

St Helena at Kensal Green Cemetery

- or -

*A Guide to the Connections between the former
Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte and the island of
St Helena at Kensal Green Cemetery in London*

Henry Vivian-Neal



The Friends of Kensal Green Cemetery is a charity dedicated to the preservation, conservation and restoration for the public benefit of Kensal Green Cemetery, in particular the monuments, buildings and burial records.

The Friends offer general and (by arrangement) bespoke guided tours of the Cemetery as well as talks for local history and other societies. Members of the Friends receive *The Telamon* (the Friends' Newsletter), notices of talks and free guided tours.

Full information, including an online joining form, is set out at:

www.kensalgreen.co.uk

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This brochure is produced in partnership with the British Napoleonic Bicentenary Trust, a registered charity founded in 2019 to promote public education on - and preservation of - the Georgian (1714-1837) built heritage of the British Overseas Territory of Saint Helena with an emphasis on the sites related to Napoleon Bonaparte's rule (1799-1815) and subsequent incarceration on the island (1815-21). More information on the Trust can be found at www.napoleon200.org.

Front cover: Profile of the then Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) by Bertrand Andrieu (1761-1822) from a bronze gilt medal (\varnothing 41 mm) commemorating the Conquest of Dalmatia in 1806 through the Peace of Pressburg signed 27 December 1805 between France and Austria. The Peace of Pressburg ended the War of the Third Coalition and marked the effective end of the Holy Roman Empire. Author's collection. Photograph Geoff Brandwood.

Frontispiece: Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867) *Napoleon on His Imperial Throne* 1806. The painting shows Napoleon as Emperor, in the costume he wore for his coronation, seated on a circular-backed throne with armrests adorned with ivory balls. In his right hand he holds the sceptre of Charlemagne and in his left the Hand of Justice.

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While every effort had been made to ensure the accuracy of the information in this book, it is, nonetheless, possible that errors may have crept in. Please send any additions, corrections or amendments to henry.vivianneal@btinternet.com.

INFORMATION

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HISTORY OF KENSAL GREEN CEMETERY

All Souls Cemetery* Kensal Green, the General Cemetery of All Souls, is the first of the seven joint-stock cemeteries that encircle London (the others being Norwood, Highgate, Nunhead, Abney Park, Brompton and Tower Hamlets – collectively known as the Magnificent Seven). It came about as a result of a need for burial reform following the rapid growth of the London populace in the 1820s, when the population of London increased by 20 *per cent.* with the consequent rate of new interments in churchyards often exceeding the rate of decay.

Kensal Green Cemetery, as it is generally known, was founded by a barrister, George Frederick Carden (1798-1874). In 1821 he had visited Paris and was so impressed by Le Cimetière du Père-Lachaise that he invited a number of similarly-minded people to join him in creating a British version of that cemetery. In 1825 Carden issued a prospectus for ‘The Economic Funeral Society’ – quickly renamed the ‘General Burial Grounds Association’ – in which he advocated the establishment of a cemetery on the lines of Père-Lachaise and stated that a suitable site was available (meaning Primrose Hill).

Carden and his colleagues reissued the prospectus in 1830, having learnt of the availability of a smallholding at Kensal Green. Sir John Dean Paul, 1st Baronet (1775-1852), a Governor of the Bank of England and partner in the banking firm of Strachan, Paul, Paul and Bates, and Charles Broughton Bowman (died *circa* 1840) purchased 48 acres of the Fillingham Estate from Paul and John Nicholl in December 1831. Paul and Bowman sold the land to the newly-incorporated General Cemetery Company for £9,400 in September 1832.

The Act for establishing a General Cemetery for the Interment of the Dead in the Neighbourhood of the Metropolis became law on 11 July 1832. It was passed unanimously by the House of Commons on account of the cholera epidemic of that year when so numerous were the deaths in London that there had been a reluctant, but necessary, re-introduction of the plague pit system of the 1660s.

The Act authorised the Company to raise up to £45,000 in shares of £25 each. Amongst other provisions, it guaranteed that a burial fee of between

* The Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of the General Cemetery Company on 27 February 1833 record that this shall be the official name of the cemetery.

