

of their assailants. Cambronne threw himself into the ranks of his enemies, and perished. One last cry of "*Vive L'Empereur*," was heard amidst the smoke and clash of arms. "Nothing more is heard; the Guard is dead, the Empire is finished."\*

At nine o'clock, Wellington and Blücher met near La Belle Alliance, which was in the centre of the French position. The Prussian general Gneisenau pursued the flying French, to whom all chance of rallying was impossible. Wellington joined in the pursuit, but the fatigue of his men compelled him to stop between Rossomme and Genappe. It was at Genappe that the carriage of the emperor was taken, to form a show in London. During the pursuit Wellington rode with the advanced guard. Colonel Hervey, who was with him, advised him to desist, as the country was growing less open, and he might be fired at by some stragglers from behind the hedges. "Let them fire away," he replied, "the battle is won, and my life is of no value now"† Under the brilliant moon which succeeded the lowering day, Wellington rode across the battle-field to his quarters at Waterloo. As the heaps of dying and dead lay around him, the emotions must have rushed upon him which he so beautifully expressed the next day, in a letter to the duke of Beaufort: "The losses I have sustained have quite broken me down, and I have no feeling for the advantages we have acquired." To the earl of Aberdeen, in a letter dated the same day, he said, "I cannot express to you the regret and sorrow with which I look around me, and contemplate the loss which I have sustained, particularly in your brother. The glory resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me."‡

The total loss of both armies in this tremendous battle is thus stated:—British and Hanoverians, 11,678; Netherlanders, 3,547; troops of Brunswick, 1000; of Nassau, 1000; Prussians, 7454. Total, 24,679. Of the French army, 18,500 were killed or wounded, and 7800 made prisoners.§

\* Brialmont, tome ii. p. 429.

† Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 134.

‡ "Despatches," vol. xii. pp. 485, 489.

§ Brialmont, tome ii. p. 431.

## CHAPTER XX.

Napoleon's return to Paris.—His abdication.—On board the *Bellerophon*, at Plymouth.—Sails for St. Helena.—Specimens of the truth of History.—The Allies take possession of Paris.—Return of Louis XVIII.—Definitive Treaty with France.—Settlement of Europe previously arranged by the Congress at Vienna.—Holy Alliance.—Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.—Execution of Labeledoyère.—Escape of Lavalette.—Execution of Ney.—The Battle of Algiers.

AFTER the fatal night of the 18th of June, Napoleon had travelled with all haste to Paris, where he arrived at four o'clock on the morning of the 21st. The Chamber of Representatives met at noon on that day, and declared its sitting permanent. Its manifest intention was to assume the executive power, and to compel Napoleon to abdicate. Lucien Bonaparte appeared at the bar of the Chamber to urge the claims of his brother upon the gratitude of France. Lafayette replied, that "during the last ten years three millions of Frenchmen had perished for a man who would still struggle against all Europe. We have done enough for him. Now our duty is to save our country." During the 22nd Napoleon was urged to abdicate. He resisted for some time, exclaiming, "The Chamber is composed of nothing but Jacobins and ambitious men. I ought to have driven them away." He yielded at last, and dictated his abdication in favour of his son Napoleon II.; and in this document, in which he said "My political life is ended," he invited the Chambers to organize a Regency. The Chambers sent a deputation to thank Napoleon for the sacrifice which he had made to the independence and happiness of the French nation; but he replied that he had only abdicated in favour of his son, and that if the Chambers did not proclaim him, his own abdication would be null. Instead of appointing a Council of Regency, it was determined by the Chambers that the government should be put into the hands of a Commission of five members. This was indirectly to set aside Napoleon the Second. The provisional government required that Napoleon should leave France, and embark at Rochefort for the United States. He demanded that the government should give him two frigates for his passage there. The frigates were placed at his disposal, and their commanders were ordered to set sail within twenty-four hours after he was on board,

if the English cruisers were not in the way. Bonaparte arrived at Rochefort on the 3rd of July. Finding that he had no chance of escaping by sea, he sent Las Cases and Savary to captain Maitland, who commanded the *Bellerophon*, to ask for leave to proceed to America, either in a French or a neutral vessel. The reply of captain Maitland was, that his instructions forbade this; but that if Napoleon chose to proceed to England, he would take him there, without entering into any promise as to the reception he might meet with.

