island on April 29th, 1819. Died 1839. |
| John Garstin. | Left the Island on April 29th, 1819. |
| William Rhynd. | Left the Island on April 29th, 1819. Died April 4th, 1829. |
| Apollos Morris. | Died 1826. |
| Hamilton Edmunds. | Arrived December 3rd, 1818, in the <i>David</i> . Became Barrack-Master at Hounslow. Died 1870. |
| Thomas Mack. | Arrived December 31st, 1817, in the <i>Marquis of Wellington</i> . Died 1819, after leaving St. Helena. |
| Wm. Snow. | Joined 47th Foot in 1820. |
| F. A. Gould. | Arrived in 1818. Left January 26th, 1820, in the <i>Nautilus</i> . Died 1877. |
| Quartermaster— | |
| John Stephens. | |
| Adjutant— | |
| W. Mackenzie. | |
| Ensigns— | |
| W. A. Turner. | Arrived August 21st, 1819, in the <i>Abundance</i> . |
| Thomas Rainsford. | Joined in 1819. Retired 1844. |

THE REGIMENTS IN ST. HELENA

Philip Ditmas.	Arrived August 21st, 1819, in the <i>Abundance</i> . Re- tired 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 December 8th, 1849.
Francis Burton.	Arrived March 31st, 1821. Died 1828.
Walter Henry.	Died 1860.
Thomas Laidlaw.	Arrived in 1818. Died 1822.
Paymaster—	
John Kerr.	Arrived August 21st, 1819, in the <i>Abundance</i> . Took name of Trattle. Died 1849.

(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*, *Oromocto*, *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,

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

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, in the <i>Admiral Berkeley</i> , and died in 1848.
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Majors—

Edward Jackson.	Commanded in the absence of Colonel South. Died 1841.
John Hogg.	Retired in 1833.

Captains—

Hamlet Obins.	Joined afterwards the 53rd Regiment. Died at Tenby, August 6th, 1848.
Engelbert Lutyens.	Orderly Officer at Longwood. Died on passage home from India in 1830.
William Crokot.	Orderly Officer at Longwood. Died 1879.
George Tovey.	Left the Island in 1820. Died 1858.
Forbes Champagné.	Left December 27th, 1820, in the <i>Norfolk</i> . Died 1843.

THE REGIMENTS IN ST. HELENA

R. Gethin.	Left December 31st, 1820, in the <i>Woodford</i> . Died January 5th, 1835.
Robert Power.	Retired 1824.
Guy Rotton.	Died August 17th, 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 Dudgin.	The Artist. Transferred from 66th Regiment. Retired in 1839.
M. A. Stanley.	Arrived February 29th, 1820, in the <i>Camel</i> . Died 1852.
Christopher Holmes.	Arrived March, 1821.

Ensigns—

G. H. Wood.	Died 1874.
J. F. Wallace.	Left December 27th, 1820, in the <i>Norfolk</i> . Retired 1822.
D. W. A. Douglas.	Retired 1839.
Thomas Moore.	Died 1850.
James Rae.	Retired 1830.

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

A. Congreve.	Died 1838.
Giles Eyre.	Died 1843.
Duncan Darroch.	Arrived February 29th, 1820, in the <i>Camel</i> . Died 1864.
W. H. E. M'Dermott.	Arrived March, 1821.
 Surgeons—	
Archibald Arnott.	Died 1855.
G. H. Rutledge.	Died in India, 1833.
 Adjutant—	
John Storey.	Died 1830.
 Quartermaster—	
John Dodd.	Died September 23rd, 1826, at Poona.
 Paymaster—	
Alexander Tovey.	Died 1866.
 (References: "Muster Rolls"; "Casualty Lists"; "Half-Pay Lists," Record Office; "Army Lists"; <i>History of 20th Regiment</i> , B. Smyth.)	

THE ST. HELENA REGIMENTS

These regiments were maintained by 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,



ALEXANDER BAXTER, M.D.

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THE REGIMENTS IN ST. HELENA

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. Died February 15th, 1828.

Major—

Charles Robert George Judge Advocate. Died
Hodson. 1858.

Captains—

Patrick Killin. Retired in 1818.
Chas. Sampson. Died August 14th, 1817.
Robt. Wright. Retired in 1818.
Henry Sutton Cole.
Francis Seale.
Onesiphorus Beale.

Lieutenants—

Robt. Mason. Died March 10th, 1823.
Jas. Torbett. Died April 28th, 1820.
John W. Seale. Retired in 1818.
John Worrall Torbett. Invalided 1827.
James Bennett. Died September 29th, 1835.
John Mellis, jun. Died April 11th, 1824.
Patrick Cunningham.
John Bligh Spiller.
James Ramsay.
Daniel MacMahon.

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

Ensigns—

Geo. Paterson.	
Alex. A. Younge.	
M. O'Connor.	Died April 22nd, 1846.
J. Sampson.	Died April 8th, 1848.
Jno. Doveton.	

Cadets—

Jas. Pritchard.	Died February 20th, 1846.
Wm. Mason.	
Wm. Hayes.	Died at Sandy Bay, 1820.

THE ST. HELENA ARTILLERY

Colonel—

Ed. Chas. Smith.	Died October 11th, 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.

THE REGIMENTS IN ST. HELENA

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.	Died December 19th, 1830.
Dan. O'Connor.	
Wm. Jas. Fuller.	Dismissed October 17th, 1815, for intemperance and "exhibiting a degree of intellect inadequate to the due performance of his duties" (Council Minutes," October 17th, 1815).
Caesar Jno. Ashton.	Died 1833.
Second Lieutenants—	
Chas. De Fountain.	Died 1840.
Chas. Jno. Sampson.	
Wm. Orlando Kennedy.	Died 1867.
Wm. K. Doveton, jun.	Died 1870.
Jas. Jno. Pritchard.	
Cadets—	
Jas. B. Mason.	
Hy. W. Knipe.	Died January 1st, 1826.
Geo. Richard Mead.	

(References: "The East India Company's Annual Registers and Directory," 1814-1836; W.O., 43, 65,948, Record Office; "St. Helena Council Minutes," "Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths," India Office.)

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

ARTILLERY OFFICERS

Major—

James Power. Died 1851.

Captain—

Thomas Greatly. Died 1849.

Lieutenants—

Gabriel Matthias. Died 1839.

Henry Hutchins. Died 1827.

Gordon Higgins.

Surgeon—

James Verling, M.D. Died 1857.

ENGINEER OFFICERS

Major—

Anthony Emmett. Died 1872.

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.

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

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.)

THE FLAG-SHIPS AT ST. HELENA

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.
Reuben 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 Commis-
sioner.
Marquis de Montchenu. The French Commissioner.
Captain de Gors. A.D.C. to the French Commissioner.

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

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 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. „

THE FLAG-SHIPS AT ST. HELENA

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 GUNS¹

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. „

¹ The *Phaeton* was not a flag-ship, but has been included on account of its importance.

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Robert Burn. Purser.

Andrew Lewis. Master.

In command of the Marines—

John Campbell. First Lieutenant.

Passengers—

Sir Hudson and Lady Lowe.

Miss C. Johnson. Daughter of Lady Lowe. (The younger daughter did not sail in the *Phaeton*.)

William Janisch. The clerk to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Lady Bingham. Dr Baxter. Sir Thomas Reade.

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.)

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 Welsh. „

R. Lambert Baynes. „

THE FLAG-SHIPS AT ST. HELENA

George T. Gooch. Lieutenant
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

1815-1821

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.)



REV. RICHARD BOYS

See page 61.

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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 protectors. 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 Momens 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 Momens*, Antommarchi published *Mémoires et Observations sur le Choléra Morbus régnant à Varsovie*, 1831, and

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Mémoires sur la non-existence de Communication Normale des Vaisseaux Lymphatiques et des Veines.

Antommarchi is described on the permit for travelling to St. Helena as having dark hair and eyes ; height, 5 ft. 10 in. ; age, twenty-eight. According to Sir Henry Russell, who visited St. Helena in 1821 (see *Swallowfield and its Owners*, by Lady Russell, p. 273), Antommarchi was not prepossessing, for he says : " He has a Corsican physician, whom we met at the Bertrands', a common-looking young man whose conversation betrayed both ignorance and vulgarity."

For further information concerning Antommarchi, see *Autour de Ste. Hélène*, by M. Frédéric Masson.

ARCHAMBAULT, Achille Thomas L'Union. Piqueur 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,

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1816, in the *David*. He arrived at Spithead on February 15th, 1817, and eventually took service with Joseph Bonaparte 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. Doubts have been cast upon the assertion that Napoleon scratched an "N" on the snuff-box; but a letter of Arnott's exists in the Record Office (C.O. 247, 32) in which he distinctly says that the "N" was scratched by Napoleon himself. Arnott attended the post-mortem examination, and, in 1822, published *An Account of the Last Illness of Napoleon*. Lowe took umbrage at this, and wrote to the colonel of the 20th Regiment complaining of Arnott's conduct, but on what grounds it is difficult to say. His views, however, during the progress of the case will be found in the

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“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 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.

THE ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

William Balcombe was a member of a family settled at Swallowfield, Reading, and came to St. Helena in 1807. In addition to his official position with the East India Company, he 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 younger 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 in the *Winchelsea* on March 18th, 1818, and soon after his departure Lowe received proof of his suspicion that Balcombe

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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, although he frequently petitioned Lord Bathurst to be allowed to do so, and he remained in England, living chiefly at Chudleigh, in Devonshire, in great straits, 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 made 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, Comte de. The Russian Commissioner.

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He was descended from the Scotch family Ram-say, and came out to St. Helena in the *Newcastle*, landing on June 17th, 1816. He left the Island on May 3rd, 1820, in the *General Harris*, having married on April 26th, 1820, Miss Johnson, the elder stepdaughter of Sir Hudson Lowe. On August 22nd, 1818, Balmain and Captain de Gors made a trip to Rio, returning on December 3rd, 1818. While there they expressed in public their approval of the policy at Longwood, and were much in the company of Count Hagendorp, a Bonapartist. (See C.O. 247, 18, Chamberlayne's letter.) For a fuller account see *Autour de Ste. Hélène*, by Masson, and the Official Reports of Balmain, published in *La Revue Bleue*, 1897. He died in 1848.

BATHURST, Earl, Colonial Secretary (1762-1834). The 3rd Earl.

Was responsible to the British Government for the safe custody of Napoleon. Nearly all the original dispatches 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

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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.

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

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corrections were necessary before they were accepted finally 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.

BENNETT, George Brooks (1816-1908). Son of Captain Bennett.

As a boy of five he rode on his pony to see the funeral of Napoleon in 1821, and he was also at the exhumation in 1840. He married the daughter of Major D. K. Pritchard of the St. Helena Artillery, and has left a manuscript in which he records the events of his life in connection with Napoleon and St. Helena.

BENNETT, Mrs James. The wife of Captain Bennett.

Mrs Bennett, who was a Miss Ayley, claimed to have been the first lady to whom Napoleon bowed on arriving in St. Helena, for as the Emperor was walking up the steps of the *Glacis* on landing on October 17th, 1815, he noticed a lady standing above him and saluted her.

BENNETT, Captain James, of the St. Helena Foot Regiment.

Captain Bennett was the father of Mrs Owen, who died in 1916; Lady Ross, the wife of Sir Patrick Ross the Governor; and of George Brooks Bennett. He lived at Chubbs' Springs, close to "The Briars." When Napoleon died, and it was decided to provide a mahogany coffin, it was found that no wood of that kind could be obtained. Captain Bennett,

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however, had a very large mahogany dining-table, and he allowed it to be used to make the coffin. Captain Bennett died in 1835.

BERNARD (surname, Heymann), his wife and daughter, 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, and is known as Longwood Farm.

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.	
BERTRAND, Henri.		} Arthur was born in St. Helena.
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 de 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.

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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 24th, 1820, when he left in the *Regent*, having thrown 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 (1782-1823). 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,

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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 the very doubtful evidence of Mrs Abell, who wrote from memory many years after, and who is known to be inaccurate in many particulars. Indeed, it would appear that a mistake has been made. Mrs Abell states that Mrs Blakeney once appeared in the presence of Napoleon intoxicated. But on reference to the Casualty Lists in the Record Office (W.O. 25, 1965) the death of Captain Blakeney is registered as taking place at Cheltenham on January 7th, 1823, and he is definitely described as "Single."

BOOKER, Rev. D., of Dudley. This divine, who had a great reputation for converting sinners, wrote a sermon especially suited to the needs of the case of Napoleon, and requested Earl Bathurst to take steps to have it placed under the immediate eyes of the Emperor. The request was refused. (See C.O. 247, 11, Record Office.)

BOORMAN, George. A plumber and paper-hanger, often employed with Paine, a painter, at Longwood, and in



FRANCIS BURTON, M.D.

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Napoleon's apartments. On January 9th, 1815, Boorman was dismissed from the Company's service for "insolent disregard of authority" and soon after admitted that he was practically bankrupt. But he was allowed to remain on the Island in a private capacity, and later undertook the pipe-work of the new water scheme to Longwood. At the funeral he assisted Darling in the arrangements made for that ceremony. Mrs Boorman was responsible for all the needlework in connection with the lining and stuffing of Napoleon's coffin.

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, The Reverend Richard (1785-1867). Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company in St. Helena from 1811 to 1830. For a full account of the activities of Mr Boys while in St. Helena, see the special chapter at the end of this volume, entitled "The Reverend Richard Boys, Senior Chaplain in St. Helena," p. 220.

BRABAZON, William. The Master Attendant at St. Helena.

In this capacity he was responsible for the anchorage of ships calling at St. Helena, for the collection

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of dues, the manifests, and the lists of the crews and passengers carried. These lists of crews and passengers were made up every quarter, and they can be consulted in the "St. Helena Council Minute Books" at the India Office.

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

Almost the whole of volume 20,238 of the "Lowe Papers" consists of an inquiry 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. In the end he was removed from his position, and arrived in England by the *William Pitt*, September 26th, 1820. This incident was the cause of the trenchant letter from the H.E.I.C. to Lowe, in which they criticised his government of the Island. For the letter see "Sir Hudson Lowe and the East India Company," p. 176.

BROOKE, Thomas Henry (1774-1849). Secretary and Member of the Council in St. Helena. Married, in 1799, 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 from 1787 to 1801. 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

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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. He died at Bath in 1851.

BULLOCK, George, of 4 Tenterden Street, Hanover Square, Upholsterer and Cabinetmaker.

The British Government entrusted Bullock with the order for the furniture required for the new house at Longwood, and also commissioned him to execute all the renovations and decorations required at Longwood old house. His bill for furniture and stores supplied came to £11,512, 6s. 2d. The complete inventory can be found in the Record Office, C.O. 247, 7, and apparently the Government spared no expense in their endeavours to fit up the new house in a style worthy of the position of Napoleon.

Certain pieces of the furniture were used for the old house, and a small part went to Plantation House, but the bulk remained in store at St. Helena

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until the new house was ready. Bullock sent out two of his workmen, Andrew Darling and John Paine, to superintend the work ; they each received £2, 2s. a week.

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, in the *Orwell*, reaching London on May 9th, 1821. On the permit to travel he is described as height, 5 feet 10 inches, age, 66. (See C.O. 247, 26, Record Office.)

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 McGrigor, 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

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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, Thomas, 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.

CARROL, William (1789-1875). A Merchant and Shipping Agent in St. Helena.

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. In the permit to travel his age is given as 31, and his height 5 feet 3 inches. (See C.O. 247, 26.)

CHESNEY, Lt. H. C. Cornelius, of the Indian Army.
Chesney while at St. Helena called on the Bertrands,

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apparently without a pass, and this gave rise to trouble with Sir Hudson Lowe. Chesney died at Mhow in 1820.

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, Martinique, 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 Sassafra, 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.

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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. In the permit to travel to St. Helena he is stated to be 34 years, and 5 feet 10 inches in height.

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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.

Croat 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 Croat 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 Croat 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, Croat sailed in the *Heron* with Lowe's dispatches announcing the death of Napoleon, and reached England on July 4th. For this service he was given his majority, and £500.

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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,

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used by Napoleon to clean his spade when gardening ; the cordon worn during the Hundred Days, and a pair of silk stockings and garters. For much of the information contained in this account of Crockat I am indebted to his niece, Miss Crockat, who had 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*. Dacre died at Boulogne on April 8th, 1851.

DARLING, Andrew (1784-1841). Upholsterer in St. Helena, and eventually Foreman of the Works.

Darling was sent out to St. Helena by Mr George Bullock the Upholsterer, and 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 the document in *The St. Helena Advocate* for 1851. This interesting document has now been published in *The Literary Supplement of The Times*

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for September 30th, 1915. It was discovered by Major Foulds among old records in the castle at Jamestown, St. Helena.

DARROCH, Ensign Duncan (1800-1864). 20th Foot Regiment.

Ensign Darroch arrived in St. Helena on February 29th, 1820, in the *Camel*, and stayed until after the funeral of Napoleon. After the death of the Emperor he was on guard at Longwood, and in letters written by him he states that he entered the death chamber when Burton was taking the plaster mould of Napoleon's face, but that he was unable to remain long in the room "on account of the stench." These letters have been published by Major Smyth in the Annual of the Lancashire Fusiliers for 1904.

DAVID. A sergeant 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.

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DENMAN, Captain Edmund. In command of the *Redpole*. 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, and in 1845 became Inspector of Police in Barbados.



CAPTAIN WILLIAM CROKAT

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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 left St. Helena for England on March 14th, 1818, in the *Marquis of Camden*, and returned on May 4th, 1819, in the *Bombay*. During this visit he received a knighthood on account of his public-spirited exertions in connection with the government of the Island, and the East India Company, after debating a whole day, granted him a pension of £800 per annum. 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*

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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.