1s 6d and 5s* was paid to the incumbent of the parish from which the deceased came thereby ensuring that sufficient restitution was made to Church of England clergymen for their loss of income.

For the consecration of the Cemetery by the Bishop of London, the Right Reverend and Right Honourable Charles James Blomfield (1786-1857) on 24 January 1833 a small temporary chapel was erected, where the first funeral, that of Margaret Gregory (died 1832), took place a week later on 31 January 1833. Forty-two acres were consecrated and the Company purchased a further seven acres behind the Plough Inn (since demolished) which now form the Dissenters burying-ground. A further 22 acres were purchased in 1854, bringing the current total to some 72 acres.

In November 1831, the Provisional Committee of The General Cemetery Company had launched an architectural competition for a formal entrance arch and a chapel for the cemetery. The Notice of the Competition appeared on Monday 7 November 1831 in *The Morning Post*:

TO ARCHITECTS and Others.—The General Cemetery Company are desirous of receiving DESIGNS for a CHAPEL for the performance of the funeral service, and a corresponding Entrance Gate and Lodges, and offer a premium of 100 guineas for the best Design. The Designs to be sent in, on or before the 20th of January next, to Mr. Bowman, the Secretary, 18, Milk-street, Cheapside, of whom particulars may be obtained.—By order of the Committee,

C. B. BOWMAN, Secretary.

Drawings were to consist of plans ‘of the several Stories, Elevations of the Several Façades’ and ‘longitudinal and transverse Sections’ to a scale of one eighth of an inch to one foot. Perspective views were also to be provided. No designs would be accepted that did not adhere to the instructions or could not be built within the cost constraints. Submissions were to be ‘distinguished by a motto, device or figure’ without the name or address of the architect.[†]

Forty-eight sets of plans were received and in March 1832 a committee drawn from members of the Board awarded the prize of 100 guineas to Henry Edward Kendall (1776-1875). The winning designs, published 1832

* There was a further provision that the Rector of St Mary-le-bone should be paid an additional fee of 2s 6d for each deposit that came from his parish.

[†] The North Terrace Colonnade and the Dissenters’ Chapel did not appear in the specification for the Architectural Competition.

with lithographs by Thomas Allom (1804-1872),* under the title *Sketches of the Approved Designs of a Chapel and Gateway Entrances, intended to be constructed for the General Cemetery Company at Kensall Green* were in a florid Gothic style and included plans for a watergate on the canal which would have enabled water-borne funerals to reach the cemetery in some grandeur.



Proposed Picturesque Arrangement of Cemetery Ground by Henry Edward Kendall from *Sketches of the Approved Designs of a Chapel and Gateway Entrances Intended to be Erected at Kensall Green for the General Cemetery Company, London* (© Yale Center for British Art)

The verdict of the committee was challenged by Sir John Dean Paul and it was decided to leave the matter until the passing of the Bill to establish the Cemetery (see above). Sir John Dean Paul's argument centred on his view that Gothic was 'at variance with the sepulchral character' of a cemetery. The architect (and, later, member of the Board of The General Cemetery Company) John Griffith of Finsbury was commissioned to produce designs for the Cemetery buildings in a Greek Revival style (actually Greek Doric). Kendall was, nevertheless, allowed to retain the first prize of 100 guineas.

Construction, to Griffith's designs, of the North Terrace Colonnade[†] was complete by the time of the consecration of the Cemetery. Construction of the Entrance Gateway and Dissenters' Chapel[‡] (also designed by Griffith) was started 1833 and completed by March 1834. In April/May 1836 the

* Both Henry Edward Kendall and Thomas Allom are buried in the Cemetery.

† Listed grade II and on the Buildings at Risk Register.

‡ The Entrance Gateway and Dissenters' Chapel are listed grade II*.

designs for the Anglican Chapel and Catacomb* by Griffith were considered and, after much discussion, a scaled-down design was adopted and completed by April 1838.^{† ‡}

The Crematorium, designed by Gerald Berkeley Wills (1882-1979), was dedicated by the Bishop of Kensington[§] and declared open by the Lord Horder,^{**} President of the Cremation Society of Great Britain on 6 October 1939. The Western Chapel was opened by The Right Honourable Viscount Tonypandy^{††} on 18 October 1994. The restoration of the Dissenters' Chapel was completed in May 1997 by the Historic Chapels Trust and English Heritage and it now serves as the headquarters of The Friends of Kensal Green Cemetery. The Anglican Chapel is currently in a poor state of repair – however, plans are afoot for its restoration.