In the house of a gentleman at Plymouth we have looked with no common interest upon a portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte, painted under very extraordinary circumstances. At the end of July, the British ship of war *Bellerophon* is at anchor in Plymouth harbour. On board is the ex-emperor of the French, who, on the 13th of July, had addressed a letter to the Prince Regent from Rochefort, in which he said, "I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British nation" (*m'asseoir sur les foyers*). The *Bellerophon*, with Napoleon and his suite, had sailed from Rochefort on the 14th of July. Whilst the British government was in a state of indecision as to the final disposal of its fallen enemy, he was not permitted to land, nor was any person from the shore allowed to enter the vessel. But round the *Bellerophon* numerous boats, filled with curious observers, were perpetually rowing, and to these gazers Bonaparte seemed rather disposed to show himself than to remain in the privacy of his cabin. The opportunity of making a portrait of this remarkable man was not lost upon a young artist, a native of Plymouth. Charles Eastlake, now President of the Royal Academy, was sketching that stout figure and superb head from one of the boats surrounding the ship of war; and when Napoleon perceived the object of the artist, he would stop his walk upon the deck, so as to afford him the opportunity of proceeding successfully with his work. The *Bellerophon* remained a fortnight in Plymouth Roads, and then Napoleon was removed to the *Northumberland*, which sailed for St. Helena.

On the 31st of July, lord Keith, with sir Henry Bunbury, the Under-Secretary of State, had announced to Napoleon the resolution of the British government, that the island of St. Helena should be his future residence. He protested that he was not a prisoner of war, although he subsequently acknowledged that he had made no conditions on coming on board the *Bellerophon*. The question as to the *status* of the ex-emperor under the law of nations gave rise to very grave discussions amongst English jur-

ists. Lord Campbell says, "I think lord Eldon took a much more sensible view of the subject than any of them—which was, that the case was not provided for by anything to be found in Grotius or Vattel; but that the law of self-preservation would justify the keeping of him under restraint in some distant region, where he should be treated with all indulgence compatible with a due regard for the peace of mankind."\* The probability is, that if Napoleon had fallen into the hands of the Prussians, who were near Paris on the 29th of June, the question of his fate would have been disposed of in a much more summary way than could arise out of any discussion upon the law of nations. On the 28th of June, Wellington wrote to sir Charles Stuart, "General — has been here this day, to negotiate for Napoleon's passing to America, to which proposition I have answered that I have no authority. The Prussians think the Jacobins wish to give him over to me, believing that I will save his life. — [Blücher] wishes to kill him; but I have told him that I shall remonstrate, and shall insist upon his being disposed of by common accord. I have likewise said, that, as a private friend, I advised him to have nothing to do with so foul a transaction; that he and I had acted too distinguished parts in these transactions to become executioners; and that I was determined that, if the sovereigns wished to put him to death, they should appoint an executioner, which should not be me."† The Prussian general Muffling states in his "Memoirs," that having been appointed to obtain the concurrence of Wellington in the design of Blücher that Napoleon should be shot in the place where the duke d'Enghien had been killed, Wellington had replied—"Such an act would disgrace our names in history, and posterity would say of us, 'they were not worthy to have been the conquerors of Napoleon.'" The prisoner of St. Helena repaid this conduct by bequeathing ten thousand francs to the man who had attempted to assassinate Wellington, during his residence in Paris as the commander of the Army of Occupation. French historians have attempted to justify this odious testamentary expression of Napoleon's hatred of his victor, by attributing to Wellington that he instigated the banishment to St. Helena. It is now known that, as early as May, 1814, the plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Vienna decided, in a secret conference, that if Napoleon should escape from Elba, and should fall into the power of the Allies, a safer residence should be assigned him, at St. Helena or at St. Lucia.

\* "Lives of the Chancellors," chap. ccii.