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 July, 1821, arriving in England on September 3rd, 1821, by the *Marquis of Huntly*. 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.

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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

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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 Namcul, 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.

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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. (1812-1890). Author of the *History of the Captivity of Napoleon* (3 vols. Murray. 1853).

Forsyth was born 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, Angelo. An Elban, and footman at Longwood. He left the Island with his wife, Juliette Collinet, in the *Star* on October 4th, 1820, and arrived in England on April 16th, 1821. (See C.O. 247, 32.)

GORREQUER, Major Gideon (1781-1841). 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

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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

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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 in the Court of Chancery 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. (See the "Gorrequer Documents," p. 241.)

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 July 29th, 1821, in the *Lady Melville*.

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

GOURGAUD, Gaspard, General Baron de (1788-1852). Master of the Horse at Longwood.

Gourgaud came to St. Helena in the *Northumberland*, and left on March 14th, 1818, in the *Marquis of Camden*. Before leaving he stayed for some weeks with Lieutenant Basil Jackson at Bayle

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Cottage. While in London he lived at 7 Compton Street, Brunswick Square, but in November, 1818, was ordered to leave the country. Gourgaud was taken to Harwich, and at Romford, while the horses were being changed, it being market day, he called out in the inn yard: "Thieves, murder, I am General Gourgaud, they are going to rob and murder me." (See *The Asiatic Journal*, November 14th, 1818.) 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 de 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.)

GRAY, Captain James, R.A.

This officer had an interview with Napoleon on August 25th, 1816, on his way home from the Île de France. Lowe thought that Gray had shown disrespect in not going through the proper formalities before going to Longwood, and in C.O. 247, 7, Record Office, are letters from Gray explaining his position. Gray died in 1857.

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

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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. iv., 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

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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

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examination of Napoleon, and enjoyed the distinction, with Ibbetson, Lt. Matthias and Lt. Hutchins of the Artillery, of being one of the four British officers who came out to St. Helena with Napoleon, and who remained until his death. Harrison apparently retired from the Army in 1833.

HEATHORN, Henry, of 14 Birchin Lane. A merchant who did business with St. Helena and the Cape. He was implicated with Harrington and Lusson in the question of the "Cape Contracts."

HENDRY, Captain William. In command of the *Rosario*, 1819-1821. 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 dispatches to the Admiralty announcing the death of Napoleon.

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,

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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. (1787-1837). In command of about twenty men of the 21st Light Dragoons, who were employed in St. Helena as dispatch riders. Lowe ordered Hoath to give up his command and to proceed to the Cape. Thereupon, Hoath demanded an inquiry, since he felt himself insulted by being asked to hand over his cavalry command to a mere infantry officer. He also appears to have left some bills unpaid.

HODSON, Major Charles Robert George (1779-1858). 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



MAJOR GIDEON CORREQUER

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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 at Bath in 1858, having attained to the rank of Lt.-Colonel.

HODSON, Mrs Maria (1780-1863). Wife of the above, and a daughter of Sir W. Doveton. The Hodsons lived at "Maldivia," close to "The Briars," and it was here that Napoleon paid his visit. Colonel Charles Hodson, the eldest son, who died only a few years ago, had a vivid remembrance of Napoleon "tweaking" his nose on the occasion of this visit. The eldest daughter of the Hodsons married, on board the *Waterwitch*, Captain Sturdee, and the eldest son by this marriage is Admiral Sir Frederick Doveton Sturdee, the victor in the naval action off the Falkland Islands in 1914.

HOLMES, William. A commission agent, who carried on business at Lion'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 Eugène Beauharnais, who held funds at

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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 was 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.

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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 four 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 a 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 were 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 the late 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.

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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 *Dunira*, with Mrs Hodson and Mrs Knipe.

Jackson was an artist, and did several water-colour sketches of views in St. Helena, and several 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, K.H. 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

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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 at Scarborough on June 21st, 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 on March 26th, 1820, Count Balmain, the Russian Commissioner, and died in 1824.

JOHNSON, Miss Susanna. The younger stepdaughter of Sir Hudson Lowe. She did not arrive in St. Helena until May 6th, 1819, in the *William Pitt*. (See "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,161.) She died unmarried in 1828.

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

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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, and £150 as compensation for the loss of his house, which he let afterwards to Sir George Bingham.

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

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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. (1777-1847). 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 married Mary Anne Singer at Dublin on November 9th, 1799, and died of cancer at Cheltenham in 1847. In C.O. 247, 26, Public Record Office, is a letter of Keating's, addressed to Lord Bathurst, and asking if Napoleon was still in St. Helena on January 20th, 1819. The reason for the application was that Keating had made a bet that Napoleon would still

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be a prisoner on the date mentioned. (See W.O. 42, K. 12, Record Office.)

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 published in *The English Review* in 1914, 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*. Kerr, or Trattle, died on November 18th, 1849.

KITTS. 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

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early age. In 1791 he was promoted Lieutenant to the *Barfleur*, bearing the flag of Admiral 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 dispatch 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.

LANE, Jeremiah. During the first few months of the captivity this man acted as under-valet to Napoleon, but his services were soon dispensed with.

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

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his successor, Chandelier, as to the kind of dishes preferred by Napoleon.

LAS CASES, Emanuel 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, Emanuel Pons Dieudonné, Comte de (1800-1854). 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.

LEY, Samuel. A corporal of the 20th Regiment, who

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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, of apoplexy.

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.)

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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 children, Lord Hungerford, and Lady Flora Hastings, whose fate was afterwards so tragic. She 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, in the *Dunira*.

LOWE, Lady (1781-1832). The wife of Sir Hudson.

Lady Lowe was the sister of Sir William De Lancy, and married Colonel Johnson, who died in 1812. When she arrived at St. Helena she was about thirty-five years old, and according to Sir Henry



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Russell, "had a great deal to say and very little reserve in saying it." He described her as "a large, showy-looking woman of about forty, who has been handsome, with an air of fashion about her, but who is too highly rouged and too *décolletée*." The same authority states that she frequently used to say that Sir Thomas Reade was the real Governor. (See *Swallowfield and its Owners*, by Lady Russell.)

She never called on Madame Bertrand, and she appears not to have been altogether popular with other ladies in St. Helena. Mrs Shortt, for instance, hints in her diary at a "terrible fracas with her ladyship," and elsewhere mentions that she learned one day that at first the only complaints Lady Lowe had against her were "her Scotch accent, and her long waist."

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

Lutyens joined the 20th Foot Regiment, and went through the Peninsular War. He became Captain in 1818, and was given his majority in 1821, at a date previous to that of Captain Crockat, who received the same promotion on account of having been entrusted with the dispatch announcing the death of Napoleon. The regiment claimed that Lutyens should have carried the dispatch, and the claim was allowed.

Lutyens was appointed Orderly Officer at Longwood on February 10th, 1820, but resigned the appointment on April 26th, 1821, because Major Jackson, the commander of the 20th Foot, blamed him for receiving the *Life of Marlborough*, which

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had been presented to the regiment by Napoleon through Arnott. He died on January 26th, 1830, two days out from Bombay, in the *Bolton*. The daily reports of Lutyens which are found in vol. 20,211 of the "Lowe Papers" have been printed by Sir Lees Knowles, Bart., and an excellent portrait of Lutyens is given in the volume.

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 the Isle of Man on May 10th, 1841.

M

McCARTHY, Charles. A Lieutenant in the 66th Foot. He was musical and composed a dirge which was played by the band at the funeral of Napoleon. A copy of this dirge, probably the only one in existence, is in the possession of Miss Owen.

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MACLEOD, John (1782 - 1820). Born at Bunhill, in Dumbartonshire. 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. He died of consumption at Chelsea on November 9th, 1820. (See *Annual Biography and Obituary*, 1822.)

MALCOLM, Lady Clementina (17 - 1830). Wife of Sir Pulteney Malcolm. She was the eldest daughter of the Hon. William Fullarton Elphinstone, and niece of Lord Keith. She married Sir P. Malcolm in 1809, and came out to St. Helena with him. While there she saw much of Napoleon, and it was owing to her that the conversations between the Emperor and her husband were recorded. Lady Malcolm, Mrs Skelton, and Mrs Balcombe are the only three British ladies who were really intimate with Napoleon.

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 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

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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 the

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Adamant 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 farther side of Pros-

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perous 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.

METCALF, James. A carpenter in St. Helena who often did repairs to the furniture at Longwood. In this capacity he was sometimes in the presence of Napoleon, particularly on April 16th and 17th, 1821, when the dying Emperor from his bed in the drawing-room watched him finishing his work. After death it was Metcalf who made the coffins of the great Emperor which now rest in the Invalides. The subsequent history of this carpenter is unknown, but his great-grandson, Mr Hands, still lives in St. Helena.

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,

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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 flag-ship 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, in the *Lady Melville*. For further particulars concerning the grotesque personality of Montchenu, see *Autour de 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.

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Madame de Montholon left St. Helena with her children on July 2nd, 1819, in the *Lady Campbell*, 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 de 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 (1795-1814). 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

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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, having received £270 as compensation for the house they had built, and 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.

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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

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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 at Clifton on January 6th, 1850. He supported Lowe in an affidavit in the case of *Lowe v. O'Meara*.

NOVERRAZ, 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

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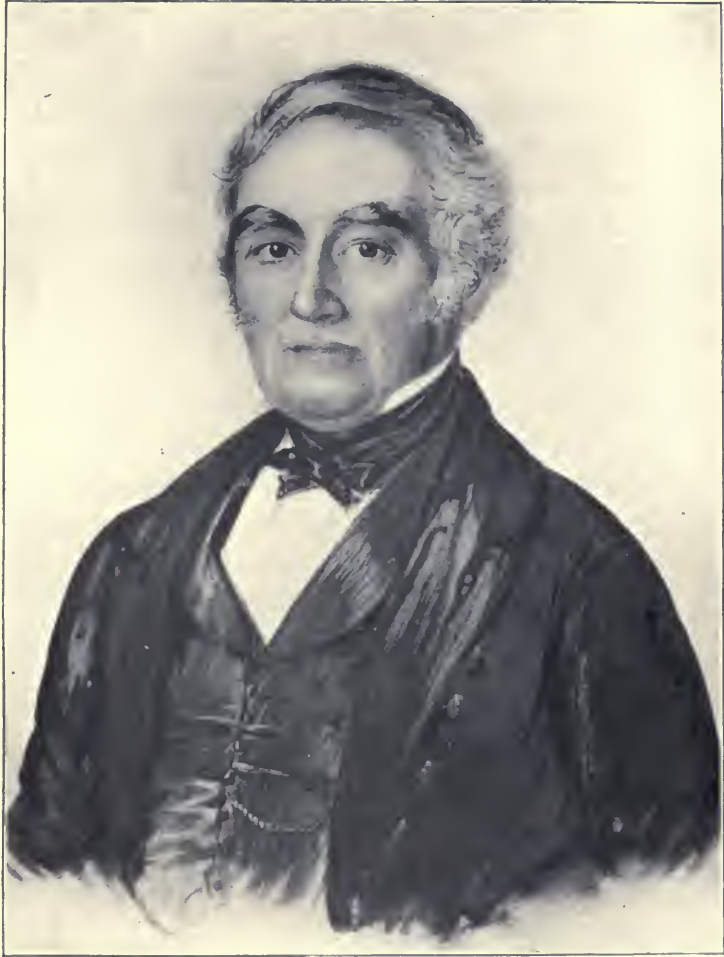
the Irish Station. After this, Oakes quitted the sea, and was employed in the coast-guard.

OBINS, Major Hamlet (1775-1848).

Obins came to St. Helena with the 20th Foot, which regiment he joined in 1811, after having served in the 27th, 57th, 68th, 70th, and the Cape Corps. It was Obins' house in which Vignali masqueraded as Napoleon in 1820. Obins joined the 53rd Foot in 1821, became Colonel in 1830, and died at Tenby on August 6th, 1848. (See W.O. 42, O. 7.)

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

O'Meara was a native of Co. 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 in 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



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Admiralty, and these can be found in the "Lowe Papers." He wrote to Lord Bathurst in 1821, offering to return to Longwood and render what service he could to Napoleon, but the offer was not accepted.

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."

Three days after the death of O'Meara the following "Leader" appeared in *The Courier*, June 13th, 1836:—

"The Island of St. Helena has given to Mr O'Meara a place in history, and when time shall have permitted all personal feeling to subside, history will do him justice. She will record him as a man of the most rigid integrity, capable of any sacrifice in the support of principle, and with a practical chivalry defying power, and welcoming privation in the maintenance of his proud consistency. His was not the mere theory of patriotism, what he avowed he felt, and proved his sincerity by suffering in its defence. Power might have elevated, and wealth might have enriched him, could he have stooped to maintain

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a dishonourable silence where he thought the character was involved. But he disdained the compromise, and the gloomy rock of Napoleon's imprisonment has borrowed one gleam from the virtue of its historian. To those who could not be misled by the partisanship of politics, it may be satisfactory to hear that with his dying breath he authenticated the details communicated in his work, and has left in his will an inscription to that effect to be recorded on his tomb. Thus the *Voice from St. Helena* will be henceforth a voice speaking from the grave. A warmer-hearted or a more sincere friend than O'Meara never lived."

The reader can judge for himself whether history has fulfilled the prophecy here given regarding the character of O'Meara.

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.

OWEN, Mrs. The last survivor of those who attended the funeral of Napoleon on May 9th, 1821.

This lady, who died in 1916, in her ninety-fifth year, was born in St. Helena on January 26th, 1821. She was the daughter of Captain James Bennett of the St. Helena Foot Regiment, who lived at "Chubbs

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Springs," not far from "The Briars." Although only three and a half months old at the time of Napoleon's death, her father was anxious that all his children should be able to say that they had attended Napoleon's funeral, and accordingly Mrs Owen, as an infant, was taken to the ceremony. Naturally she remembered nothing of the event, but it is surprising that anyone should survive now who was present at the funeral in 1821. In addition to this, Mrs Owen was also present at the exhumation in 1840, and she was one of the ladies who worked the tri-colour flag of Chinese silk which was unfurled when the remains of the great Emperor left the Island of St. Helena. The other ladies who undertook this duty were Miss Mary Gideon, the Misses Pritchard, and the Misses Hammond.

P

PAINE, John. The painter and paper-hanger who was in the employ of Mr George Bullock the Upholsterer of 4 Tenterden Street. Paine was sent out with Andrew Darling to St. Helena charged with the duties of repairing and renovating the furniture, and painting at Longwood. In this capacity Paine was often in Napoleon's presence.

PAINE, Mrs Ursula. The wife of the above.

Amusing correspondence between Lord Bathurst and Mrs Paine exists in vol. vii., C.O. 247, in the Record Office. For some time she appealed in vain to be allowed to join her husband in St. Helena, but at length, thinking that Lord Bathurst might have doubts concerning her *bona fides*, she conceived the

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happy thought of backing up her application with a copy of her marriage lines. This had immediate effect, for Lord Bathurst at once endorsed the letter: "Give her a passage by the next ship."

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

PINE-COFFIN, Brigadier-General John (1778-1830). 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 complete account of Piontkowski, see Mr Watson's valuable book, *A Polish Exile with Napoleon*.

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

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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

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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 subject of the Rev. Mr Boys' strictures from the pulpit. The reason for this attitude on the part of Mr Boys will be evident from the following extract from the autobiographical manuscript of Dr Stokoe, the Surgeon of the *Conqueror*, kindly communicated to me by Miss Stokoe. He says: "On the Admiral's first visit to Plantation House he was not accompanied by his Lady. This excited the surprise of Lady Lowe, and inquiry was immediately set on foot amongst the officers of the Flag-ship to ascertain if the Admiral was a married man. No satisfactory information being obtained on that head, it was reported that the Admiral would soon be recalled and his Lady immediately sent off the Island. He was even preached at from the pulpit. However, he soon found means to make his peace with the Governor, and the preaching was discontinued 'by order.'" He showed no sympathy with the lot of Bonaparte, and always spoke of him in the most

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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.

POPPLTON, Captain Thomas William (1775-1827), 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 residents 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 was 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

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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, Henry. 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

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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 was 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 left London with his family for St. Helena early in 1816, and 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, and in 1819 was appointed Inspector of Police at a salary of £625, 7s. 6d. 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 inter-

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pretation 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 in them, it is reasonable to infer that he often thought Lowe too lenient in his administration. From Verling's Journal it would appear that among other duties it fell to the lot of Sir Thomas Reade to peruse letters passing between Dr Livingstone and Dr Verling concerning medical details of a most private nature respecting the illness of Madame Bertrand. But although the British officials in St. Helena rightly blamed O'Meara for making Madame de Montholon's illness the occasion of jokes in letters to Sir Thomas Reade, they did not, apparently, see any indelicacy in Sir Thomas reading and commenting on gynæcological details concerning Madame Bertrand's illness.

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

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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 inquiry, 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.")

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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 in the *Astell*, 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. In 1820 he became M.P. for Dartmouth.

ROBINSON, Miss. Known to Longwood as "The Nymph." She was the daughter of a small farmer who lived on the farther side of Prosperous Valley, at a farm called "The Hutts," 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



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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 Ply-

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mouth 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 had 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. 2, 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

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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 Bonaparte.

RUBIDGE, Joseph William (1802-1827). Portrait and Miniature Painter.