Following the death of King William IV 1837 and the attendance at his funeral by his brother H.R.H. the Prince Augustus Frederick, the Duke of Sussex,^{‡‡} the Duke chose Kensal Green as his place of burial in 1843 and in 1848 the Duke's sister, H.R.H. the Princess Sophia,^{§§} also chose Kensal Green as her place of deposit, thereby offering The General Cemetery Company's clientèle the cachet of burial near two members of the Royal Family. In addition, in 1904, the remains of H.R.H. the Prince George, Duke of Cambridge, K.G.,^{***} were deposited in the mausoleum that he had built in square 140 behind the Anglican Chapel.

* Listed Grade I and on the Heritage at Risk Register.

† Earlier plans by John Griffith of Finsbury for the Anglican Chapel had contemplated a Catacomb to hold 12,000 coffins (instead of 4,000, as constructed) and Colonnades covering three times the extent of those actually constructed.

‡ According to Croft 1881, members of the public could apply to the General Cemetery Company's office in Great Russell Street for tickets of admission (*gratis*) to the Chapel, Monumental Chambers and Catacombs.

§ Right Reverend Dr Bertram Simpson (1883-1971), later Bishop of Peterborough.

** Thomas Jeeves Horder, G.C.V.O., F.R.C.P. (1871-1955).

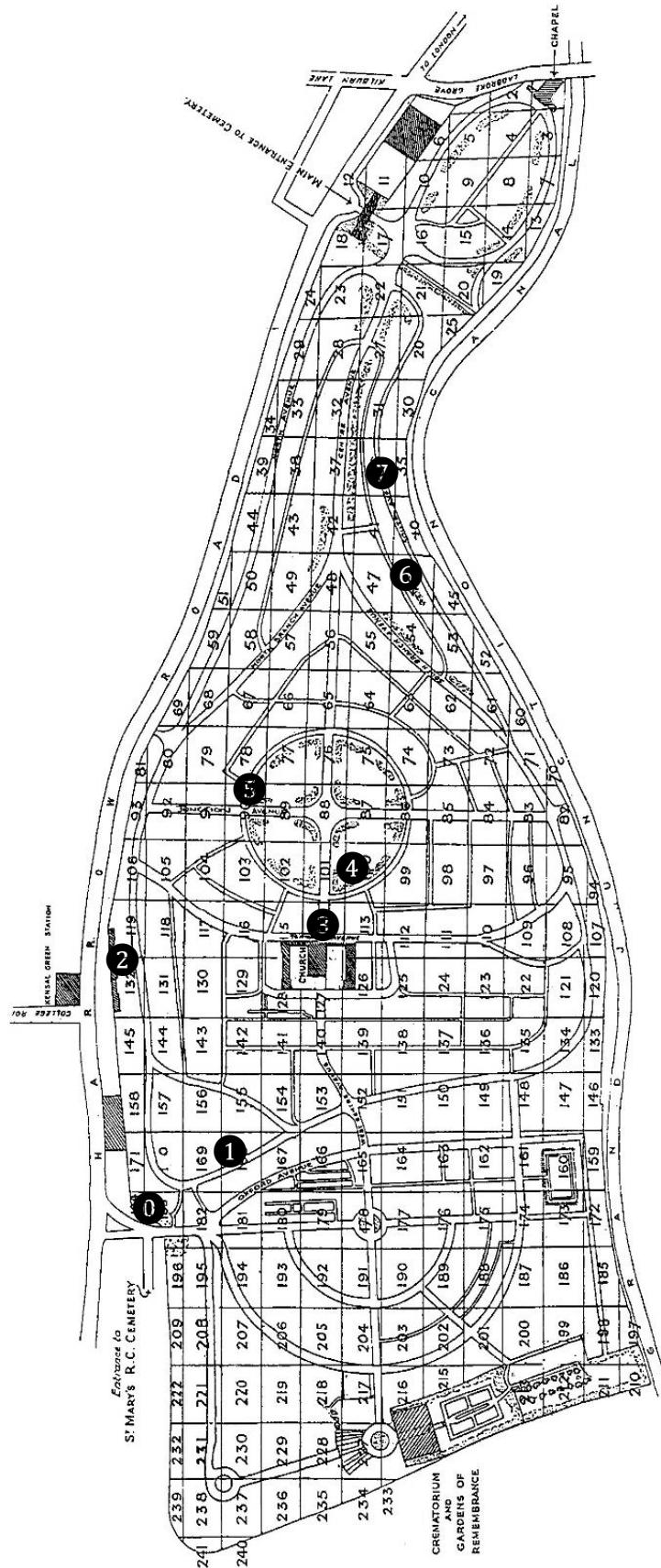
†† Right Honourable George Thomas, M.P. (1909-1997) was Speaker of the House of Commons 1976-83.