† Wellington's "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 516

The assumption that the Sovereigns wished to put Napoleon to death was the interpretation which, in the excitement of that time, many persons attached to the declaration of the Allied Powers of the 13th of March, that he had placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; adding, "as an enemy and a disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance." Lord Eldon, referring to this declaration, says that the Allies have "considered him as out of the pale of the law of nations, as the *Hostis humani generis*, as an outlaw (without knowing very well what they mean by that word), as a robber and freebooter, who might be put out of the world."\* M. Thiers, in a spirit very different from that of the impartial historian, argues, with regard to the words of the 13th of March, that "the obvious conclusion is, that whoever could seize Bonaparte ought immediately to shoot him, and would be considered as having rendered to Europe a signal service."† The declaration of the Allies was signed by the plenipotentiaries of eight powers, who had been parties to the Treaty of Paris of the previous year. Talleyrand and three others signed on the part of France; Wellington and three others on the part of Great Britain. When Wellington insisted, against the opinion of Blücher, that Bonaparte should "be disposed of by common accord," he rightly interpreted the words of the declaration of the 13th of March:—"comme ennemi et perturbateur du repos du monde, il s'est livré à la *vindicté publique*." It is established by the papers of Talleyrand that the precise words of the declaration were proposed by Talleyrand himself. Yet M. Thiers attributes to Wellington that he was the instigator, upon his own responsibility, of the measures which the Allies took in this crisis, including, of course, this declaration against Napoleon. This eminent writer, in a mistaken view which we are unwilling to characterize by any harsher name, further represents the duke of Wellington as plunging the British nation into a war without the authority of his government, for the gratification of his own personal ambition. Lord Wellington, he says, who had replaced Lord Castlereagh, relying upon his great services and his popularity in England, hesitated not to take his resolution. Although he had received no instructions, he judged that it was worth while to renew the war, to maintain the state of things that England was about to establish in Europe. "He had a confused hope of increasing his own glory in this new war; and he was not afraid of involving his government, convinced that no one would dare to disavow him in

\* "Life of Eldon" (Letter to Sir William Scott), vol. ii. p. 279.

† "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire," tome. xix. p. 275. 1861.

England, whatever might be thought of his conduct."\* One of the duke's objects in going to Belgium in April, says M. Thiers, was that he might be nearer London, "to uphold the courage of his own government, and to compel it to ratify the engagements which he had made without being authorized."† The English Cabinet, he concludes, if it had been present at Vienna, would not have engaged in the war as easily as the duke of Wellington, for they were aware that public opinion was opposed to it. The opinions thus expressed by M. Thiers, that the war against Napoleon was urged on by the personal ambition of the duke of Wellington, that the British government was reluctant to engage in it, and that the British people were decidedly opposed to it, are quite upon a par with the belief of the same historian, that Bonaparte returned from Elba entirely changed,—a lover of peace, an upholder of liberty, a friend to the free expression of opinion, a ruler who would vindicate the choice of the people by equity and moderation. Of his good faith no one ought to have doubted. "He gave to the world, after so many spectacles of such instructive grandeur, a last spectacle, more profoundly moral and more profoundly tragic than any which had gone before; genius, vainly, though sincerely, repentant."‡ When statements and opinions such as these are boldly put forward, we may give their author the benefit of that charitable scepticism which thinks that "the Historian, affirming many things, can, in the cloudy knowledge of mankind, hardly escape from many lies."§

On the 7th of July the English and Prussian armies entered Paris, and took military possession of all the principal points, under a convention signed on the 3rd of July, by which the French army was to evacuate Paris and to retreat beyond the Loire. Louis the Eighteenth made his public entrance, escorted by the National Guards, on the 8th of July. To the firm moderation of Wellington it is wholly due that the Parisians were not doomed to suffer any humiliation beyond that of the presence of foreign armies. He calmed Blücher's thirst for vengeance by exhortation, and even by stronger modes of remonstrance. When the Prussian general had begun to mine the bridge of Jena, with the intention to blow it up, because that monument proclaimed a defeat of the Prussian arms, "the duke of Wellington," says a French historian, "interfered by placing an English sentinel on the bridge itself. A single sentinel. He was the British nation; and if Blücher had blown

\* "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire," tome xix. p. 361.

† *Ibid.*, p. 366.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 629.