Rubidge left England for St. Helena in 1820, and remained there until the middle of 1821. He painted a portrait of Napoleon when dead, on May 7th, 1821, while he lay on his bed dressed in uniform, and this had a very good sale in England. The original of this was presented to Napoleon III. by Lt. George Horsley Wood. In addition, Rubidge painted a view of the Tomb of Napoleon, and is the author of the plaster cast of Napoleon's face, now in the possession of Dr Sankey. For a full account of Rubidge, see *The History of the Death Mask of Napoleon*, by G. L. de St. M. Watson.

RUSSELL, Sir Charles, 3rd Baronet (1786-1856).

He visited St. Helena in 1817, and his impressions are published in *Swallowfield and its Owners*, by Lady Russell.

RUSSELL, Sir Henry, 2nd Baronet (1783-1852). Elder brother of the above.

Sir Henry married first, Miss Casamajor, the sister of Mrs Skelton, and secondly, Mademoiselle de Fontaine, an acquaintance of the Countess Bertrand. In 1820 he visited St. Helena, and has left a most

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graphic account of his impressions of the Island, of Sir Hudson and Lady Lowe, Antommarchi and others. This is published in *Swallowfield and its Owners*, by Lady Russell.

Sir Henry Russell's opinion of Sir Hudson Lowe was as follows:—"I dined with Sir Hudson Lowe the day after our arrival; he is a small man, apparently fifty, of a fair complexion, with a hanging brow, and a reserved, thoughtful countenance. In his address towards a stranger he is silent and awkward, evidently not from pride, but embarrassment, which is remarkable, as he has mixed much in polished society, and is both a sensible and an accomplished man. I soon found that we should not talk at all unless I took the lead."

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 Momens de Napoléon*, by Antommarchi, 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. This criticism will be found in full in *Thomas Shortt*, Chaplin, 1914. In

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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 married on April 10th, 1810, at Dublin, Maria Tyrrill, 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.

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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 Rev. E. Brook-Jackson. 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 Long-

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wood 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.

SKELTON, Mrs Mary Moore Casamajor (1775-1866).
Wife of the above.

With the exception of Lady Malcolm and Mrs Balcombe, Mrs Skelton probably saw more of Napoleon in St. Helena than any other British lady. She spoke admirable French, and until she left in May, 1816, Napoleon was always glad to receive her. In company with her husband, she entertained Napoleon at lunch at Longwood on October 18th, 1815, and dined with the Emperor on December 31st, 1815, and on April 11th, 1816. On March 18th, 1816, she drove with Napoleon, and on May 11th, just before leaving the Island, at her last interview, she played chess with him. After the death of her husband she lived at 8 Suffolk Square, Cheltenham, and died there on March 5th, 1866, at the advanced age of ninety-one.

SOLOMON, Saul (1776-1852). The founder of the business house in St. Helena of that name.

Solomon, with his two brothers Lewis and Joseph, was engaged in business at Jamestown as a store-keeper and lodging-house keeper. His house was

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the resort of many who came to the Island, and in the days of the captivity news thus received from Europe was transmitted to the inhabitants of the Island. The house of Solomon was also frequently the medium through which clandestine correspondence was sent from Longwood to Europe. The firm of Solomon still flourishes, and is the only one in St. Helena which can trace an unbroken line since the days of Napoleon. Saul Solomon died on December 6th, 1852, at Eastwood, Portishead, near Bristol, the residence of his son-in-law, Captain Thomas Montgomery Hunter.

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

SPENCER, Captain the Hon. Robert Cavendish (1791-1831). In command of H.M.S. *Owen Glendower*.

Spencer touched at St. Helena on October 25th, 1820, but was not received by Napoleon. He presented the Emperor, however, with Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*, and this Napoleon gave to the 20th Regiment. Lowe objected to the gift, but H.R.H. the Duke of York approved of it, and the books now belong to the Lancashire Fusiliers.

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* of Guadaloupe.

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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, Barthelémy, Baron de (1787-1853). The Austrian Commissioner in St. Helena.

He arrived in the *Orontes* on June 18th, 1816, with his wife, four servants, viz. Matthew Cassimar,

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Adèle Belleville, Guillaume Graaf, Antoine Steidl (Adèle Belleville and Guillaume Graaf became afterwards man and wife), and the Botanist, Philippe Welle. He left, or was removed, on July 11th, 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 (1783-1850). A supercargo in Macao under the East India Company, and eventually President of the Select Committee at Canton. Urmston came to St. Helena with his wife in April, 1816, on board the *Essex*, and on May 5th, 1816, in company with Balcombe, had breakfast with

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Napoleon. Afterwards he corresponded frequently with Lowe, and gave him information regarding opinion in the East as to the possibility of Napoleon's escape. Urmston was knighted in 1824, and died at St Leonards-on-Sea on December 10th, 1850. (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

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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.

VESSEY, Henrietta or Esther (1800-1838). The mistress of Marchand. According to the registers of St. James Church, Jamestown, a son, James Octave (illegitimate) was born on June 3rd, 1817, to Henrietta Vesey, and the father is given as "Louis Marchand." The



COLONEL JOHN MANSEL, C.B.

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same register states that on April 18th, 1821, an illegitimate son was born to Esther Vesey, but the name of the father is not given. Whether, therefore, Marchand had another son by Esther Vesey is not certain. Nicholls mentions in his journal the several occasions on which Esther Vesey stayed the night with Marchand in 1819, and it may perhaps be presumed that the second child was his also.

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

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of the *Podargus* on the St. Helena Station, and in 1817 he commanded the *Raccoon*. After commanding the *Conqueror* for a short time in 1818, he returned to the *Raccoon* 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. Wallis died at Bridport, September 21st, 1849.

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, with Lieutenant G. H. Wood, the position of being one of the two British officers 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,

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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 *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.

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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 married Major-General Sir John Buchan of Kelloe, at Bath, on July 27th, 1817, and died in 1888.

WILKS, Colonel Mark, F.R.S. (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 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."

WILKS, Mrs Dorothy. The wife of Colonel Wilks, and stepmother of Miss Laura Wilks.

Mrs Wilks, who was the daughter of John Taubman, of the Isle of Man, was much beloved by the inhabitants of St. Helena. She was very beauti-

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ful, and, according to Gourgaud, a most accomplished dancer. She never saw Napoleon during the short time she remained on the Island after his arrival. After the death of Colonel Wilks she married William Blamire, M.P. for Westmorland, and died in Harley Street on January 9th, 1857.

WOOD, Lieutenant George Horsley (1796-1874), of the 20th Foot.

Lieutenant Wood came to St. Helena with the 20th Foot, and was stationed with a picket at Mason's Stock House, on the other side of Fisher's Valley. He was a Manxman, and a son of General Wood. He entered the Army in 1813 as 2nd Lieutenant in the 20th Foot, becoming a Lieutenant in 1821, and soon after joined the 67th Foot, but in 1827 he was placed on half-pay. Lieutenant Wood was one of the devout band of young Christians in St. Helena, and while he was in occupation of Mason's Stock House others of the same persuasion assembled nightly and prayed for the conversion of Napoleon. (See "What happened at Mason's Stock House.")

Wood, however, is closely identified with the history of Napoleon in St. Helena in other ways. He was present at both the funeral in 1821 and the exhumation in 1840, and thus shares with Hodson and Ward and a few others the honour of being present at both functions. In 1853 he published a book of *Poems*, and four of them ("Napoleon," "Napoleon in Exile," "On Revisiting St. Helena," and "On the Manner of Life and Death and Obsequies of Napoleon") are probably unique in being the only

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poems written by one who was employed in guarding the Emperor in St. Helena, and who was present at both the funeral and the exhumation. Wood also presented to Napoleon III. the original sketch of Napoleon when dead, by W. J. Rubidge. The poem on Napoleon is as follows:—

“Sorrow and pity marked the mournful day,
Sad sighs were heard and heartfelt tears were shed,
When pale in death upon his lowly bed
As in deep sleep the mighty chieftain lay.
Long, long I gazed and bent me o'er the dead,
For ne'er before did I in rapture trace
Such purity and loveliness and peace
As o'er the features of that face were spread.
What though long lingering years had passed away,
That form remained untouched by fell decay.
The faithful friend with joy beheld once more
That well-known face so tranquil, pure and fair,
And some who ne'er had seen that face
Beheld amazed Napoleon sleeping there.”

In his poem “On Revisiting St. Helena” he says:

“Oft have I gazed upon this wondrous man
But aye with strange emotions undefined.
And I did hold that pale cold hand in mine
Which once did grasp the sceptre of the World.”

(References: *Poems*. G. H. Wood. 1853. *Manx Recollections*. Katherine A. Forrest. 1894. Facts communicated by Mr Watson.)

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

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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 on May 6th, 1816, in the *Adamant*, 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

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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

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The Genealogist, vol. ii., Old Series, p. 53, where will be found a complete pedigree of the Young-husband family.)

YOUNGHUSBAND, Captain William (1784-1846). Brother of the above and Commander of the *Union*, belonging to the H.E.I.C. In company with his brother, he was received by Napoleon on June 18th, 1816.

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*.
- 18th. Napoleon was entertained at lunch at Longwood by the Skeltons.

November, 1815—

- 10th. Mrs Balcombe and Mrs Stewart walked with Napoleon.
- 18th. Colonel Skelton saw Napoleon.
- 20th. Napoleon walked from "The Briars," and paid a visit to Major Hodson, the Judge-Advocate, at "Maldivia."
- 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 Commander Vincent, and 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.

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- 12th. Colonel Wilks received in audience.
- 13th. Major Fehrzen dined with Napoleon.
- 19th. Napoleon passed by the house of Mrs Nagle and inquired of her the news.
- 20th. Napoleon walked over the Company's farm with Mr Breame, the Company's farmer.
- 24th. Sir George Bingham asked Napoleon to receive the officers of the 53rd Regiment.
- 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. Colonel Skelton also drove with him.

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 Fehrzen and several officers of the 53rd Regiment dined with Napoleon.
- 5th. Sir George Cockburn and Major and Mrs Hodson 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.

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- 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.
- 16th. 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.



REAR-ADMIRAL. ROBERT PLAMPIN

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

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 Young-husband, 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.

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- 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 William 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

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

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.

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.

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

- 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.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

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 Mr Mackenzie, 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. Captain H. J. Phelps, of the 80th Regiment, on the way to England, had an interview with Napoleon.

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- 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.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

- 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 with Sir P. Malcolm 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.
- 4th. Balcombe talked to Napoleon.

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March, 1818—

16th. Balcombe with his two daughters called to say
“good-bye” before leaving on the 18th in the
Winchelsea.

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 *North-
umberland*, 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 Antom-marchi, 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, Crockat, 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.

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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 Welsh 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 Ley, private of the 20th Regiment. (See the account of Abraham Millington, *Military Gazette*, March 3rd, 1838.)

Tuesday, May 8th—

The sealed coffins lay in state all day.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE EVENTS

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, the Artillery, the Engineers, and the St. Helena Regiment. 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.

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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. This original draft is now in the possession of the Rev. E. Brook-Jackson, 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, was 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, was in the possession of the late 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.



SIR THOMAS READE

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THE ARTISTS IN ST. HELENA

As would be supposed, those in St. Helena who possessed any artistic talent were constantly seeking opportunities for executing a "Portrait of Napoleon from Life," or were engaged in sketching and painting views of Longwood and other places of interest on the Island. Some, who had visited St. Helena years before it became famous, on learning that it was to be the home of Napoleon, published such sketches of places and scenery as they possessed, and from 1815 to 1821 any portrait or view "taken on the spot" found a ready sale in London. Nearly all the artists in St. Helena during the captivity were amateurs, and on this account, although the list is a long one, allowances must be made for the want of skill so often exhibited in the drawings and paintings. The following is a list of the artists and their chief productions, but it may, very possibly, be incomplete:—

ALLISON, Frederick. One of the dragoons in St. Helena, and employed by Captain Nicholls to carry messages to and from Longwood. Allison styled himself "Napoleon's Orderly," and made sketches and paintings of Longwood, the Tomb, the Funeral Car, and Napoleon himself. He also painted in 1821 a panoramic view of Longwood, the Tomb, the Race-course, and the Company's Farm. His work is of the crudest description, and so far as is known, all his paintings and drawings are in the possession of Monsieur Brouwet, and the writer. Monsieur Brouwet has also a manuscript written by Allison,

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giving an account of unimportant facts connected with the captivity.

ANTOMMARCHI, Francesco. Napoleon's medical attendant from September 23rd, 1819, to the end. A small pencil drawing of Napoleon in the collection of Dr George Williamson of Burgh House, Hampstead, to whom thanks are rendered for permission to publish the fact. The inscription at the back states, "Napoleon, drawn in St. Helena by Dr F. Antommarchi, his Corsican medical attendant, September, 1819, given to Madame Rabelle in 1820."

ARNOTT, Archibald, M.D. Surgeon to the 20th Foot Regiment. He made a sketch of Napoleon as he lay dead, and before he was dressed in uniform.

"B.," "J." Monsieur Armand Dayot states in his book that several sketches of Napoleon on board the *Northumberland* bear the initials "J. B." From an inspection of the muster rolls of that ship, two possible people with those initials are James Blunden, the writer, and Joseph Breaden, the assistant surgeon.

BAGGE, John. A cartographer. A map of St. Helena was published by him in 1823, with explanations in French. This map was engraved to illustrate Las Cases' *Memorial*.

BARNETT, Captain. On his way home from India, Captain Barnett visited St. Helena, and made sketches of High Knoll and the Valley of Jamestown. These were engraved by Turner and published in July, 1806.

BELLASIS, George Hutchens. He visited St. Helena in 1812, and made a series of sketches. These were engraved in coloured aquatint by R. Havell, and

THE ARTISTS IN ST. HELENA

published in 1815, in an oblong folio containing six views, with explanatory text.

BLAKE, E. S. A lieutenant in the Bombay Artillery. He painted a view of Jamestown from the road leading to "The Briars," and this was lithographed and published in 1831.

BOYS, Major R. P. In command of the Marines on board the *Newcastle*. He made a full-length sketch of Napoleon from life in 1817. This sketch was sold at Puttick's in 1919. The portrait, however, has a strong resemblance to those of Ibbetson.

BURTON, Francis, M.D. Surgeon to the 66th Regiment. He executed the famous cast of Napoleon's head.

"C.," "E. T." A pencil sketch of Napoleon, with the initials "E. T. C." appended, was in the Broadley collection.

CHINAMAN, A. This unknown Oriental, who is said to have been employed as a cook at Longwood, made a sketch of Napoleon after death, and when dressed in uniform, but it is evidently merely a copy of the portrait by Rubidge. The Chinaman also made sketches of Longwood, the Tomb, and other views in St. Helena. They are all executed on rice paper, and several examples of each subject are in existence. It is probable that these drawings were made much later than the period of the captivity, possibly about 1850.

CORBETT, Miss E. M. Painted a view of Longwood. This is in the collection of Dr J. F. Silk.

CROKAT, Captain William. Of the 20th Foot Regiment, and the last orderly officer at Longwood. He made a sketch of Napoleon after death, and before he was

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dressed in uniform. Some have asserted that this sketch by Crokat was in reality executed by Marryat.

“D.,” “J.” A somewhat gross portrait of Napoleon in water-colour, dated May 1st, 1818, and bearing the initials “J. D.,” has been published. J. D. might be John Davie, Commander of the *Conqueror*, John Donelan of the 66th Regiment, John Doveton, or John De Fountain, all of whom were in St. Helena at the time.

DAVIS, Samuel. Six views in St. Helena, drawn by Davis, were engraved in aquatint by Daniell, for the purpose of illustrating Beatson's book, published in 1816.

DODGIN, Captain Henry Duncan. Of the 66th Foot Regiment, and afterwards of the 20th Foot. He made sketches of Napoleon from life which were published in 1816 and 1820.

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

ERSKINE, David. Captain in the Royal York Rangers. He painted a portrait of Napoleon in March, 1817, and a view in St. Helena, while calling there on his way home from India. Both the originals were in the Bradley collection, and the portrait was published by Tomkins on May 21st, 1817. Erskine was the reputed natural son of the Earl of Buchan, was knighted, and died in 1837.

FOLEY, Captain. Of the 67th Foot Regiment. He painted a view of the Tomb in 1828.

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FORREST, Captain. He painted a view of St. Helena from the Roads, which was engraved by Caldwell, and published in 1805.

GOURGAUD, General. Portrait sketches of Napoleon from life have been attributed to him.

GRAHAM, J. A set of twenty-four lithographic views in St. Helena in an album, now in the possession of the author. Amongst the views are Longwood, Longwood New House, the Tomb, the Country Church, the High School, the Hospital, the Barracks, Plantation House, and the principal residences in the Island. The album belonged to Mrs Eyre, wife of Andrew Eyre, a lodging-house keeper in Jamestown, and is dated by her 1822. So far as is known this is the only copy of this fine series that has come to light.

“H,” “A.” Two sketches of Balcombe’s House, “The Briars,” were made by an artist whose initials were “A. H.” One is inscribed: *The Briars at St. Helena. The Cottage with the Tent attached then occupied by Napoleon Buonaparte. From a Sketch taken on the spot, November 10th, 1815.* The other has a similar inscription, except that the date is given as November 11th, 1815. They are coloured aquatints on “Whatman” paper, dated 1816, and measure 13 inches by 8 inches. The name of the engraver is not given, and they are “Open Letter” proofs. The artistic merit of these two aquatints is considerable, and the author, in whose possession they are, has never met with them before, though other copies are, doubtless, in existence. “A. H.” may possibly have been Captain Hamilton of the *Bombay*, for he arrived on November 6th and sailed on the 12th.

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HARDING, J. D. A portrait of Napoleon while in St. Helena and a view of the Tomb have been published by this artist, but so far as is known he was never in St. Helena at the time of the captivity, and the drawings are, in all probability, copies of those by Denzil Ibbetson.