‡‡ The Duke was a son of King George III.

§§ Princess Sophia was King George III's fifth daughter.

*** The Duke was a grandson of King George III.

LOCATION OF PLOTS IN KENSAL GREEN CEMETERY



KEY

- ① Entrance to the Cemetery
- ② Colonel Gideon Gorrequer
- ③ Catacomb A (North Terrace Colonnade):
 - a) Admiral Sir George Cockburn
 - b) Comte de Jarnac
 - c) Alexander Baxter
 - d) General Edward Buckley Wynyard
- ④ Catacomb B (Anglican Chapel):
 - e) Lieutenant General John Skelton
 - f) Lucia Elizabeth Abell
 - g) Lieutenant Colonel John Ward
 - h) William Makepeace Thackeray

A GUIDE TO THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE FORMER EMPEROR NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AND THE ISLAND OF ST HELENA AT KENSAL GREEN CEMETERY

Start from the western (vehicle) entrance to the Cemetery, close to Alma Place. Walk into the cemetery and bear left. Take the small path on your left and then right on the former road (now filled in with modern graves). The Gorrequer monument will be on your left in square 169 (see the plan for square numbers).

① GORREQUER, Colonel Gideon, K.H. (1777-1841)

Army Officer, Military Secretary and Diarist, of Huguenot stock. Gideon Gorrequer joined the Army as an Ensign in the 18th Foot 1797, was promoted to Lieutenant 1798, Captain 1804, Brevet-Major 1814 and Lieutenant Colonel 1826. He first met Sir Hudson Lowe (1769-1844)* while serving in Sicily and the Ionian Isles. When Lowe heard of his appointment as Governor of St Helena† during the captivity of the former Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821), he appointed Gorrequer as his Aide-de-Camp and Acting Military Secretary.‡ They sailed together on H.M.S. *Phaeton*, leaving England on 29 January 1816 and arriving at St Helena 14 April 1816.§

Gorrequer's private *Diary*, written in code and using a variety of pseudonyms, was finally de-crypted by James Kemble 1969 and



* General Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B. was born in Galway on 28 July 1769, eighteen days before the birth of Napoleon Bonaparte in Corsica. Lowe was buried in St Mark's Church, North Audley Street where there is a mural monument to him.

† St Helena is a rock island in the South Atlantic, some ten miles long by six miles wide, 1,200 miles from the nearest African mainland, Jamestown (sometimes James Town) is its only harbour. It promised security from escape by virtue of its isolation.

‡ See also Edward Buckley Wynyard (page 14).

§ Coincidentally, *Phaeton* had been commanded by George Cockburn (see page 9 *et seq*) in North America and India for two years from July 1803.



published under the title *St Helena During Napoleon's Exile*.^{*} In the book, the character and irrational behaviour of Lieutenant General Sir Hudson Lowe[†] are portrayed as being those of a near madman, while Lady Lowe[‡] is depicted as the kind of grotesque character in whom Charles Dickens would have revelled. Colonel Francis Maceroni,[§] who had encountered Lowe in Italy, writes of his contempt for him in his *Memoirs*.