§ Sir P. Sidney—"Defence of Poesy," p. 33, "Poetical Works," ed. 1720.

up the bridge, the act was to be held as a rupture with Great Britain." \*

The definitive treaty between France on the one part, and Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, on the other, was signed on the 20th November, 1815. Its object was declared to be for the "restoring between France and her neighbours those relations of reciprocal confidence and goodwill which the fatal effects of the Revolution and of the system of conquest had for so long a time disturbed." This treaty left the boundaries of France, with a very slight alteration in her frontier lines, the same as agreed at the Peace of 1814. It was, nevertheless, resolved to keep possession of the frontier fortresses for a term not exceeding five years, and to maintain an army of occupation, to be paid and supported by France during the same period. The greatest mortification which the French had to endure was the determination of the Allied Powers that the works of art which had been plundered from various countries during the wars of the Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire, should go back to the churches and the museums from which they had been forcibly taken. This act of retribution provoked then, as it still provokes, the lamentation of pretended lovers of the fine arts, whose selfish convenience would be more gratified by seeing the greatest masterpieces of sculpture and painting in the Louvre than in their proper sites at Rome, at Florence, at Antwerp, at the Hague. The honest national pride of the true owners of such works is accounted as nothing in these lamentations.

To France alone did the treaty of the 20th of November apply. The settlement of Europe, as it was hopefully called, had been effected by the general treaty signed in Congress at Vienna on the 9th of June. When the Peace of 1814 was concluded with the restored Monarchy of France, there were an immense number of political questions left undetermined, which were almost of as much importance to the tranquillity of the future as the overthrow of the gigantic power of the French Empire. The convulsions of twenty years had left Europe in a chaotic state, out of which order and harmony could scarcely be evolved even by any exercise of political wisdom based upon an unselfish moderation. In the reorganization of Europe there would unquestionably be a struggle for aggrandizement, which might present as great dangers as the military supremacy which had been overthrown. On the 25th of September, 1814, the emperor of Russia; the king of Prussia; the kings of Bavaria, Denmark, and Würtemberg; princes of small states, German and Italian; princesses, amongst whom the duchess of Olden-

\* Capefigue, "Les Cent Jours," tome ii. p. 365.

burg, the sister of Alexander, was the most influential; great plenipotentiaries, such as Lord Castlereagh and M. Talleyrand; and lesser diplomatists, who came to get something, if possible, out of the general scramble—all assembled at Vienna to debate, to dine, to vary the tedious discussions of the morning with the enlivening festivities of the night. Ambassadors vied with Sovereigns in the splendour of their entertainments. Castlereagh gave as sumptuous dinners, and as attractive balls as Alexander:

"Now this mask  
Was cry'd incomparable; and the ensuing night  
Made it a fool and beggar." \*

Nevertheless, the slightest survey of the map of Europe would show that there was serious work to be accomplished. It had been agreed by secret articles of the Treaty of Paris, that a kingdom, under the title of the Netherlands, should be formed by the union of Belgium with Holland; Prussia was to obtain the Rhenish Provinces; Sweden and Norway were to be united; Hanover was to be restored to the king of England, with an accession of territory taken from Westphalia; Lombardy and Venice were to return to the rule of Austria; Savoy to that of Piedmont. The Congress had been sitting two months, when rumours of the probable destiny of Saxony and of Poland roused the spirit of inquiry in the British Parliament. Mr. Whitbread, on the 28th of November, protested against the reported annexation of Saxony to the kingdom of Prussia. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, could not believe that the fate of Saxony was yet fixed, much less could he believe that any British Minister would have been a party to such a decision as was supposed to have been made. Nevertheless, it is now certain, that up to the end of October, lord Castlereagh had been a consenting party to the annexation of Saxony, which he defended by referring to the tergiversations of the king: of the people no mention was made by our Minister. Mr. Whitbread further said, "the rumours were, that the emperor Alexander had strenuously contended for the independence of Poland, and that he had been opposed by the British Minister." The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that "he did not believe that a British Minister had been the author of the subjugation of that country." There is now no doubt, that the very reverse of the rumours with regard to Poland marked the conduct of the emperor Alexander and of lord Castlereagh. As recently as July 2nd, 1861, lord John Russell, founding his opinion upon the cor-

\* Shakspeare—"Henry VIII.," act i. scene 1.