HASTING, Captain. Two views of St. Helena, drawn by Captain Hasting, and engraved by C. Turner, were published on October 31st, 1815, by Edward Orme. They are fine coloured aquatints, and measure 21 inches by 16 inches. One is entitled *Part of St. James' Valley with a distant view of the Town of St. Helena*, and the other *High Knoll, St. Helena*. Both contain the figure of Napoleon with some of his suite. They are Barnett's views slightly altered.

HOTHAM, Captain George, of the Engineers. He made a sketch of Napoleon from life, while concealed in the shrubbery around Longwood. (See *Pages and Portraits from the Past*, by Mrs Stirling.)

HUGGINS, W. J. Marine painter to King William IV. He painted a view of St. Helena, and the Bengal Fleet leaving the St. Helena Roads, which have been engraved.

IBBETSON, Denzil. Commissary in St. Helena from 1815 to 1823. This artist executed more portraits of Napoleon than any other, and his skill was of a higher order than all the rest, with the exception of Vidal. He drew numerous portraits of Napoleon while on board the *Northumberland*, and when in St. Helena. He also painted the well-known portrait

THE ARTISTS IN ST. HELENA

of Napoleon after death, and before being dressed in uniform. He was responsible for the celebrated *Five Heads* portrait of Napoleon and his four companions, Las Cases, Bertrand, Montholon, and Gourgaud. He also executed a very commendable painting of the Tomb. Many of the originals of these portraits were in the Broadley collection and other private hands. Indeed it is probable that Ibbetson was often applied to for a portrait, and made copies for that purpose.

JACKSON, Basil. Lieutenant in the Staff Corps, and in St. Helena from 1816 to 1819. He made several portrait sketches of Napoleon from life, and executed the plans for Longwood New House. He was also responsible for a series of views in St. Helena in water-colours, and furnished the illustrations for Hook's *Facts Illustrative*. According to O'Meara (see *Exposition*, p. 58), these views are fanciful. In the possession of the Senhouse family is an excellent water-colour portrait of Napoleon which, it is asserted, was drawn by Madame Bertrand on board the *Bellerophon*, and presented by her to Captain Senhouse of the *Superb*. The character of the portrait, however, closely resembles the work of Jackson, and since the background depicts St. Helena, it can hardly have been executed on board the *Bellerophon*. Probably Madame Bertrand obtained it from Jackson and gave it to Captain Senhouse on her return in 1821.

JOHNSON, Captain J., of the *Ocean*. He painted Longwood New House, which was etched by G. Maile, and published by Jenkins, 48 Strand, in February,

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1821. It bears little resemblance to the actual house, has Napoleon riding in the foreground, and is entirely fanciful. Johnson also painted a view of the Roads before Jamestown.

- KERR, John.** Paymaster to the 66th Regiment. He painted in water-colours a series of six views in St. Helena, including the Tomb, the Funeral, Longwood New House, Mount Pleasant, and Plantation House. These were engraved by R. Havell in coloured aquatint, and were published by Colnaghi in 1822 with letterpress and key, under the title of *Series of Views in the Island of St. Helena*. They were dedicated to Lady Lowe.
- LANGLEY, Captain,** painted an imaginative portrait of Napoleon standing on the cliffs at St. Helena, surrounded by his suite, which was engraved by J. de Wilde.
- LAS CASES, Emanuel.** Drew the Plan of Longwood published in his father's *Memorial*.
- LUARD, Major John,** of the 16th Light Dragoons. He published in 1833 *Views in India, St. Helena, and Car Nicobar*. Those of St. Helena are extremely fanciful.
- MARCHAND, Louis.** An *aquarelle* of Longwood House and the gardens was painted by Marchand in 1820, and published in London in 1822.
- MARRYAT, Captain Frederick.** In command of the *Beaver* sloop in 1821 on the St. Helena Station. Marryat is prominent among the artists of St. Helena on account of having sketched the well-known portrait of Napoleon fourteen hours after death, and before he was dressed in uniform. Many so-called

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originals of this portrait are in existence, all executed by Marryat, and it is difficult, or impossible, to say which was the one sketched in the death-chamber of the Emperor. He also made drawings of the Tomb, the Funeral, and a view of St. Helena from the Roads.

MONKHOUSE, J. In Sainsbury's Catalogue a coloured portrait of Napoleon in nankeen dress and broad-brimmed hat in his hand is described as being "taken by Mr Monkhouse on March 10th, 1821, as he was standing in the Mountain Shrubbery, the last time the Emperor ever attempted to visit his garden." This is probably the last sketch of Napoleon made during life, and appears as the frontispiece to the book of Monkhouse.

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

PHELPS, Captain H. J., of the 80th Foot Regiment. He made a drawing of Longwood in June, 1817, on his way to England from India. This was engraved by Fry, and published by J. Jenkins on September 20th, 1817. Phelps was received by Napoleon on June 14th, 1817.

POCOCK, Lieutenant W. Innes, R.N. He executed five water-colour drawings of views in St. Helena. These were engraved in coloured aquatint by T. Sutherland and published in 1815 in an oblong folio. Another edition appeared in 1845, both under the title, *Five Views 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 of this map, engraved by R. Kirkwood, was published by

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Burgess and Barfoot in October, 1815, and before the arrival of Napoleon in St. Helena. In this edition Plantation House is indicated as "the residence of Bonaparte," but in subsequent editions the error is rectified, and Longwood substituted. Although it is inaccurate in many respects, it is valuable to the student, for it gives the names of the owners of all the houses appearing on the map.

RUBIDGE, J. William. A portrait painter. He was in St. Helena at the time of Napoleon's death, and is the only professional artist who painted Napoleon while in captivity. His famous portrait of Napoleon, when dead and dressed in uniform, was engraved by H. Meyer, and published in August, 1821, by Colnaghi. A vignette of the Tomb appeared at the foot of the print, and the title *Napoleon ut in Morte recumbit*. Rubidge also took a mould of the features of the Emperor, and this is fully described in Mr Watson's book, *The Story of Napoleon's Death Mask* (John Lane. 1915).

SALT, Henry. Painted twenty-four views in St. Helena, India, etc., which were engraved in coloured aquatint by R. Havell, D. Havell, J. Black, and J. Hill, and published in folio in 1809. Another edition appeared in 1822. One only of the series, viz. *Sandy Bay*, relates to St. Helena.

SHORTT, Mrs Henrietta. Wife of Dr Shortt, and resident in St. Helena, 1820-1821. She painted two views in the Island, but they have never been published.

STEWART, Major Ludovic, of the 24th Foot Regiment. He called at St. Helena with his wife in 1815, on his way home from India in the *Bombay*, and painted a

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view of "The Briars" which was engraved and published. Stewart and his wife stayed with the Balcombes at "The Briars," and Napoleon at that time occupied the pavilion in the garden.

TOBIN, Captain, R.N. Published views in St. Helena in 1815.

VIDAL, Emmeric Essex. Secretary to Rear-Admiral Lambert on board H.M.S. *Vigo* on the St. Helena Station from July 14th, 1820, to September 11th, 1821. Of all the amateur artists connected with the captivity, Vidal was by far the most capable, and the work he has left behind him is of considerable merit. In all probability but one of his works of St. Helena has been engraved, and it is only recently that his water-colour drawings and pencil sketches have come to light. Vidal's sketch-book was sold at the Broadley sale and realised £145. It contained two sketches of Longwood, an unfinished sketch of the Tomb, three water-colour drawings of Longwood, and one of the head of James' Valley. An excellent water-colour drawing of the Tomb is in the possession of Mrs Lewis, and has been reproduced in Norwood Young's *Napoleon in Exile*, while a view of St. Helena from the Sea is in the collection of Dr Silk. Mr Brewis has also in his possession a water-colour sketch by Vidal of Sandy Bay from "Alarm House," dedicated to Admiral Lambert. Quite recently seven finished water-colour drawings of views in St. Helena by Vidal have come into the possession of the writer. They comprise: the Funeral Procession, Longwood New House, Plantation House, Mount Pleasant, High Peak, Jamestown

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from the Sea, and a view of Longwood from the Guard House. They are all signed by Vidal, and on the back of each is the date 1821, and the inscription in Vidal's handwriting: "Drawn for Rear-Admiral Lambert by his obliged and faithful servant, E. E. Vidal." Apparently the series contained ten paintings, but Nos. 1, 5, and 7 are wanting. The size of each is 17 inches by 10 inches. Besides the water-colour drawings of views in St. Helena, Vidal executed paintings in South America, which were engraved in coloured aquatint by T. Sutherland, D. Havell, G. Maile, and J. Bluck, and published under the title, *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video*.

WARD, John. Ensign in the 66th Foot Regiment. Ward made a sketch of Napoleon on his death-bed, and after he was dressed in uniform. He apparently was in the habit of copying his original portrait, for several examples exist in various books owned by Ward concerning St. Helena. One is in the possession of Alfred Brewis, Esq., and another belongs to Dr Silk. Ward also moulded in plaster a medallion of the head of Napoleon after Pistrucci.

WATHEN, James. With the exception of Rubidge the only professional artist who painted in St. Helena during the captivity. A series of twelve views drawn by Wathen were engraved by J. Clark in coloured aquatint, and published in 1821.

WELSH, George. A lieutenant on board the *Vigo*. He made a sketch of Napoleon on his death-bed, and after he was dressed in uniform. This was engraved in 1822, and republished in *The Graphic* of September 9th, 1911.



LIEUT. R. H. REARDON

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In addition to the above, three portraits of Napoleon in St. Helena are in existence, the artists of which have not been identified. One was published in 1816, another is dated March 6th, 1821, and the third is the well-known one of Napoleon in broad-brimmed hat and nankeen dress, entitled *The Exile: A Sketch from Life at Longwood, April, 1820.*

In the above list, the series of views by Stack, Masselin, and Mellis have not been included, for they were executed after the captivity, and it has been thought better to confine the list to a time nearer to that of the detention of Napoleon.

For those who may be engaged in collecting portraits, views, etc., or who may be contemplating the "extra-illustration" of some book connected with the captivity of Napoleon in St. Helena, the following list is given, which is not, however, complete:—

AMHERST, William Pitt, Earl. W.L. standing, in uniform of Col. of Volunteers. Mezz. ($25\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$), engraved by Dunkarton, after A. W. Davis.

W.L. standing in Robes. Mezz. ($24\frac{1}{4} \times 15$), engraved by C. Turner, after T. Lawrence.

Same picture, but H.L. Stipple ($4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$), engraved by S. Freeman.

ANTOMMARCHI, Francesco. His portrait appears in Steuben's picture of the Death Scene.

ARCHAMBAUD, Achille. His portrait appears also in the Death Scene by Steuben.

ARNOTT, Archibald. His portrait, reproduced from an oil-painting in the possession of his family, will be found in *A St. Helena Who's Who.*

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- BALCOMBE, William. His portrait is reproduced in *A St. Helena Who's Who*.
- BALCOMBE, Mrs. Also reproduced in *A St. Helena Who's Who*.
- BALCOMBE, Betsy. Her portrait will be found in the 1844 edition of her *Recollections*, and also in *The Drama of St. Helena*, by Paul Frémeaux.
- BATHURST, Henry, 3rd Earl. H.L., vignette, plate to *Contemporary Portraits*, pubd. Cadell & Davis, 1810. Stipple ($7\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$) engraved by H. Meyer after T. Phillips. Reproduced in Norwood Young's *Napoleon in Exile*, Gonnard's *The Exile of St. Helena*, and Lees Knowles' *The Letters of Engelbert Lutyens*.
- BAXTER, Alexander. His portrait appears in *A St. Helena Who's Who*, reproduced from a water-colour drawing by Dighton in the possession of Dr Silk.
- | | |
|------------------|--|
| BERTRAND, Count. | } These are all to be found in Steuben's picture of the Death Scene. Bertrand and his wife are also reproduced in Lees Knowles' <i>Letters of Engelbert Lutyens</i> , Masson's <i>Napoléon à Ste. Hélène</i> , édition de luxe, and many others. |
| „ Madame. | |
| „ Napoleon. | |
| „ Henri. | |
| „ Hortense. | |
- „ Arthur.
- BINGHAM, Sir Geo. Ridout. W.L. in uniform of the Rifle Brigade. Pubd. B. Ibbotson, 1835. Mezz. (24×15), engraved by W. Ward after H. W. Pickersgill. Reproduced in Norwood Young's *Napoleon in Exile*.
- BOYS, Rev. Richard. Reproduced in *A St. Helena*

THE ARTISTS IN ST. HELENA

Who's Who, and Watson's *The Story of Napoleon's Death Mask*.

BROOKE, Thos. Henry. Reproduced in *The Sphere*.

BURTON, Francis. Reproduced in *A St. Helena Who's Who*, and in Watson's *Story of Napoleon's Death Mask*.

CHANDELIER. } Portraits of these appear in Steuben's
COURSOT. } Death Scene.

COCKBURN, Sir George. W.L. Mezz. ($26\frac{1}{4} \times 16\frac{3}{4}$), engraved by W. Say after W. Beechey.

W.L. Mezz. ($22\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{4}$), engraved by C. Turner after W. J. Halls.

H.L. Mezz. ($3\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$), engraved by C. Turner. Reproduced in Norwood Young's *Napoleon in Exile*, and many other books.

CROKAT, Captain William. His portrait appears in *A St. Helena Who's Who*, and Lees Knowles' *The Letters of Engelbert Lutyens*.

CROKER, John Wilson. H.L. Mezz. (11×9), engraved by S. Cousins after T. Lawrence.

H.L. Stipple ($9 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$), engraved by V. Finden after T. Lawrence, and several others.

ELLIS, Sir Henry. H.L. Lith. engraved by H. Corbould.

GORREQUER, Major Gideon. Reproduced in *A St. Helena Who's Who*, and in Norwood Young's *Napoleon in Exile*.

GOULBURN, Henry. Stipple (16×11), engraved by R. A. Arlett after G. Richmond.

GOURGAUD, General. Reproduced in most books connected with the captivity.

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

- HALL, Captain Basil. H.L. Line, engraved by J. Swaine.
- HALL, Mary. Appears as Madame St. Denis in Steuben's Picture.
- HENRY, Walter. Reproduced in *A St. Helena Who's Who*.
- HOBHOUSE, Jno. Cam. Lith. by Gourgain.
Mezz. engraved by C. Turner after J. Lonsdale.
Stipple, engraved by J. Hopwood after A. Wivell.
- HODSON, Major. } They appear in *A St. Helena Who's*
,, Mrs. } *Who*.
- HOLLAND, 3rd Lord. H.L. Stipple, engraved by H. Robinson after Leslie.
W.L. Mezz. engraved by S. W. Reynolds after J. R. Smith.
H.L. Stipple, engraved by J. Thomson after A. Wivell.
- HOLLAND, Lady. W.L. Line, engraved by C. H. Jeens after R. Fagan.
- HOOK, Theodore. H.L. Lith. engraved by A. D'Orsay.
H.L. Line, engraved by W. Greatbach after E. U. Eddis.
- IBBETSON, Denzil. Reproduced in Broadley's article in *The Century Magazine* for April, 1912.
- JACKSON, Basil. Reproduced in his *Reminiscences of a Staff Officer*.
- KEITH, Lord. H.L. Stipple, engraved by Ridley after M. Brown.
H.L. Stipple, engraved by W. Holl after J. Hoppner.
H.L. Stipple, engraved by H. Meyer after G. Saunders.

THE ARTISTS IN ST. HELENA

H.L. Line, engraved by P. Audinet after H. P. Danloux.

LAS CASES, Count
,, Emanuel

{ Their portraits are reproduced in many books connected with the captivity.

LIVERPOOL, Lord. H.L. Mezz. engraved by H. Meyer after J. Hoppner.

H.L. Mezz. engraved by C. Turner.

H.L. Stipple, engraved by W. T. Fry after T. Lawrence

LOFFT, Capel. H.L. Stipple, engraved by W. Ridley after Holloway.

W.L. Aquatint, Anon. Also reproduced in Watson's *Polish Exile*.

LOWE, Sir Hudson. Most books connected with the captivity contain a portrait of Lowe taken from a pencil sketch by A. Wivell.

LUTYENS, Engelbert. Reproduced in Lees Knowles' *Letters of Engelbert Lutyens*.

MACERONI, Colonel. Reproduced in his Memoirs.

MAITLAND, Captain F. L. H.L. Mezz. engraved by H. Meyer after Woodford. Also reproduced in Norwood Young's *Napoleon in Exile*.

MALCOLM, Sir Pulteney. H.L. Mezz. engraved by W. Ward after S. Lane. Also reproduced in Norwood Young's book.

MARCHAND, Louis. Reproduced in Cahuet's *Après la Mort de L'Empereur*. Also in Steuben's picture.

A ST. HELENA WHO'S WHO

MARRYAT, Captain F. W.L. Stipple engraved by H. Cook after W. Behnes.

W.L. Lith. engraved by A. D'Orsay.

W.L. Line, Anon.

MAXWELL, Captain Murray. His portrait is in *The Voyage of the "Alceste,"* J. M'Leod.

MELVILLE, 2nd Lord. T.Q.L. Mezz. engraved by C. Turner after T. Lawrence. Stipple, engraved by G. Parker after T. Lawrence.

MEYNELL, Captain F. Reproduced in his *Conversations with Napoleon.*

MONTHOLON, Count. Reproduced in most books connected with the captivity.

MONTHOLON, Madame. Reproduced in Masson's *Napoléon à Ste. Hélène*, and in Lees Knowles' *Letters of Engelbert Lutyens.*

NAPOLEON. W.L. Mezz. engraved by C. Turner after Eastlake.