Lowe was unable to establish a satisfactory relationship with Napoleon.^{**} Supposedly at their first meeting, when the governor addressed him as 'General Buonaparte', Napoleon observed: 'His eye is that of a hyena caught in a trap'; and his dislike intensified, as Lowe insisted on still-tighter security. Lowe and Napoleon only met six times in Lowe's initial four months on St Helena, then no more. The last two meetings were particularly acrimonious; though, by all accounts, Lowe maintained self-control in the face of considerable verbal abuse. After 18 August 1816, Napoleon instructed that Lowe should not be admitted to see him again (and warned that he would be ready with loaded pistols in his room if anyone attempted entry to Longwood House (Napoleon's residence)).

The news that rescue expeditions were being planned by Bonapartists in the United States led to the enforcement of stricter regulations in October 1816 and Lowe ordered sentries to be posted round the garden of Longwood at sunset instead of at 9 pm. He assigned to a British officer the task of catching sight of

^{*} Gorrequer called himself 'Ego' in his *Diary*.

[†] Sir Hudson Lowe is called: 'The Chief'; 'Mac'; 'Mach'; 'Mack'; 'The Old Commander'; 'Old Mach' (seemingly a reference to Machiavelli); and 'Vecchio' in Gorrequer's *Diary*.

[‡] Lady Lowe (died 1832) (née Susan de Lancey, she was the widow of Colonel William Johnson) is called 'Donna' and 'Sultana' in Gorrequer's *Diary*.

[§] Adventurer and Inventor, Francis Maceroni (1788-1846) was Aide-de-Camp to Joachim Murat (1767-1815), King of Naples 1814 and the latter's Envoy to England (where he settled). He experimented with his 'best paddle-wheel in the world', a design for an armoured ship and a 'steam-coach' invention 1833, trials for which proved successful, but it was ruined by the advent of the railways. Maceroni is buried in the Cemetery.

^{**} E.g., correspondence from Longwood House that referred to 'the Emperor Napoleon' would be returned with a statement that the Governor Sir Hudson Lowe did not know of an Emperor in residence at the house.

Napoleon every day. Lowe also, in accordance with his instructions from London, maintained strict restrictions on Napoleon's movements outside the gardens and wider area around Longwood, insisting that he should be accompanied by a British officer if he wished to go beyond this prescribed area. He also caused great offence to Napoleon by insisting on addressing him as General Bonaparte rather than as the Emperor Napoleon, but this too was on strict instructions from London and on several occasions Lowe was reminded by the Secretary of State, Lord Bathurst,* to stick to it.

So far as spending at Longwood was concerned, the Treasury had imposed an annual cash limit of £8,000 and Lowe, without obtaining permission from London, had offered on his own initiative to increase this to £12,000. But Napoleon refused to discuss this and, to gain international sympathy, instructed that some of his silver plate should be broken up and sold on the market in Jamestown. It is arguable that on these and other causes of friction between himself and Napoleon, Lowe could have shown much more common sense and tact, but he was always working under tight instructions against a master tactician and was determined to carry out the overriding task imposed on him – not to let Napoleon escape. To a large extent, Lowe's hands were tied by his instructions from Lord Bathurst, but Lowe's characteristic lack of tact doubtless exacerbated the friction between them.

All of this and more offended Napoleon and his followers, who campaigned against Sir Hudson Lowe. Barry O'Meara (1786-1836)[†] whilst initially providing information for Lowe, ultimately sided with Napoleon, and joined in criticisms from the Comte de Las Cases[‡] (1766-1842) and the Marquis de Montholon (1783-

* Henry Bathurst, 3rd Earl Bathurst, K.G., P.C. (1762-1834), Secretary of State for War and the Colonies 1812-27.

† O'Meara is remembered as the author of *Napoleon in Exile*, or *A Voice from St Helena* 1822, a book which charged Sir Hudson Lowe with mistreating the former Emperor and created no small sensation on its appearance.

‡ Comte de Las Cases attended Napoleon from 20 July 1815 until, being found in possession of personal letters that he was attempting to send surreptitiously to Europe from St Helena, he was arrested on 25 November 1816. The Count was expelled by Sir Hudson Lowe a month later. *Le Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, by the Count is made up of Napoleon's reminiscences which were dictated to the Count and to his son (according to Abell, the son, then aged about fourteen, was called 'Le Petit de Las Cases' by Napoleon) and is

1853). The French, Russian and Austrian commissioners on St Helena, whilst hostile to Napoleon, were also very critical of Lowe's conduct and found it impossible to get on with him.