responsiveness of the time, declared in the House of Commons, that everything that could be done by British diplomacy for Poland was done by lord Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna; that our minister wished, when Europe was to be reconstructed, that Poland should rise from her ashes, and should again possess an independent government; and that thus desiring the independence of Poland, he could not conceive that such independence was consistent with Poland being placed under the dominion of the emperor of Russia. In the debate of the 28th of November, Mr. Whitbread said, "We now lived in an age when free nations were not to be sold and transferred like beasts of burden; and if any attempt of the kind was made, the result would be a bloody and revengeful war." The attempt was made, and successfully, in too many instances; but it was not without the immediate risk of a war that the designs of Russia for the transference of nations were encountered in the Congress of Vienna. The policy of lord Castlereagh with regard to Saxony was changed as the negotiations advanced. Talleyrand, as a representative of France, had been admitted, after great hesitation, to take a part in the deliberations of the Congress. The annexation of Saxony to Prussia was opposed by Austria and by France. It had become evident that Prussia and Russia were assuming a dangerous preponderance in the partition of states, and that Great Britain must join with France in opposing them. These three powers before the end of 1814 had agreed that Russia should not say to Prussia, "Secure me Poland," and that Prussia should not say to Russia, "Secure me Saxony," and that they should shake hands upon this compact. On the 3rd of February, 1815, a secret treaty was concluded between Austria, England, and France, to act in concert, each with an army of 150,000 men, to carry into effect the Treaty of Paris, "holding it necessary, in consequence of pretensions recently manifested, to look to the means to resist every aggression." M. Thiers assumes that lord Castlereagh, having received, at the beginning of January, the news of the conclusion of peace with America, had taken a higher attitude towards Russia and Prussia. "His heart relieved of an enormous weight, that of the American war, he was ready to brave the most extreme consequences rather than to cede to the arrogance of the Prussians and the Russians. . . . He has said to them that England was not made to receive the law from any one." The attitude of lord Castlereagh, and the fact, which could not be concealed, of negotiations going on between him, Talleyrand, and Metternich, apart from the other Powers, probably produced some concessions from Alexander and

Frederick William, although they yielded little in reality. Prussia obtained one-half of Saxony, with a portion of the duchy of Warsaw. Russia secured the kingdom of Poland in undisputed sovereignty. The new kingdom of Poland was to have a constitution, with national institutions and national representation. But these promised advantages were to be bestowed upon the people in the manner which the government should think most suitable. "That, of course, left a very wide scope for interpretation; but beyond that there was a feeling which acted from that time, and which is acting at the present time, namely, that while the emperor Alexander I. wished to retain his power over Poland, at the same time he wished to grant to Poland large privileges, and to make it, at all events, a flourishing province, under the name of the kingdom of Poland; but the general feeling at St. Petersburg, the seat of power, was that Poland ought not to be indulged with privileges more large and more liberal than were granted to Russia."\*

Whilst Austria was opposing the acquisitions of territory desired by Russia and by Prussia, she herself was acquiring new dominions and extended sovereignty, however unsuited were her annexed subjects for the yoke of her absolute power. The four millions of the Lombardo-Veneto kingdom would be as difficult to rule as those of the old provinces of the Low Countries which were severed from her empire. Little objection was made at this time to the anomaly of a German rule over Italian people. The only hostile voice in the British Parliament was one raised against the annexation of Genoa to Piedmont. By the final arrangement the hope was at an end which England had stimulated, when lord William Bentinck, in 1814, entered Genoa at the head of a British army, on whose banners was inscribed "Italian independence." Italy returned to its old condition of disunion. Murat, who had been placed by Napoleon upon the throne of Naples when Joseph Bonaparte had become the "intrusive king" of Spain, had deserted the cause of his great fellow-soldier after the battle of Leipzig. Joining the Allied Powers, he appeared to have secured his position as an independent sovereign. But in the Congress there was no advance towards his recognition, as in the case of Bernadotte. He entered into correspondence with the ex-emperor at Elba, thus precipitating his own fall. Murat made it impossible for the Allies to believe in Napoleon's professions of a desire for peace, by rashly plunging into hostilities against Austria. The old misrule of the Bourbon in Naples and Sicily was no impediment to the determination of the Allies to restore that miserable dynasty. The

\* Lord John Russell—Debate in the Commons, July 2, 1861.