NOVERRAZ, ——— } They appear in Steuben's picture
— Madame. } of the Death Scene.

O'MEARA, Barry. Reproduced in *The Century Magazine* for February, 1900, and in Norwood Young's book.

PIERRON. Appears in the Death Scene by Steuben.

PIONTKOWSKI. Reproduced in Watson's *A Polish Exile with Napoleon.*

PLAMPIN, Admiral Robert. Reproduced in *A St. Helena Who's Who.*

RAFFLES, Sir Stamford. Bust. Mezz. engraved by S. Cousins after Chantrey. H.L. Stipple engraved by Thomson.

THE ARTISTS IN ST. HELENA

READE, Sir Thomas. } These are reproduced in *A St.*
REARDON, Lt. R. H. } *Helena Who's Who.*
ROSS, Captain. }

ROUS, Admiral H. J. H.L. Lith. engraved A. D'Orsay.

SANTINI, Noel. Reproduced in A. Cahuet's *Après la Mort de L'Empereur.*

ST. DENIS. Appears in Steuben's picture.

SHORTT, Dr Thomas. Reproduced in *A St. Helena Who's Who.*

SKELTON, Mrs. Reproduced in *A St. Helena Who's Who.*

SPENCER, Captain C. R. T.Q.L. Lith. engraved by M. Gauci after T. Phillips.

STOKOE, John. Reproduced in *The Drama of St. Helena*, by Frémeaux, and in *Un Médecin de L'Empereur.*

USSHER, Admiral. Reproduced in *Napoleon's Last Voyages.*

VERLING, Dr James. Reproduced in *Thomas Shortt*, and *A St. Helena Who's Who.*

VIGNALI, Abbé Ange. His portrait appears in Steuben's picture.

WILKS, Colonel Mark. An engraved portrait is in existence, and this has been reproduced in *A St. Helena Who's Who.*

WILKS, Miss Laura. Her portrait by Lawrence is reproduced in *A St. Helena Who's Who.*

WILSON, Sir Robert. T.Q.L. Mezz. engraved by W. Ward after H. Pickersgill. H.L. Stipple engraved by W. Holl after R. Cosway.

SIR HUDSON LOWE AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

NEARLY all writers, when considering the question of the suitability of Sir Hudson Lowe for the difficult position of Governor of St. Helena during the captivity of Napoleon, have based their estimates on his relationship to his great captive, and on the way in which he discharged the duty entrusted to him by the British Government, of guarding his prisoner. No one, however, so far as can be ascertained, has included in his investigations the opinions formed by the Directors of the Honourable East India Company concerning the way in which their Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, discharged the civil and business functions connected with his office.

This omission is probably due to the fact that it is not commonly known that although the British Government took over the Island of St. Helena in 1815, and nominated Sir Hudson Lowe as Governor, the East India Company appointed him, and continued to be responsible for the civil government of the Island. Lowe, therefore, occupied the dual position of being answerable to the British Government for the safe custody of Napoleon, and to the East India Company for the civil administration of the Island.

The whole question of Lowe's fitness for the post of custodian of Napoleon's person turns upon the amount of tact and suavity of temper he exhibited in that trying situation. Unfortunately, it appears to be inevitable

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that political bias must obscure any attempt to estimate the temperament of Sir Hudson Lowe, and it is a relief to turn to the correspondence between the East India Company and the Governor where political partisanship plays no part. In this correspondence, which is found in volumes 20,236-20,237 of the "Lowe Papers," the Directors pass in review and criticise the acts of their subordinates, the Governor and Council of St. Helena. For a time it appears that this correspondence was conducted on both sides with good temper, and in the main the Directors approved of the way in which Lowe administered the civil affairs of the Island, but it is evident that Sir Hudson was somewhat intolerant of criticism passed by the Directors on his action. In 1819 Lowe suspended Thomas Breame, the Company's farmer, on account of irregularities found in his accounts, although, after an exhaustive inquiry, guilt could not be established. He also proposed to give Major Hodson the command of the St. Helena Artillery, instead of Major Pritchard. These actions met with the pronounced disapprobation of the Directors, and after receiving a letter in which Lowe resented the attitude taken up by them, the Directors addressed to him the following long and trenchant letter marked "Secret and Confidential." In this letter they state in the plainest manner their strong objection to the way in which he has conducted their affairs in several respects, and particularly to the tone in which he, their servant, has seen fit to address them.

If this letter be a true statement of the position, it is plain that Lowe did not gain the approval of the East India Company, and as a Governor was not altogether a success.

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The letter is as follows :—

Secret and Confidential

To Lieutenant General Sir HUDSON LOWE, K.C.B.

SIR,

In the perusal of the letters from St. Helena dated in the last year, it has been impossible for us to pass unnoticed the Tone and Stile in which you have been betrayed not only in the Letters coming immediately from yourself but occasionally also in the Despatches from the Governor and Council.

Although we are persuaded that you were not influenced by intentional disrespect to the Court in what we have here alluded to, we are confident that on deliberately reflecting upon the exceptionable matters which we are about to point out you will acknowledge that they are liable to such construction, and will not fail to admit their impropriety considering the relative situation in which you stand to the Court.

You appear to entertain an Idea that because, in the exercise of that authority which we possess by legislative enactments, we have differed from you in opinion upon some parts of your Proceedings, we have therefore withheld or withdrawn Our support from your Government, but this conclusion is by no means warranted by the Orders we have given on certain points when they happened to be in opposition to the views you may have taken, and a moment's attention must convince you that if we were to abstain from controlling and setting aside any Act of our Governments abroad on account of the mistaken construction which may be given to our Orders, there is at once an end of our Authority and the situation

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of the Governors and Governed would virtually be removed.

We can find nothing in reperusal of our orders of 22nd December 1819, upon the subject of Mr Breame's removal from the management of the Company's Farms, which will justify the frequent repetition in your Letter of the 30th March 1820 of the words "*Censure and Reproach,*" applied to them. It is true, we expressed disapprobation of your Proceedings, but certainly not in terms liable to such a construction, nor can we forbear to notice that your Remark in the 4th Paragraph, "that you have experienced your Efforts to place things on a better footing relative to the Farms to have been unthankful," is neither consistent with Propriety or Respect: When we see reason to differ from the opinions communicated to us by our Servants, and signify our Disapprobation of their measures, it is not a necessary consequence that we either intend Censure or Reproach, or that we view their conduct in an unthankful light: All are liable to Err in Judgement, and we are always inclined to attribute to this cause, measures from which we see reason to withhold our Sanction.

We cannot accede to the 16th and 17th Paragraphs of your Letter, in which you submit that neither the General Letters nor Minutes of Government, nor the Letter on which we are remarking, may be subjected to the perusal of any former Governor except on the conditions you have stated. We cannot suffer Ourselves to be thus dictated to as to the manner in which we may chuse to seek for Information relative to our affairs at St. Helena, or the Persons to whom we may see proper to apply, and you are greatly in Error in supposing that the former Proceedings respecting Mr Breame, were

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subjected, not only to the perusal of Major General Beatson, but even to the Rev. Mr Boys.

Equally unfounded if applied to any Proceedings of the Court is the assertion in your 20th Para. "That you have had the real concern to observe a certain countenance afforded to those very few Individuals on the Island whose line of proceeding had become in any way questionable, as evincing a spirit of counteraction to your authority." We have not been actuated by any other motives in the decisions upon all Points referred to us than those of Justice, and Propriety. Nor can we admit that any part of our Orders are justly liable to the Imputation here cast upon them.

As to the remarks contained in your 22nd para. we have no hesitation in assuring you that our opinions and Judgement upon all measures of your Government have been formed from the Official Documents and Records, uninfluenced by the *ex-parte* opinions or advice of any Person whatever. Should we think proper to ask for such opinion or advice, still our decision will at all times be guided by a full and impartial consideration of the whole that has passed upon the subject before us.

On the occasion in question, no such opinion or advice was called for ; that you should have entertained the most distant idea to the contrary, surprises us, and we can by no means allow the assertion to the contrary, "that from such a source, reproach has been extracted against you," to pass without a positive contradiction.

It is difficult to conceive in what manner our Orders relative to Mr Breame can be said to form a hurtful example, as you have stated in the 24th Para. It is at all times our desire to uphold and maintain due respect to



CAPTAIN C. B. H. ROSS

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the constituted Authorities, and we have given a striking Example of this as it regards St. Helena, in the separate despatch of the 29th November last, relative to the conduct of the Civil Servants there. In the same despatch we have adverted to the right we possess of animadverting on all the Proceedings of your Government, and this right we cannot allow to be disputed or called in question on the ill-grounded apprehension that Our Orders may prove of hurtful example. Were we to suffer Ourselves to be influenced by considerations of this nature, it would follow as an inevitable consequence, that we must acquiesce in every Proceeding of Our several Governments whether we approved or disapproved thereof, and thus as before observed, Our Authority and controul would be abrogated.

We think it unnecessary to say much on the Postscript of your Letter. We cannot condescend to notice the injudicious observations of indiscreet individuals, the only remark we shall make is, that neither to Mr Boys, nor to any other Individual was any communication made by the sanction of the Court, of the orders given respecting Mr Breame.

Such are the observations which have occurred to us upon those parts of your letter of 30th March, 1820, the style and tone of which have appeared exceptionable. We proceed to notice some passages in the Letter from the Governor and Council which are equally so.

In the 24th paragraph of the Letter of 30th September, 1820, upon Our Orders relative to the Agreement with Mr Fernandez, an observation is made of the severity of the after judgement of the Court. We have examined those Orders, but can find nothing therein to justify the remark; there is not the most distant approach to

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severity in the words of the Paragraph quoted in the Margin.¹

The Terms of the observations which you have made in Paragraphs 87 to 94 of the Letter from the Governor and Council of the 30th September 1820 upon Our Orders respecting the Appointment of Major Hodson to the Command of the Artillery, are also inapplicable to those Orders ; they do not, as you have implied, convey censure with harshness. They state Our opinion that the Proceeding was irregular, and it is only necessary to refer you to the Orders of 23rd December 1800, in proof that it was so. There does not appear to us upon full reconsideration to have been any necessity for the Appointment, for you were not in possession of any positive information of the intended retirement of Major Kinnaird, who was in fact on his return to the Island at the very time, and if it were otherwise, Major Pritchard might have been placed in the temporary Command of the Artillery Corps, until Our pleasure was known, for the frequent Testimonials in his favour from the Governor and Council appear to entitle him to that Distinction. Our Orders of the 23rd December 1800, which you observe you had not seen, ought to have been placed before you, and although in Para. 90, you state that you had, for your guidance, Our more recent orders which left you a Discretion in amalgamating the Two Corps together, you seem to have forgotten that you had suggested to us certain Points relative to this subject upon which our directions had not been received. Under

¹ Court's letter to St. Helena, dated 22nd December 1819, Para. 13. " We consider the engagement entered into with Capt. Fernandez to have been at least unnecessary, for we have no doubt the Commander of the St. Helena Schooner would have performed all that was required of Mr Fernandez with more success and much less expence."

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all these Circumstances we could do no otherwise than express Our disapprobation of the measure.

The Injury to Major Pritchard consisted in his temporary Supercession in the Corps of Artillery by the nomination of Major Hodson to the Command of it. You are too well acquainted with the feelings of Military Men not to know that they must consider any measure of the kind as a mark of Degradation especially when our orders were positive against such a proceeding, and when the character and good conduct of the next in succession had received the strong Testimonials of the several Governments under which he had served for a period of nearly 20 years.

The next point to which we shall advert, is the observations made in the 111th and following Paragraph of the Letter from the Governor and Council of the 30th September last, in which objections are stated to the 123rd Para. of our Letter of the 22nd, 1819, wherein we remarked "that we could not discover the slightest ground for any charge of a Criminal nature against Mr Breame which has been more than insinuated at different times," and We quote the following part of your 111th Paragraph "The Governor desires to observe that the manner in which this Paragraph ascribes an unfair and unjust course of proceeding to the Governor and Council by accusing them of having insinuated criminal conduct to Mr Breame without there being the slightest ground for a charge of such a nature, does not appear to be borne out by any particular expressions used in the Proceedings or Correspondence of the St. Helena Government."

It were to be wished that before you hazarded this observation you had looked back to the Proceedings of the Council on which the charges against Mr Breame are

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inserted, for we are confident you would have therein found ample cause to justify the assertion in our Letter of the 22nd December 1819, above referred to, we shall here direct your attention to some of them :

On the 31st October 1816, the minute of the late Mr Leech, a Member of Council.

On 30th December 1816, the late Mr Porteous's Letter as to Sheep Missing, and the minute of the Governor thereon.

On the 10th November 1817, the Secretary's observations on Mr Breame's conduct.

On the same day Mr Porteous's charges in general.

On the 8th December the observations of the Governor and Council on Labour charges in Mr Breame's accounts.

On the same day the Council's observations which as it is of itself sufficient to prove the correctness of the Terms used by us, we shall here quote at some length.

“The object of requiring explanations from Mr Breame upon the foregoing points was simply to ascertain whether he has accounted for the whole of the property he has irregularly disposed of from the Company's farms, but as he has not adduced any sort of even plausible testimony as to the actual weight or value of the several animals alluded to (unless it be regarding the heifer to the Governors Establishment) the Governor and Council are as much in the dark as they were before.”

“This obscurity is occasioned by Mr Breame's violations of those regulations and Orders which were framed for the express purpose of checking abuses. Had such violations been the apparent result of heedlessness, highly culpable as he might be deemed, yet suspicions of any thing

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worse than heedlessness would have been very reluctantly admitted.”

“Resolved Unanimously, 1st, that the determined insubordination of Mr Breame (even if no other misconduct were imputable to him) could never be submitted to by the Board.”

“Resolved 2ndly. That Mr Thomas Breame, Senr., be immediately removed from the charge of the Company’s farms, reserving further enquiry to ascertain any loss which the Company may have sustained whilst the farms were under his management, and whether they are of such a nature as to justify any further proceedings against him.”

If the common and usual acceptance of words be admitted, it is impossible to deny that charges of a very serious nature are here at least insinuated against Mr Breame.

But if a perusal of the foregoing is not enough to satisfy you upon this point, we would refer to the examinations (taken subsequently indeed to Mr Breame’s removal) on the 15th December 1817, the whole tendency of which was indisputably to fix criminality by the Governor and Council that it failed to produce the effect.

We shall pursue the subject no further. Enough has been said, we trust, to convince you, Sir, upon a calm and dispassionate review of all the circumstances to which we have here called your attention, that the view you have taken of Our Orders is not warranted by any fair construction of them, and that the Tone and Temper in which you have indulged in discussing them are as unsuitable to the relative situation in which you stand towards the Court, as they would be incompatible with a due regard to the authority we possess, were we to

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suffer them to pass without animadversion. We cannot suppose that you have intentionally shewn Disrespect to that Authority in the several instances which we have pointed out, and if (as we cannot for a moment allow ourselves to doubt) you shall on mature reflection be convinced that you have been led into Error or Misconception, we would gladly hope, that this unpleasant Correspondence will here terminate.

We are

Sir,

Your loving Friends

(Signed) T. REID.

JAS. PATTISON.

JOSEPH COTTON.

EDW. PARRY.

JOHN MORRIS.

J. THORNHILL.

JOHN INGLIS.

R. C. PLOWDEN.

G. RAIKES.

JOHN LOCH.

WM. SHOWY.

J. DANIELL.

WM. STANLEY CLARKE.

LONDON, *the 2nd May* 1821.

J. H. KEITH.

(“Lowe Papers,” 20,237, ff. 288-301.)

THE EFFECT OF THE CLIMATE OF ST. HELENA UPON THE LONGEVITY OF THOSE QUARTERED 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
NOVERRAZ . . .	25	37	59	-3
SANTINI . . .	25	37	72	10
O'MEARA . . .	33	31	54	-10
LAS CASES (Fils) .	15	45	54	-6

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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	33	85	23
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

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 Crokot	,, 1879
Anthony Emmett	,, 1872
Hale Young Wortham	,, 1882
Col. Ed. Wynyard	,, 1865

EFFECT OF THE CLIMATE

Col. Ed. Lascelles	died	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

ST. HELENA MORTALITY TABLES

SHOWING THE DEATH-RATE PER THOUSAND AMONGST THE
INHABITANTS, THE ST. HELENA REGIMENTS, AND THE
BRITISH REGIMENTS STATIONED THERE

CONTRARY to what has often been stated, statistics exist which make it possible to estimate the rate of mortality among the inhabitants in St. Helena from 1821 to the present time.

With regard to the British regiments quartered in the Island also, complete lists of all deaths taking place amongst the troops are available in the *Monthly Returns* in the War Office Series in the Record Office, and in the St. Helena Blue Books, from 1815 to 1848. Even before the captivity a record of the death-rate in the 72nd Regiment of Foot when quartered in the Island during the years 1786, 1787, and 1788 is given in a letter by Surgeon Wood, and found in the Record Office, C.O. 247, vol. 18, where it is stated that the strength of the regiment was 1056, and the mortality 37 per thousand.

The question of the healthiness of St. Helena is a most important one, on account of its bearing upon the subject of the suitability of the Island as a residence for Napoleon, and for this reason the following tables will possibly be of use to students interested in the subject.

RETURNS FOR BRITISH REGIMENTS

From an investigation of the *Monthly Returns* in the Record Office of those regiments stationed in St. Helena during the captivity the following results are obtained:—

ST. HELENA MORTALITY TABLES

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

This death-rate of 40 per thousand may be compared with the average death-rate per annum amongst British regiments stationed in Great Britain, viz. 17 per thousand, and with regiments stationed in India, viz. 85 per thousand.

After the death of Napoleon, British regiments were not stationed in the Island until 1836, when the Government finally took over St. Helena from the East India Company.