Gorrequer left St Helena on 25 July 1821. He served for thirty years in the 18th or Royal Irish Regiment of Foot and afterwards in the 4th or King's Own Regiment of Foot. In his latter years Gorrequer lived in The Quadrant on Regent Street. He died suddenly* in Jermyn Street, perhaps *en route* to the United Services Club in Pall Mall, on 18 July 1841.

3119/169/RS Portland stone square pedestal on a moulded base enriched with rusticated panels; Carrara marble inscription panel; upper section of a tapering foot supporting a cushion with a shako, sword, sash and medals; dwarf cast-iron railings on base slabs. The monument is located to the east of Cambridge Avenue (a road now filled in with recent graves) and is grade II listed.

Head north (uphill) and then east along the road at the northern edge of the Cemetery to the North Terrace Colonnade. Catacomb A is below the Colonnade and is not accessible to visitors.

② COCKBURN, Admiral of the Fleet Sir George, Bart, P.C., G.C.B., F.R.S. (1772-1853)

Royal Navy Officer, Admiral and Politician – Sir George Cockburn was the man who burnt the White House in the War with America 1813.

Napoleon Bonaparte was born to a Corsican family of modest means in 1769 and rose to prominence in the heady days of the French Revolution 1787-99, becoming Consul in a coup d'état 1799 and First Consul for Life 1802. By 1811, the self-proclaimed Emperor and King[†] Napoleon Bonaparte ruled 70 million people and dominated continental Europe. Four years later, his dynastic, political, imperial and military dreams were shattered at the Battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo.



widely viewed as Napoleon's own personal and political testament – as such it became a founding text in the development of the Napoleon cult and the ideology of Bonapartism.

* Kemble states 'It sounds like a case of coronary thrombosis'.

[†] At Napoleon's lavish coronation at Notre Dame Cathedral on 2 December 1804, Pope Pius VII presented the crown to the new Emperor and King, who took it and placed it on his head, demonstrating that he had reached the pinnacle of power in France by his own merit.

American Colonies, and said, he thought—
Spain would (by the present bigoted
misconduct of Ferdinand) infallibly
lose them all.—

August 15th—It being General
Bonaparte's birthday, I made him
my compliments upon it, and drank
his health, which civility he seemed
to appreciate; and, after dinner, I
walked with him on deck, and had ra-
ther a long conversation with him, in
which I asked him, whether he really
had intended to invade England,
when he made the Demonstration at
Boulogne?—He told me, he had
most perfectly and decidedly made
up his mind to it; but his putting Guns
into the Praams and the rest of his
armed Flotilla, was only to deceive, and

Extract from the diary of George Cockburn, with particular
reference to General Napoleon Bonaparte, on the passage from
England to St Helena (probably presented to Queen Victoria)
(Royal Collection: RCIN 1047049)*

* Transcript: ‘... American Colonies, and said he thought Spain would (by the present bigoted misconduct of Ferdinand) infallibly lose them all. August 15th – It being General Bonaparte’s birthday, I made him my compliments on it, and drank his health, which civility he seemed to appreciate; and after dinner, I walked with him on deck and had rather a long conversation with him, in which I asked him, whether he really had intended to invade England, when he made the Demonstration at Boulogne? He told me, he had most perfectly and decidedly made up his mind to it; but his putting Guns into the Praams and the rest of his armed Flotilla, was only to deceive, and ...’

Following defeat at the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815, Napoleon Bonaparte retreated to Paris where he abdicated on 22 June in favour of his son. Even as the former Emperor travelled to Paris, Coalition forces swept through France (arriving in the vicinity of Paris on 29 June), with the stated intent of restoring Louis XVIII to the French throne. When the former Emperor heard that Prussian troops had orders to capture him dead or alive, he fled to Rochefort, considering an escape to the United States. But, British ships were blocking every port and Napoleon surrendered to Captain Frederick Maitland (1777-1839) on H.M.S. *Bellerophon* off Rochefort on 15 July 1815.

Maitland placed his cabin at the disposal of the former Emperor and sailed the *Bellerophon* to England. She reached Torbay on 24 July 1815 and was ordered to Plymouth, while a decision was made by the government over Napoleon Bonaparte's fate.

Bellerophon sailed again on 4 August 1815 and whilst off Berry Head* on 7 August 1815, Napoleon and his staff† were transferred to H.M.S. *Northumberland*‡ under the command of the then Rear Admiral Cockburn, who conveyed the former Emperor from Plymouth to St Helena, arriving on 15 October 1815. Napoleon spent much of the voyage in his cabin reading or playing games of cards or chess with his companions.

When not in his cabin Napoleon would dine with the ship's officers or walk about on deck to get some air and would occasionally try to test Cockburn's authority and make others on the ship act as he wished. One of the more petty incidents of this kind, but perhaps very illustrative of the relationship that had developed on board between the two parties involved Napoleon not wearing his hat on deck one day. Cockburn wrote that Napoleon was: 'walking on deck and persisted in keeping his hat off as he walked up and down, evidently with the view of inducing the English officers on Deck also to continue uncovered as his French attendants all did ... Observing this I made a point of putting my hat on immediately after the first compliment upon going out and

* Near Brixham, Devon.

† Napoleon was permitted a staff of twenty-six to accompany him to St Helena, including Barry O'Meara (*circa* 1770-1836) (see Alexander Baxter on page 13).

‡ The Admiralty was concerned that the ageing *Bellerophon* was unsuitable for the long voyage to the South Atlantic and *Northumberland* was selected for the task.



*Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn by John Lucas**
(Government Art Collection GAC number 5072)

* John Lucas (1807-1874) is buried in square 153 of the Cemetery.

I desired the officers to do the same, at which he seemed considerably piqued and went to his cabin'.

Cockburn was Governor of the island from 15 October 1815 until the arrival of the new Governor Sir Hudson Lowe in April 1816 (and was Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope station). He was responsible for the care and custody of the former Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte* on St Helena until April 1816.[†]

Cockburn was subsequently Commander-in-Chief of the North America and West Indies Station 1832-36; Admiral of the Fleet 1841; and First Naval Lord of the Admiralty[‡] 1841-46. He was a Freemason and Tory Member of Parliament for Portsmouth 1818-20; for Weobley 1820-26; for Plymouth 1826-32; and for Ripon 1841-47. ODNB and Boase **i** 662.

CATACOMB A/1193/Vault 26/ Comp 12.

Continue east and then take the road heading south to the Anglican Chapel. Catacomb B is beneath the Anglican Chapel (currently closed to visitors).

(3) BAXTER, Alexander, M.D. (circa 1777-1841)

Doctor. Alexander Baxter[§] served on St Helena until 1819 as one of Napoleon's doctors, along with Dr James Roch Verling but they were eschewed by Napoleon. (The former Emperor's personal physician was Barry O'Meara, who had been senior surgeon on *Bellerophon*, had transferred to *Northumberland* (at Napoleon



* The former Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte was called 'The Neighbour' in Gorrequer's *Diary*.

† Cockburn was called 'Polyphemus Primo' in Gorrequer's *Diary*. (The pseudonym was also applied to Sir Pulteney Malcolm who took on Cockburn's position as Commander in Chief of the St Helena station.)

‡ The title was used 1771-1905, when the term First Sea Lord was introduced and is still in use for the professional head of the Royal Navy. The title First Lord of the Admiralty, which was used until 1964, was the political head of the Royal Navy and was different from the First Naval Lord.

§ Baxter was called 'Backstairs'; 'Chirurgo Primo'; 'Medico in Capito'; 'Primo Fisico'; and 'Scotyese' in Gorrequer's *Diary*. (The 'Medico in Capito' pseudonym was later also used by Gorrequer for Dr Thomas Shortt.)

Bonaparte's request*) and stayed on on St Helena. O'Meara either resigned (according to ODNB) or was dismissed by Sir Hudson Lowe[†] – he left St Helena on 2 August 1818. François Carlo Antommarchi (1780-1838)[‡] was also physician to Napoleon from 1818 until the death of the latter on 5 May 1821.)

Baxter later served as Inspector General of Hospitals.

CATACOMB B /3208/Vault 90/Comp 14.