The following Table will show the mortality amongst British troops :—

Year.	Strength.	Deaths.	Mortality per 1000. (approximate)
1839	461	12	26
1840	338	14	41
1841	302	12	40
1842	277	11	39
1843	432	10	23
1844	411	4	10
1845	427	3	7
1846	524	17	32
1847	514	15	29
1848	444	5	11
 Average	 413	 10	 25 (approx.)

After the year 1848 no detachments of British troops were stationed in St. Helena. The St. Helena Militia guarded the Island, and therefore the mortality returns

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do not differ much from those of the civil population. For the period of the captivity the following are the returns:—

THE RETURNS FOR THE ST. HELENA REGIMENTS

Year.	Strength.	Deaths.	Mortality per 1000.
1815	700	12	17
1816	700	16	23
1817	700	10	14
1818	700	22	31
1819	700	14	20
1820	700	17	24
1821	700	12	17
		103	146

Annual averages 700 15 21 (approx.)

RETURNS FOR THE CIVIL POPULATION

There are no reliable data on which an estimate of the death-rate can be based before the year 1821. After that year the Tables are almost complete. They give the following results:—

Year.	Population. (approximate)	Deaths.	Mortality per 1000. (approximate)
1821	5800	90	15
1822	5800	70	12
1823	5800	57	10
1824	5800	96	16
1825	5800	125	21
1826	5800	83	14
1827	5800	99	17
1828	5800	96	16
1829	5800	65	11



THOMAS SHORTT, M.D.

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ST. HELENA MORTALITY TABLES

Year.	Population. (approximate)	Deaths.	Mortality per 1000. (approximate)
1830	5800	68	12
1831	5800	73	12
1832	5800	89	15
1833	5800	80	14
1836	4977	99	20
1839	4205	62	15
1840	4205	57	13
1841	4205	88	20
1842	4205	88	20
1843	4205	62	15
1844	4205	89	20
1845	4205	75	17
1846	4205	96	23
1847	4205	84	20
1848	4205	95	23
1849	4205	139	33
1851	5008	89	18
1852	5008	79	16
1853	5008	96	20
1854	5008	144	28
1855	5008	139	27
1856	5008	158	31
1857	5008	154	30
Averages	5052	93	18

For the decennial period 1866 - 1875 the annual mortality per thousand was 14, and from this it would appear that the mortality improved as time went on. When it is considered that over a large number of years the average annual mortality of the population does not amount to more than 18 per thousand, it must be

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admitted that St. Helena is a healthy place for those who reside there. The average mortality per thousand among the troops quartered in St. Helena during the captivity was unusually high, viz. 40 per thousand, and even after that time it was 25 per thousand.

(References: "Monthly Returns," War Office Series; "Colonial Office Blue Books," C.O. 253, vols. 1-29, Record Office; *British Colonial Library*, vol. x., by R. M. Martin, 1837; "St. Helena Casualties"; "India Office Records.")

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 inquiry 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 inquiry 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 inquired into, and the following

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is the full report of the proceedings drawn up by Sir Thomas Reade, and found in the "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,207, ff. 138-141:—

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

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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. 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.

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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 inquiry.

Q. 9. How long were the Count and Countess with you on the 18th 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

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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 inquiry Reardon was ordered to quit the Island, on leave.

It must be admitted that this inquiry did not reveal any greater degree of turpitude on the part of Reardon

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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.

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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

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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

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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 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:—

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“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.”



MRS. SKELTON

See page 127.

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

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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;

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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

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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

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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 its 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. Younghus- band.	Coursot.
	Chandelier.

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

SOCIETY IN ST. HELENA DURING THE CAPTIVITY

BEFORE the arrival of Napoleon, St. Helena was a restful island owned by the East India Company, and used almost entirely as a "half-way" stopping-place between England and India, where ships could obtain stores and water. The Company expected little or no profit from their occupation of the Island, and consequently the officials quartered there led an undisturbed if somewhat monotonous existence. The Governorship of St. Helena was generally a reward for important services rendered in India, and the other offices in the administration were sometimes filled by those whose health had become impaired by prolonged residence in the East.

Although placed in such a remote situation, St. Helena was by no means cut off from the rest of the world, for almost every ship to or from India called at the Island, and those on board were only too glad to relieve the tedium of the voyage by going on shore and exchanging items of news with the inhabitants. When, however, the captivity began, a vast change came over the quiet scene. The population of St. Helena received at once an influx of about 1500 Europeans, and the fact that the Island was the prison home of the great Napoleon rendered it perhaps the most talked-of place outside Europe. Like all small and circumscribed communities where monotony reigned, society in St. Helena was not without its disputes, and the small enmities were to a certain extent promoted by the system of espionage

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which was an inseparable part of the policy of the British authorities towards Napoleon.

Society in St. Helena during Napoleon's time was divided into three main groups. There was the Government House group which comprised the chief people in the civil, the military, and the naval administration of the Island. Then there was the group which included all those who held smaller posts in the administration, and those of the white population of the Island who were engaged in agricultural and commercial pursuits. Finally there was the Longwood group, which embraced all those in attendance on Napoleon.

The vexed question of precedence was governed by the code laid down by the East India Company for the guidance of its servants, and in the "Council Minutes" for the year 1816 ("Lowe Papers," vol. 20,240, f. 76) the following table of precedence will be found, which was used at official functions at Plantation House:—

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

SOCIETY IN ST. HELENA

Charles Blake. }
D. Leech. } Writers, ranking with Subalterns.
Henry Seale. }

The same minute decrees that the senior chaplain, the Rev. Richard Boys, is to be accorded the right to rank with a major, and references are made to lists of people of smaller importance who were asked to "Farmers' Dinners" at Plantation House.

The principal families settled in St. Helena when Napoleon arrived were as follows:—

THE DOVETONS.—The head of this family was Sir William Webber Doveton, the senior member of Council, and brother of Sir John Doveton, a major-general in the Indian Army. He had two daughters, one of whom married Major Hodson, and the other Thomas Greentree, a member of Council.

THE HODSONS.—Major Hodson lived at Maldivia, and married Maria, the daughter of Sir William Doveton. His family was one of the most respected and important on the Island.

THE PRITCHARDS.—This family had been established in St. Helena longer than any other, and at the present time one of its members still resides in the ancestral home. The land on which the tomb is situated belonged to the Pritchards. In Napoleon's time two brothers represented the family, Henry Huff and David Kay. The former was responsible for the telegraphs on the island, and especially those signals which had reference to the movements of Napoleon at Longwood. The other brother married the sister of Major Hodson, and eventually commanded the St. Helena Artillery.

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Besides these there were the families of Leech, Seale, De Fountain, Bennett, Brooke, Shortiss, Kinnaird, Bagley, Knipe, Torbett, Mason, Legge, Robinson, Broadway, Solomon, Alexander Kay, Firmin, Balcombe, Wright, Lamb, Young, Carol, O'Connor, Smith, Haynes, Janish, Porteous, Beale, Hunter, Blenkens, Den Taafe, Kennedy, Cole, Harrington, and Fowler. Inter-marriages, as might be expected in so circumscribed a community, were frequent. A complete list of all the inhabitants of the Island appears for the first time in the "East India Register" for 1825, and the "Muster Rolls" and the "Casualty Returns" for St. Helena amongst the papers in the India Office may be consulted for more precise information concerning those who were in St. Helena during the period of the captivity. In addition to the inhabitants, many of the officers of the British regiments stationed in the Island at the time were accompanied by their wives and families, and the following lists extracted from "The Marriage and Death Certificates" (W.O. 42, 210) in the Record Office, "The Wills" in Somerset House, and various other sources, too numerous to mention, may be of service to those descendants who are interested in the subject. This list of the "Ladies in St. Helena" during the captivity is not perhaps complete, but it gives all those who, for one reason or another, were of importance.

THE PRINCIPAL LADIES IN ST. HELENA DURING THE CAPTIVITY

Lady Lowe, *née* Miss de Lancy, widow of Colonel William Johnson.

SOCIETY IN ST. HELENA

- Lady Bingham, wife of Sir George Bingham.
Lady Malcolm, wife of Sir Pulteney Malcolm.
Countess Bertrand.
Countess de Montholon.
Baroness Sturmer, wife of Baron Sturmer, the Austrian
Commissioner.
Mrs Wilks, wife of Colonel Wilks.
Miss Laura Wilks.
Mrs Pine-Coffin, *née* Maria Monkland, married at Bath,
1820.
Mrs Wynyard, wife of Colonel Wynyard.
Mrs Skelton, wife of Colonel Skelton.
Mrs Hodson, *née* Maria Doveton, wife of Major Hodson.
Mrs Brooke, *née* Miss Wright, wife of Mr Secretary
Brooke.
Mrs South, wife of Colonel South.
Mrs Shortt, *née* Henrietta Young, wife of Dr Shortt.
Mrs Younghusband, *née* Catherine Whinyates, wife of
Captain Younghusband.
Mrs Nagle, *née* Emma Valentine, wife of Lt. Nagle.
Mrs Kingsmill, wife of Lt. Kingsmill.
Mrs Fernandez, wife of Capt. Fernandez.
Mrs Matthias, wife of Lt. Matthias.
Mrs Hutchins, wife of Lt. Hutchins.
Miss Mason, a wealthy landowner in St. Helena.
Mrs Balcombe, wife of William Balcombe.
Miss Betsy Balcombe.
Miss Mary Robinson, "The Nymph," afterwards Mrs
Edwards.
Mrs Greentree, *née* Miss Doveton, wife of Thomas
Greentree.
Mrs Bennett, wife of Captain James Bennett.
Mrs Boys, wife of Rev. Richard Boys.

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- Mrs Vernon, wife of Rev. B. J. Vernon.
Mrs Ibbetson, wife of Denzil Ibbetson.
Miss Charlotte Johnson, daughter of Lady Lowe.
Miss Susanna Johnson, daughter of Lady Lowe.
Mrs Seelinger, *née* Elizabeth Grant, wife of Major Seelinger.
Mrs Rhynd, *née* Annie Buchan, wife of Lt. Rhynd.
Mrs Papps, *née* Harriet Dobbins, wife of Surgeon Peter Papps.
Mrs Obins, *née* Anne Keogh, wife of Major Hamlet Obins.
Mrs Mack, *née* Caroline Smith, wife of Lt. Mack.
Mrs Haynes, *née* Anne de Fountain, wife of Lt. Haynes.
Mrs Wilton, *née* Jane Shea of Rathkeal, wife of Adjutant Wilton.
Mrs Dodd, wife of Quartermaster John Dodd.
Mrs Guy Rotton, *née* Maria South, wife of Captain Guy Rotton.
Mrs Gethin, *née* Jane South, wife of Captain Richard Gethin.
Mrs Blakie, wife of Quartermaster Blakie.
Mrs Power, wife of Captain Power.
Mrs Jordan, *née* Miss Robinson, wife of Captain Jordan.
Mrs Dodgin, wife of Colonel Daniel Dodgin.
Mrs Smith, wife of Colonel Smith.
Mrs Seale, wife of Major Seale.
Mrs De Fountain, wife of Mr John De Fountain.
Mrs Baird, wife of Captain Baird.
Mrs Codd, the wife of Lt. John Codd.
Mrs Edwards, wife of Lt. Thomas Edwards.
Mrs Birmingham, wife of Lt. Birmingham.
Mrs Rutledge, *née* Maria Tyrell, wife of Assistant Surgeon Rutledge.



JAMES VERLING, M.D.

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In addition to these, but by no means belonging to their sphere, may be mentioned the names of Esther Vesey and Mary Anne Foss, who formed irregular unions with Marchand and Archambault respectively. The unnamed *chère amie* of Admiral Plampin also belonged to this group.

In the "Lowe Papers," vol. 20,128, p. 517, a list will be found, drawn up by Madame Bertrand, of those people she desired should be given passes to visit her at Longwood, and as she was somewhat particular with reference to those with whom she associated, the list may be accepted as one containing the names of some of the best people on the Island. It is as follows:—

MADAME BERTRAND'S VISITING LIST

Captain Stanfell.	Lt. Cairns.
Col. and Mrs Dodgin.	Lt. Pearson.
Capt. and Mrs Jordan.	Sir W. Doveton.
Lt. and Mrs Kingsmill.	Mr and Mrs Brooke.
Dr Henry.	Capt. and Mrs Power.
Col., Mrs and the Misses South.	Mr and Mrs Greentree.
Major and Mrs Obins.	Major and Mrs Hodson.
Major Jackson.	Mr and Mrs Vernon.
Major Hogg.	Mrs Smith.
Dr Arnott.	Miss Beale.
Col. Power.	Miss Mason and Niece.
Lt. and Mrs Matthias.	Mr and Mrs Seale.
Major Emmett.	Mr and Mrs De Fountain.
Lt. Wortham.	Mr and Mrs Haynes.
	Mrs Ibbetson.

(“Lowe Papers,” 20,128, p. 517.)

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In connection with these lists it is worthy of remark that Mrs Matthias and Mrs Hutchins were the only wives of officers who came out to St. Helena with Napoleon and remained until after his death. Mrs Skelton, Mrs Hodson, Mrs Balcombe, and Mrs Greentree occupy the unique position of being the only British ladies who had the honour of entertaining Napoleon in their own homes, and Mrs Skelton and Lady Malcolm were on closer terms of intimacy with him than any others, with the exception of Betsy Balcombe.

The amusements in St. Helena consisted of riding, shooting, visiting, and entertainments of various kinds, such as dinner-parties, private theatricals, and bi-annual race meetings at Deadwood. Sir Hudson Lowe entertained lavishly, and the amateur theatricals were in the hands of Major Gorrequer and Mr Ibbetson. The race meetings were a great feature of social life, and were organised by Captain Rous, who afterwards became the dictator of the English Turf. A curious notice of these race meetings exists in *The Asiatic Journal* for January, 1818, and is interesting, since it gives the names of the officials and the horses entered. It is as follows:—

“ We have been favoured with a copy of the ‘ Racing Calendar ’ of St. Helena for the year 1817 (an authentic publication printed at St. Helena for the proprietor, by J. Boyd), from which we learn that the Maiden Meeting of the St. Helena Turf Club was held at Deadwood on the 7th and 10th of April last; and the second or Autumn was held at the same place on the 9th and 10th of September last.

“ The Stewards at the first meeting were, Sir G. Bingham, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, and Major Fehrzen. Lt. Leeson was Clerk of the Course. At the September

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meeting the stewards were, Sir T. Reade, Lt.-Col. Dodgin, Lt.-Col. Wright, and the Hon. Capt. Rous. Lt. Matthias was Clerk of the Course.

“At the first meeting four plates were run for (one of them a handicap plate), and four matches. At the second meeting, five plates (one a handicap plate), and two matches. There was a sweepstake at each meeting.

“The whole number of horses which were entered and ran amounted to 33. We have not room to insert the colours of the riders and their names are not mentioned, but the names of the horses may be thought to form a whimsical alphabetical arrangement, which is as follows, taken in order in which they appear in the St. Helena ‘Racing Calendar’:—African, Brickdust, Blucher, Bacchus, Botherum, Comet, Creeper, Dolly, Emperor, Feather, Fidget, Grinder, Hambletonian, Hope, John Bull, Kutusoff, Manks, Marske, Mansel, Negro, Pringle, Prime of Life, Regent, Royal Oak, Regulus, Sebastian, Salamanca, Toussaint, Tom Tit, Tom Crop, Tickler, Whiskey.

“Amongst the matches, Prime of Life beat Whiskey; Grinder beat Salamanca; Royal Oak beat Tom Crop; Dolly beat Toussaint, and Tom Tit beat Tickler.

“We are not certain that the information will be of any particular use, but the next spring meeting will be on the second Tuesday in April.

“Stewards—Admiral Plampin, Col. Nicol, and Major Hodson. Lt. Matthias, Clerk of the Course.

“Eight horses were matched to run when the Calendar was printed.”

THE REVEREND RICHARD BOYS, SENIOR CHAPLAIN IN ST. HELENA

RICHARD BOYS was born in 1785, and was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. In 1811, in his 26th year, he was appointed junior chaplain in St. Helena by the H.E.I.C. After the compulsory retirement of his senior, the Rev. Samuel Jones, in 1815, he was chosen to succeed him, and held his office until 1830, when he retired on a pension. In addition to being senior chaplain, Boys was also master of the Head School in the Island, and the incumbent of the "Country Church," situated close to the grounds of Plantation House. He resided at a house known as "Smith's Gate," close to the church, where most of his children were born.

Mr Boys was an honest, but rigid and uncompromising divine, and was in constant conflict with the authorities on account of his outspoken condemnation of the evil living of certain sections of the community. The "St. Helena Council Minutes" contain frequent references to the difficulties encountered through the contentious spirit of the chaplain. On January 3rd, 1815, the Council decreed that "the controversy which had arisen between Mr Boys and the Rev. Mr Jones is productive of disgraceful effects, and they are ordered to abstain from further personal controversy, or circulation of written or printed letters referring to it on pain of suspension." Again, on March 30th, 1817, the Council asked Mr Boys for an explanation of his conduct in refusing to take into the church a coffin for burial. He excused himself on

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the grounds that the Island was full of pagan superstitions, and that the people passed round the altar, and littered the church with myrtle leaves. On June 4th, 1821, a long correspondence began regarding the action of Mr Boys, who had insulted Mr G. Blenkens, the assistant storekeeper, by calling after him in the street: "Blenkens, when is the green bag to be given out?" In the end he received a reprimand from the Council. On June 11th, 1821, he complained to the Council of the violation of the Lord's Day. In reply, 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." It was not only in St. Helena that Mr Boys fearlessly attacked what he believed to be wrong, for when on a visit to Rio Janeiro Mr Thornton, the British Minister, was obliged to send him away on account of "his indecent behaviour when a Catholic procession was passing by." Always prone to believe that the cloth he wore was being insulted, and always ready to uphold the sanctity of his calling, he once complained to the Council that people on the Island were "engaged in the wicked and mischievous purpose of holding up to contempt a minister of God."

In October, 1818, Boys espoused the cause of Breame, the Company's farmer, who had been accused of being inaccurate in his accounts, and this action brought him into further conflict with the Council. In August, 1820, a long wrangle took place over the question of whether Mr Boys should be paid 7s. 6d. or 3s. 6d. for preaching at the Military Camp at Deadwood. In this controversy letters of ten and fifteen pages were by no means uncommon. It was ended by the Council writing: "Your letters only tend to involve the subject by forced or

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overstrained deductions from what is written to you. The Council desires that you do not employ the subject as a ground for making any further attacks on the Secretary, nor for collaterally introducing any other matter in your correspondence with them."

The letters of Mr Brooke to Lowe, after he had left St. Helena, contain frequent references to Mr Boys, and serve to show the apprehension concerning his actions. In one Brooke informs Lowe that Boys "appears to be moderate and quiet" since the Governor's departure. In another he writes: "Mr Boys seems to be quiet, but however he may be so outwardly, it has been hinted to me that he is at some underhand work." Finally, the Council's secretary described as "preposterous" the claim of Boys to have caused the abolition of slavery in the Island.

Enough has now been said to show that the temperament of Mr Boys was productive of difficulties in his relations with the authorities in St. Helena. But this was not all. In his zeal for the promotion of the spiritual welfare of the community, he was outspoken in his denunciation of evil living wherever found. Now at the time of the captivity the moral tone of St. Helena was low, and drunkenness and moral depravity were to be found in all classes of the Island society. In his capacity of spiritual head in the Island, Mr Boys, in the plainest terms, inveighed against the moral lapses prevalent, and from his pulpit did not hesitate to single out prominent examples of evil living, and to assail them in his sermons. The case of Rear-Admiral Plampin was one which excited his righteous anger to a considerable degree. This high official lived in irregular union with a lady who came out with him to St. Helena. Her name is undiscoverable at the present time, for the muster books of the *Conqueror*

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merely give those not borne on the ship's books under the designation of "widows' men." But we know from the diary of Dr Stokoe that she was shipped in the Solent after the *Conqueror* had left Portsmouth. The arrival of the Admiral and the lady caused consternation in official circles in St. Helena, and "The Briars," at which they resided, was shunned by Lady Lowe and other dames who formed the high St. Helena society. In a short time Mr Boys began to make thinly veiled allusions in his sermons to this wickedness in high places. Waxing warmer, he directly preached against Plampin and his mistress, beseeching him to put away from him the accursed woman, and to flee the wrath to come while there was yet time.

The perturbation of Lowe at this turn of events was great, and he was placed in a grave dilemma, for Plampin was a faithful adherent of Lowe in his policy regarding the great captive. He could not afford to lose Plampin, and he knew full well the commotion Boys would be sure to cause in England were he sent home on account of his chastisement of vice in high places. From his dispatches to Bathurst, it is evident that Lowe had no sympathy with the moral obliquities of Plampin. He therefore shrank on the one hand from taking action from fear of losing Plampin, and on the other from fear of promoting a scandal in England by the uncurbed tongue of Mr Boys.

The policy adopted by Lowe in this matter was judicious, for Mr Boys knew much, and had he been dismissed, the British public at home would have learned that the term "abandoned and profligate Isle," as applied to St. Helena, was no mere empty phrase. Indeed, Lowe's fear that Mr Boys would make damaging dis-

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closures will be well understood when it is stated that as senior chaplain it was his duty to make the official entries in the Parish Registers of all the births taking place on the Island. When, as it sometimes happened, Mr Boys was called upon to record the births of illegitimate children of slave women, begotten of men who were some of the highest and most trusted of Lowe's lieutenants, the chaplain in his righteous indignation did not hesitate to write in bold characters in the registers the titles and high positions of the sires. In these old registers, which have been inspected for me by Major Foulds, it is amusing to observe the frantic attempts that have been made by means of blots and pen-knife to obliterate the damaging evidence. But Mr Boys was determined to write for all time, and the precise titles and positions of the fathers, in spite of the attempted erasures, can still be plainly distinguished. This was probably the real reason for the ostracism of Mr Boys by the high St. Helena society, and the fear of his outspoken tongue evinced by Sir Hudson Lowe.

So far as the captivity was concerned, Mr Boys was brought into contact with Napoleon 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.

There is, however, another and better side of the picture of the activities of Mr Boys, and in justice to him it must be shown. It will be found in Robson's *Memoirs of St. Helena*, p. 64, and quoted from a private letter of Lt. G. H. Wood of the 20th Foot. It is as follows:—

“ Mr Boys was only to be known to be heartily and



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fully loved; for, for a long time 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 that 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 Army and Navy; 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 a 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, until our hearts would often burn within us; then, after dusk, return home to his house to take tea, and spend the remainder of the evening in the same joyous manner. Such scenes and hours can never 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

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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 and 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 do not know 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."

So although Mr Boys was tactless in some of his methods, and narrow-minded in his views, he had the merit of being true to his creed, and fearless of consequences in putting it into practice. Neither Lowe with his ample power, nor the jibes and sneers of the community in St. Helena, could prevail upon him to swerve a hair's-breadth from the course he considered to be right. Indeed, it needed no little courage to set at defiance the

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iron regulations in force in St. Helena, where nearly all were spies, and where a chance unguarded word might go far to wreck a career.

But of all the activities of Mr Boys in his capacity of chaplain the most famous was the extraordinary sermon he preached on July 8th, 1821, at the Country Church—that is, a few days before the departure of Sir Hudson Lowe and his staff. No copy of the sermon is in existence, but at the Council meeting on July 9th Sir Hudson Lowe submitted an exhaustive analysis which was entered on the minutes. Since this analysis states the substance of the sermon, and at the same time reveals Lowe in the unusual rôle of theological critic, it may be well to give it in full. It is as follows:—

“The Governor desires to make known to the Council that being at Plantation House Church on Sunday last, he was a good deal struck with different parts of the sermon preached by the Rev. Mr Boys, as well as at the emphasis laid on particular passages, and at his general style of preaching, and on quitting the Church he found that the sermon was a subject of conversation and surprise on the part of every one who heard it. The text was taken from the 31st verse of the 21st Chapter of St. Matthew, the following being the words:—‘Verily I say unto you, that publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of God before you.’ It was the manner of handling the text that surprised the Governor as well as every other person present. It seemed to be the principal object of the sermon to draw invidious distinctions between the higher and lower classes of society. The possession of distinction, wealth, rank, and power and knowledge, and science, he declared to be a barrier against

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admittance into the Kingdom of Christ. There was general and very little qualified reflection throughout the sermon against the upper classes for hypocrisy. 'They were self-religious formalists. They possessed no other morality than what the world called morality, merely an outward show. Their religion was nothing more than a specious appearance.' The low, the poor, the mean, he absolved from these charges, and gave them credit for their sincerity of heart in their worship. It was among this description of persons that our Saviour had chosen his companions, that he selected them in preference to the rich and the great; that it was through them that grace was manifested. Publicans and Harlots were received in this world in the Kingdom of Grace, and in the next world in the Kingdom of Glory. The rich and great haughtily disdained to humble themselves before God, while the poor did so and were admitted to Divine favour. He instanced on the part of Harlots, Mary Magdalene, and on that of thieves and sinners the thief on the cross, and two other individuals. Disdaining the simple words of the Gospel, 'Publicans and Harlots,' which words had, however, been repeated with peculiar emphasis, he rose to a climax, comprehending the supposed commission of crimes of such atrocity as hardly any but the most depraved imaginations could conceive human nature to be capable of, addressing his congregation as if there were individuals amongst them who might have committed such atrocities, and promising them an instant absolution and remission in preference to the higher order of society on the ground of the supposed hypocrisy of the latter, provided they entered the Sanctuary in which he was preaching with true signs of repentance upon them. Not merely Publicans and

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Harlots, but the lowest, the most abandoned of sinners, outcasts, Sabbath breakers, whoremongers, fornicators, adulterers, thieves, murderers, etc., were those whom he most addressed. 'Nay,' said he in a tone of most marked emphasis, 'the most daring rebel is sure of salvation,' adding, 'what a comforting consoling reflection.' There was no person, he continued, however sunk in crime that could not obtain salvation at any time if he repented. 'Had you murdered your father or mother,' he said, 'nay, if you came at the present moment into this church with your hands reeking with the blood of the Son of God, you would by repentance be saved.' These expressions are taken from memory, and some of them may be found to vary from the exact words used by him, but the above terms did not appear to me to form the most objectionable part of his sermon. The doctrine that repentance washes away all sin, it cannot be the Governor's intention to arraign. How far it is prudent and discreet, and how far it may really tend to promote the cause of virtue and good morals to hold out such ready and instant absolution for enormities that make human nature shudder, is also a subject the Governor does not mean to discuss. 'There is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, than for ninety-nine just persons that need no repentance.' But the just herein mentioned are not absolutely proscribed from entering the Kingdom of Heaven, nor are they told that the preparatory commission of sin, however followed by repentance, established a more certain claim to redemption than a whole life spent in the practice of religion and virtue, where the same degree of repentance may not be needed. It is the proscription of the upper and middle classes of society, the arraignment even of every appearance of

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religion and morality on their part, the invidious distinction which Mr Boys sought to draw between them and the lower classes, between the rich and the poor, the exhortation to mistrust all appearances of piety and virtue on the part of the former which appeared the most prominent feature of his discourse. Even a discourse of this nature from the pulpit, where a mixed congregation was assembled, would not so much have surprised, but viewing the description of persons that Mr Boys addressed, it may, the Governor thinks, be safely left to the judgment of the Court of Directors, or to that of any respectable and distinguished member of the Church at home to decide upon the propriety with which this text was handled. The Congregation was composed as follows:—The Governor, Lady Lowe, and her daughter Miss Johnson, a young lady of fifteen years; Brigadier-General and Mrs Pine-Coffin, seven or eight ladies, the wives or daughters of Officers of the Company's Civil Service. With the exception of about twenty-five or thirty persons who were of the higher class, the whole of his congregation were soldiers, servants, slaves, black women, and girls and children." (See "St. Helena Council Minutes" for July 9th, 1821. India Office.)

In the above able exposition of the celebrated sermon it does not appear to have occurred to Sir Hudson that Mr Boys was having, so to speak, "a parting shot" at the official persons in St. Helena, and that the sermon was intended to reprimand the Plampins and others in high places for failing to set an example in clean living to their inferiors, who on account of ignorance had some ground for excuse. But Lowe was never a man of quick perceptions. As a result of this minute, the Council called

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upon Mr Boys to furnish a copy of the sermon. In reply he asked if they preferred the request as a favour or as a right, and when they answered, as a right, he further requested them to show him a copy of any law or regulation by which he was compelled to give a copy of his sermon. It was very difficult indeed to catch Mr Boys, and in the end the "Council Minutes" sorrowfully record that no copy of the famous sermon was forthcoming. The following Sunday Mr Boys preached in the church at Jamestown. Here he assumed the character of a minister persecuted and harassed by those in high places because of his fearless denunciation of their shortcomings. But he ended up with a triumphant note, and after quoting the words, "Thou hast also given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me," conveyed to his hearers the impression that it might be dangerous to push him too far.

On the state of morality existing in St. Helena, the British occupation appears to have had a most salutary effect, and there can be no doubt that the outspoken utterances of Mr Boys contributed in no small degree to this great improvement. Let, therefore, statistics bear their testimony to the good work of the iconoclastic cleric. Major M. F. Foulds has inspected the parish registers in Jamestown so far as regards the illegitimate baptisms taking place between the years 1813-1827, with the following results:—

1813 ... 198	1818 ... 39	1823 ... 3
1814 ... 101	1819 ... 50	1824 ... 4
1815 ... 58	1820 ... 17	1825 ... 7
1816 ... 46	1821 ... 16	1826 ... 17
1817 ... 53	1822 ... 6	1827 ... 33

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It was from 1822 to 1825 that the religious revival took place in St. Helena owing to the energy of Mr Boys, but taken together, these statistics may be regarded as strong evidence that the uncompromising Mr Boys with all his aggressiveness looked well after his "vineyard," and by no means laboured in vain.

Mr Boys continued in charge in St. Helena until 1830, when he retired on a pension. On returning to England he held several charges, finally settling at Loose, in Kent, in 1854, where he died in 1867. He published two works, *Elements of Christian Knowledge*, and *Primitive Obliquities*. For further information respecting Mr Boys, and the death-mask of Napoleon brought by him from St. Helena, reference may be made to Mr Watson's work, *The Story of Napoleon's Death Mask* (John Lane. 1815).

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN ST. HELENA.

SLAVERY flourished in St. Helena during the captivity of Napoleon, and almost the whole of the labour was recruited in this way. As a rule the slaves were not harshly treated, but it was notorious that some owners on the Island had a bad reputation on account of their inhumanity and brutality to their slaves.

The credit for the abolition of slavery in St. Helena belongs entirely to Sir Hudson Lowe, and whatever history may say regarding his actions as guardian of Napoleon, nothing can detract from the praise that is his due for carrying out this beneficent reform in a community given over entirely to the practice of slavery.

The abolition of slavery came about in the following manner. Sir Hudson had frequently raised the question, and it had, on several occasions, been discussed by the Council, but with no result. But in August, 1818, an event happened which brought matters to a climax. Sir George Bingham, the commander of the troops in the Island, had just left the Magistrate's Court where he had been presiding when his eye fell upon a poor slave girl, about fourteen years old, limping down the road with blood dripping from fresh wounds on her arm and back which had been produced by a whip. Sir George, with his well-known kindness of heart and chivalrous disposition, was shocked at the distressing sight, and inquired who had been guilty of such inhumanity. He was told that the injuries had been inflicted by the girl's owner,

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Mr Charles De Fountain. Sir George at once returned to the court, ordered Mr De Fountain to be brought before him, and inflicted the statutory fine of £2. Then, addressing those about the court, he gave vent to his indignation in violent terms, and said he only wished he had it in his power to make the fine £40, and to order Mr De Fountain to receive the same treatment he had meted out to the poor slave. Mr De Fountain, callous to the last, complained to the Council of the injurious terms in which he had been addressed by Sir George in the hearing of others, but Sir George repeated in the Council every word he had said, and stated that he did not withdraw or regret a single word that he had uttered in anger in the Court House. The whole matter made a considerable commotion, and Sir Hudson Lowe immediately gave notice that he would again bring up the whole question of slavery at the next Council Meeting. Soon after, the whole Island agreed voluntarily to give up the practice of slavery, and Sir Hudson had just cause to be proud of his achievement. (See "St. Helena Council Minutes" for August 24th, 1818. India Office.)



COLONEL MARK WILKS

See page 136.

THE MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE CAPTIVITY

It is unnecessary to give a list of all the books published concerning the captivity of Napoleon, for that has already been accomplished, and the reader is referred to Mr Norwood Young's *Napoleon in Exile at St. Helena*, where a complete bibliography will be found. Something may, however, be said about the manuscripts, for they are not so well known or so readily accessible to the general reader.

The first place of importance must be assigned to the large collection of papers in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum commonly known as the "Lowe Papers." These papers consist of 134 folio volumes, 88 of which deal with the captivity of Napoleon, and the remainder with Sir Hudson Lowe's activities in the Mediterranean and elsewhere. The "Lowe Papers" represent probably the most exhaustive account of his government ever compiled by an official, and whatever may be thought of the manner in which Lowe accomplished his mission, unstinted praise is due to him for the way in which he preserved every item of documentary evidence connected with his administration of St. Helena. Everything relating to the captivity is recorded, and it would be a difficult matter to quote a single omission of any importance. This wonderful collection will always stand alone as first-hand evidence concerning the government of St. Helena during the residence there of Napoleon.

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Next to the "Lowe Papers," twenty-nine volumes in the Colonial Office series in the Record Office take rank as first-hand evidence regarding the captivity. These consist of official dispatches passing between Lowe, Lord Bathurst, and others, together with a large quantity of original letters from people who had business with the Government in St. Helena.

The India Office also contains the "Consultation Books" of St. Helena, in which are recorded the Council Minutes. In addition there are lists of casualties, births, marriages, and deaths, and other information of use to the student of the period. A considerable number of manuscripts dealing with St. Helena during Napoleon's time rest in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Many of them are the originals of those which are found in the "Lowe Papers," but in addition there are many from the pen of O'Meara. In Les Archives Nationales is the very interesting journal of Dr James Verling, which, it is hoped, may soon be published.

The originals of Lowe's dispatches to Lord Bathurst are in the possession of the present holder of the title, and in other private hands are many papers all dealing with the subject of the captivity. Among these may be mentioned the papers left by Dr Verling which contain all the official letters received by him during his stay at Longwood. Copies of all these letters appear in Verling's Journal, and can be read there. The Rev. E. Brook-Jackson possesses the original draft of the post-mortem report in the handwriting of Dr Thomas Shortt. A very interesting original diary, written by Mrs Shortt, dealing with the funeral of Napoleon, and social matters, belongs to Mrs Shortt. Finally, quite recently another large series of original documents concerning the captivity

MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO CAPTIVITY

has been discovered. These papers belonged to Major Gorrequer, were deposited in the Court of Chancery in 1881, and over two thousand documents exist in this series. Since the "Lowe Papers" and the "Gorrequer Documents" are of great importance to the student, a brief account of their contents is given in the following pages.

THE "LOWE PAPERS"

These Papers, one hundred and thirty-four volumes in all, are in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, and are numbered "Additional Manuscripts," 20,107-20,240. The volumes deal with the whole public career of Sir Hudson Lowe, and include all the letters, dispatches, and memoranda which passed between Lowe and others. The volumes numbered 20,107 - 20,114, 20,134, and 20,162-20,198 deal with Lowe's work in the Mediterranean and the Low Country, in fact, up to the year 1815. The remaining eighty-eight volumes deal exclusively and exhaustively with the period of Napoleon's captivity in St. Helena, and in this voluminous mass of material is recorded practically all the official information relative to that episode.

Lowe preserved everything he received, and caused copies to be taken of all letters he wrote. He also had minutes executed of all important conversations that took place, in his official capacity, with the people at Longwood, and other people on the Island. In this work he was ably and faithfully served by his A.D.C., Major Gideon Gorrequer, and it is largely owing to him that we possess this complete account of the captivity of Napoleon.

Forsyth used these papers when writing his history of the captivity of Napoleon, (3 vols. Published May, 1853.

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Murray), and in 1854 Lowe's son disposed of them to the British Museum.

The following list indicates the nature of the contents of each volume dealing with St. Helena :—

- Vols.* 20,115-20,133. These nineteen volumes contain copies of Lowe's official correspondence with the British Government, officers, and other official people on the Island. They also contain notes of the six conversations taking place between Napoleon and Lowe, and various other papers relating to the custody of the Emperor. 1816-1821.
- Vols.* 20,135-20,140. These six volumes form a register of letters to the Secretary of War and other official persons. 1816-1826.
- Vol.* 20,141. A register of correspondence with Count Las Cases, Count Bertrand, and General Gourgaud. 1816-1818.
- Vols.* 20,142-20,144. Three volumes of entry books of conversations between Lowe and the Orderly Officers at Longwood, between Napoleon and Lowe, and conversations held with other people. 1816-1821.
- Vol.* 20,145. Correspondence between Lowe and O'Meara, and between Gorrequer and O'Meara.
- Vol.* 20,146. Four volumes of notes of conversations between Lowe and O'Meara. O'Meara's letters to Finlaison. O'Meara's account of Napoleon's illness, and Baxter's observations thereon.
- Vols.* 20,147-20,150. Copies of letters written by Lowe to Foreign Stations and to people in St. Helena.
- Vols.* 20,151-20,153. Correspondence between Lowe and the Foreign Commissioners, viz. Sturmer, Balmain, and Montchenu.

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- Vol.* 20,154. Returns and pay of officers and men.
- Vol.* 20,155. Copies of examinations and depositions of people suspected of clandestine correspondence with Napoleon. 1816-1819.
- Vol.* 20,156. Bulletins regarding the health of Napoleon
* by Baxter and O'Meara.
- Vol.* 20,157. Substance of information concerning the last illness of Napoleon, communicated by Dr Arnott.
- Vol.* 20,158. Miscellaneous and detached letters regarding Longwood.
- Vol.* 20,159. Instructions to the officer commanding the Engineers regarding the safe custody of Napoleon.
- Vol.* 20,160. Correspondence between Admiral Malcolm and Jos. Luson, regarding the Cape contracts.
- Vol.* 20,161. A list of ships calling at St. Helena. 1816-1821.
- Vols.* 20,199-20,202. Official letters from Lord Bathurst, Henry Goulburn, and Sir Henry Bunbury. 1816-1823.
- Vol.* 20,203. Private and official correspondence of Lowe and Gorrequer with the Foreign Commissioners.
- Vol.* 20,204. Letters relating to Napoleon and his attendants—seventy-three letters.
- Vol.* 20,205. Letters of Admirals Malcolm, Plampin, and Lambert to Lowe with reference to St. Helena.
- Vol.* 20,206. Original letters of Sir George Bingham and General Pine-Coffin to Lowe regarding matters in St. Helena.
- Vol.* 20,207. Letters of Sir Thomas Reade and Gorrequer to Lowe.

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- Vol.* 20,208. The letters of the Orderly Officers at Longwood to Lowe and Gorrequer (Poppleton, Blakeney, Lyster).
- Vol.* 20,209. Letters of Captain Nicholls, the Orderly Officer at Longwood, to Gorrequer.
- Vol.* 20,210. The journal of Captain Nicholls, Orderly Officer.
- Vol.* 20,211. The letters of Captain Lutyens, Orderly Officer at Longwood. (Recently published.)
- Vol.* 20,212. Weekly reports of Captain Nicholls, Orderly Officer.
- Vol.* 20,213. Letters of Rev. Boys and Rev. Vernon to Lowe, Reade, and Gorrequer.
- Vol.* 20,214. Sir Thomas Reade's letters to Gorrequer and Lowe. Letters from Baxter, O'Meara, Verling, Antommarchi, Arnott to Gorrequer and Lowe. Official Report of appearances at the P.M. of Napoleon, signed by the five doctors. Henry's account of P.M. Criticisms of Antommarchi's book by Rutledge.
- Vol.* 20,215. Extracts from Lowe's conversations with various people.
- Vols.* 20,216-20,217. O'Meara's letters to Jno. Finlaison.
- Vol.* 20,218. Papers relating to O'Meara's charges against Lowe.
- Vol.* 20,219. Napoleon's observations on Earl Bathurst's speech.
- Vols.* 20,220-20,222. Letters of Ibbetson, Balcombe, Cole, and Darling to Gorrequer.
- Vol.* 20,223. Letters of Major Anthony Emmett to Lowe and Gorrequer.

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- Vols.* 20,224-20,225. Letters of military officers in St. Helena to Lowe, Gorrequer, and Reade.
- Vol.* 20,226. The letters of Lord Charles Somerset and Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin to Lowe concerning matters at the Cape.
- Vol.* 20,227. Letters of Joseph Luson to Gorrequer regarding supplies from the Cape.
- Vol.* 20,228. Letters to Lowe from J. B. Urmston and Stott.
- Vol.* 20,229. An account of the disposal of the furniture at Longwood, and Lowe's claim to certain pieces.
- Vols.* 20,230-20,232. Affidavits in the case of Lowe *v.* O'Meara.
- Vol.* 20,233. Various letters concerning St. Helena.
- Vols.* 20,234-20,235. The letters of Thomas Brooke (Secretary to the Council in St. Helena) to Lowe, and the Council Minutes.
- Vols.* 20,236-20,239. Letters from the Directors of the H.E.I.C. to Lowe.
- Vol.* 20,240. Various letters and papers.

THE "GORREQUER DOCUMENTS"

When it is remembered that the period of the captivity of Napoleon in St. Helena has been subjected to a most careful scrutiny by many students, especially during the last twenty years, it would be thought to be almost impossible that any important documents relating to that time could have escaped the painstaking research that has been undertaken. But quite recently a new and hitherto unsuspected series of manuscripts has been discovered. It has been found that Major Gideon Gorrequer, the able Military Secretary and A.D.C.

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to Sir Hudson Lowe in St. Helena, left, after his death, a very large collection of papers, nearly all of which deal with the captivity of Napoleon. The discovery arose in the following way:—The writer applied to the living representatives of Major Gorrequer for permission to copy a portrait of their ancestor if they had one in their possession. This request was kindly granted, and it was then stated that the papers of Major Gorrequer were in the custody of the Court of Chancery, having been deposited there in 1881 by an order of the court. At the same time it was said that the judge when making the order remarked that the documents were of such high political importance that their contents had better not be disclosed. These cryptic remarks of the judge naturally had the effect of creating in the writer a desire to learn the contents of the mysterious packets of documents which reposed so securely in the vaults of the Law Courts. But difficulties at once arose. The exact name of the suit, by which alone the documents could be traced, could not be ascertained, and it appeared to be hopeless to wade through the endless lists of causes, when even the precise year was unknown in which this particular one came on for hearing. Able and expert assistance, however, was kindly rendered, and the date of the order committing these papers to the care of the Courts, together with the affidavits relating thereto, was discovered.

The order for the deposition of the "Gorrequer Documents" in the Chancery vaults was made by Vice-Chancellor Bacon on December 9th, 1881, in the suit of *Benn v. Griffith*. The petition was supported by affidavits, the most important of which was one sworn as far back as January 18th, 1855, by Julius Dolmage, a nephew and executor of Major Gorrequer. In this

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affidavit the reason is given for desiring that the papers left by Major Gorrequer should not be dealt with except at the discretion of the court. The affidavit is as follows:—

“There came into my possession, as executor of Major Gorrequer, two manuscript books in the handwriting of the testator, containing entries of the particulars of various communications, conversations and occurrences of which the testator was cognisant, and in which he had taken part by reason of his office of Military Secretary at St. Helena during the captivity there of Napoleon Bonaparte.

“That the said manuscript books also contain entries in the handwriting of the testator, being the particulars of various observations and remarks of the testator upon the before-mentioned communications, conversations, and occurrences.

“That amongst the persons named, referred to or represented as parties in the above-mentioned communications, conversations, and occurrences, are the late Napoleon Bonaparte, the late Sir Hudson Lowe, the then Governor of St. Helena, the late Lord Bathurst, one of the then principal Secretaries of State of the United Kingdom, the late Mr Barry O’Meara, and the testator himself, besides many other official persons employed in or about the said Napoleon Bonaparte and Sir Hudson Lowe, and other persons not official.

“That the matters of the said entries are of a secret and confidential character, have reference to the Government of the time, and are of such a nature, personal and political, that in my judgment and belief the disclosure or publication thereof would be a betrayal of confidence prejudicial to the memory of the testator, and therefore painful to the feeling of myself and other members of

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the family, and would as I verily believe stir up dissatisfaction, and deeply wound the sensibilities of many who by family or otherwise are connected with the persons named or referred to in the same entries.

“That a high Military Officer, who was a well-known and confidential friend of the testator, stated to me, on my taking occasion to mention to him the circumstances of these manuscript books having come to my hands, and the nature of their contents, that they should be treated as secret and confidential, and on no account ought to be parted with or disclosed or made known to the public.

“That I have in my possession a chest which at the same time as aforesaid came into my hands as part of the effects of the said testator, and which contains a variety of correspondence with the testator while in his said office of Military Secretary at St. Helena and referable thereto, and which might not in my judgment and belief, for the reasons I have stated, be disclosed or made public.

“That I verily believe and am convinced in my own mind that the said testator would never have disclosed or made known to the public the matters contained in the entries in the said manuscript books, or in the said correspondence, and I am unwilling to part with the possession or to disclose the contents of the said manuscript books or correspondence without the order and protection of this Honourable Court for my so doing.”

On the information contained in the foregoing affidavit, Vice-Chancellor Bacon, therefore, made the order to keep the “Gorrequer Documents” in the safe custody of the Court, and there they still remain. Attached to the order is a schedule which, to a certain



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extent, describes the contents of the various packets. Some few of the papers are obviously of no permanent value, but most of them contain matter evidently of the greatest interest to the student.

Of chief importance, to judge from the stress laid upon them in the foregoing affidavit, are the three volumes of Gorrequer's private diary, numbered in the schedule "D," "E," and "F." These are probably the volumes which contain the accounts of the conversations, communications, and occurrences, together with Gorrequer's remarks thereon, which are deemed in the affidavit to be of such great political significance.

In addition to the three volumes of the private diary, eight volumes of memorandum books, numbered in the schedule from "H" to "O," are mentioned. Since in the affidavit no specific mention is made of these volumes, it is probable that they contain nothing of importance. A copy of Arnott's book also exists among the documents.

Next comes the large series of 52 *bundles* marked from "1" to "52," containing in all 2356 *documents*. In a few instances the nature of these documents is stated—thus, No. 40 contains fifteen quarterly abstracts of accounts concerning Napoleon's establishment at Longwood; No. 48, eight copies of declarations of Napoleon's servants; No. 49, ten extracts from O'Meara's health reports concerning Napoleon. Bundles marked "11," "38," "43," "44," "50," "51," "52" have no reference to St. Helena, and are of no permanent interest. Therefore forty-two bundles remain containing about two thousand documents, the exact nature of which is undisclosed. A guess, however, may be made as to their nature. It is more than probable that these documents consist of copies of all the

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official correspondence passing between Lowe and Lord Bathurst on the one hand, and Lowe and the people at Longwood on the other. All of this correspondence was copied by Gorrequer, or by people under his direction. He was so occupied with his secretarial duties that he broke down on one occasion for several weeks. In many cases the first drafts were written out by Gorrequer, and then were written and rewritten until Lowe thought he had arrived at the exact meaning he intended to convey. If this supposition be correct, these documents, or the greater part of them, exist in the "Lowe Papers" and are thus well known. But even then the documents are well worth a search in case they may explain some of the many intricacies of the tortuous policy pursued by Sir Hudson Lowe and Lord Bathurst. Of course these bundles may contain a new set of documents, for it is well known that Lord Bathurst frequently transmitted dispatches marked "private," and Lowe did the same. These do not, or very few of them, exist in the "Lowe Papers," and their contents have remained unrevealed. But it must be remembered that whatever passed to, or from, Lowe was known to Gorrequer.

With regard to the remarks of Vice-Chancellor Bacon, it is not to be expected that he was versed in the subject of the documentation of the captivity. He probably had never heard of the "Lowe Papers" and was ignorant of the fact that all the official documents connected with Napoleon in St. Helena reposed in the British Museum. It is quite possible that, lacking this knowledge, and learning that these documents comprised an almost complete official history of that episode, he deemed it proper to order them to be kept in the custody of the Court.

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Gorrequer was outwardly and officially a whole-hearted supporter of Lowe and his policy, but shrewd judges of character like Baron Sturmer described him as a "sly dog" (*finaud*), and others have asserted that, at heart, he did not approve of many of the acts of the British administration towards Napoleon. It has been admitted by all that he knew everything, and some have gone so far as to say that if he cared to speak he could throw an ugly light upon many parts of the British policy. At any rate Gorrequer could never in after life be prevailed upon to talk about the St. Helena episode. All this makes it very necessary to inspect his documents. Possibly what he has to say in the three volumes of his diary will make interesting reading, for during the captivity social peculiarities of the people on the Island gave rise to much scandal, and Gorrequer, living as he did at Plantation House, would hear it all. One would like much to hear his impressions of Lowe, and Lady Lowe, of Plampin, and many others. Therefore his private diary would be likely to yield most information, and an examination of the bundles of documents would enable one to see if they are merely copies of what is already known.

MARRIAGES IN ST. HELENA

THE following list of marriages has been extracted from the Registers of Births, Marriages, and Deaths kept at the India Office. These Registers extend from 1767 to 1834, and contain an almost complete record of all who lived on the Island during that period. The extraordinary amount of intermarrying that took place makes St. Helena pedigrees a most difficult study, and even an expert genealogist would find a difficulty in tracing the exact relationship existing between the various families. In the following list those names only which figure in the history of the captivity are given:—

Fred. Alexander, married to	Eliz. Greentree in 1803.
John Barnes,	„ Mrs Seale in 1807.
William Brabazon,	„ Eliz. Mason in 1807.
Henry Broadway,	„ Eliza Torbett in 1808.
George Blenkens,	„ Mary Bazett in 1808.
Richard Barker,	„ Anne Seale in 1809.
Onesiphorus Beale,	„ Anne De Fountain, 1813.
George Boorman,	„ Mary Murray in 1814.
James Blunden,	„ Caroline Newton in 1819.
Jno. Cruickshank,	„ Eliza Greentree in 1809.
William Carroll,	„ Matilda Newton in 1813.
J. B. Cole,	„ Charlotte Young in 1813.
C. C. Chesney,	„ Sophia Cauty in 1818.
W. W. Doveton,	„ Eleanor Beale in 1775.
Gabriel Doveton,	„ Mary A. Kennedy in 1798.
John Ives Edwards,	„ Mary Anne Robinson in 1817. (“The Nymph.”)

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Thomas Greentree, married to		Eliza Doveton in 1811.
William Graaf,	„	Adéle Belleville in 1817.
Robert Hodson,	„	Eliz. Bagley in 1778.
Major C. R. G. Hod-		
son,	„	Maria Doveton in 1803.
Capt. B. Hodson,	„	Harriett Greentree in 1810.
Daniel Hamilton,	„	Charlotte Knipe in 1820.
		(“The Rosebud.”)
T. M. Hunter,	„	Phœbe Solomon in 1823.
Denzil Ibbetson,	„	Martha Kay in 1819.
G. W. Janisch,	„	Anne Seale in 1823.
David Kay,	„	Clarissa Chamberlain in
		1809.
John Kay,	„	Sophia Leech in 1812.
Wm. Kingsmill,	„	Fanny Pinnock in 1817.
Geo. Votour Lambe,	„	Jane Bagley in 1770.
Robert Leech,	„	Anne Mason in 1818.
Abraham Millington,	„	Catharine Ward in 1816.
John Nudd,	„	Eliza. Mann in 1819.
Henry Porteous,	„	Mary Knipe in 1808.
Hy. Huff Pritchard,	„	Eliz. Hodson in 1808.
D. K. Pritchard,	„	Martha Hodson in 1812.
Hy. Huff Pritchard,	„	Eliz. Elayander in 1822.
John Robinson,	„	Margt. Torbett in 1796.
Wm. Seale,	„	Anne Greentree in 1800.
Francis Seale,	„	Charlotte Greentree in
		1805.
Capt. J. E. Shortis,	„	Georgiana Mellis in 1814.
Saul Solomon,	„	Mary Chamberlain in 1815.
B. A. Wright,	„	Mary De Fountain in 1771.
Charles Weston,	„	Sarah Yates in 1803.

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