(3) DE JARNAC, Comte (né Philippe-Ferdinand-Auguste DE ROHAN-CHABOT, Vicomte De CHABOT) (1815-1875)

Aristocrat and Diplomat. The Comte de Jarnac was part of the expedition to return the remains of the former Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte to France from St Helena in 1840. He was First Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires and appointed Ambassador to the United Kingdom in 1871.[§] De Jarnac was a Grand Officier of the Légion d'honneur; Honorary Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath; and a Knight of Malta. Croft 54.



CATACOMB B/21371/Vault 174.

(3) WYNYARD, General Edward Buckley, C.B. (1788-1864)

Army Officer. Edward Buckley Wynyard was born at Kensington Palace. He was Ensign in the 1st Foot Guards 1803, served in Sicily 1808-10, was severely injured March 1810 during the British occupation of Santa Maura in the Ionian islands and returned to

* Dr Louis-Pierre Maingault (1783-1839) was the Physician in Napoleon's entourage but he elected not to go to St Helena with the former Emperor.

† On page 262 of vol II of *Napoleon in Exile* O'Meara reproduces a letter from Edward Wynyard directing O'Meara to withdraw from attendance on General Bonaparte

‡ Antommarchi took up this position at the behest of Napoleon's mother Maria Letizia Ramolino (1750-1836) and his uncle Cardinal Joseph Fesch (1763-1839). He was called 'Corse Magnesia' and 'Foreign Magnesia' in Gorrequer's *Diary*.

§ The French Embassy was based at Manchester House, Manchester Square 1836-51. The building now houses the Wallace Collection and is known as Hertford House.



London. Wynyard was Aide-de-Camp to General Sir Harry Burrard* 1811.

As a Lieutenant Colonel, Wynyard served on St Helena as Aide-de-Camp and Military Secretary to Sir Hudson Lowe from 6 May 1816 to June 1820. Kemble says that, although Wynyard was the official Military Secretary, it was Colonel Gideon Gorrequer (see page 6 *et seq*) who did most of the work. In his *Diary* (page 52) Gorrequer records Lowe's dissatisfaction with Wynyard's work using code-names 'Grape' and 'Vignoble'. Wynyard lived at Rock Rose Cottage (near Sandy Bay) and at Alarm House on St Helena.

Wynyard was promoted to the rank of Colonel in the Grenadier Guards 1830 and appointed Aide-de-Camp to William IV 1830-37 and to Queen Victoria 1837-41. He was made a Companion of the Bath in the Coronation Honours 1838. In September 1847

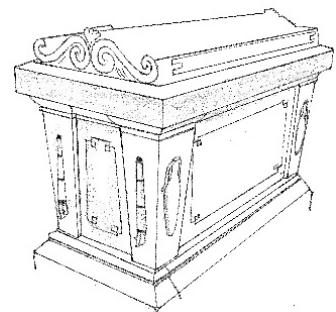
Wynyard succeeded Sir Maurice O'Connell in command of troops in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land[†] and New Zealand. He was a Member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales 1848-51 and of the Executive Council 1848-53. The town of Wynyard in Tasmania and Wynyard Square in Sydney are named after him. Wynyard was Colonel of the 58th Foot from 1851 until his death. ODNB, ADB, Boase **iii** 1544, Croft 51 and Justyne 51.

CAT.B/18840/Vault 90/Comp 1.

Walk down the steps to the east of the Anglican Chapel (passing on your left the monument to H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex (1773-1843) and on your right that of H.R.H. the Princess Sophia (1777-1848)) on Centre Avenue. Take the path on the right and the Skelton monument is on your left in square 100.

④ SKELTON, Lieutenant General John (1763-1841)

Lieutenant Governor of St Helena 1813-16. Lieutenant General John Skelton used Longwood House on the island as his summer house until the arrival of the former Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte who was installed there (Napoleon stayed at the Balcombes' house The Briars while Longwood was made ready). Skelton and his wife were frequent visitors. The Skeltons were much liked by Napoleon and were on friendly terms with him until they left the island. (Mrs Skelton played chess with Napoleon only three days before her departure.) The suspicious-



* General Sir Harry Burrard, 1st Bart (1755-1813) was an Army Officer who fought in the American War of Independence, the French Revolutionary Wars and in the Peninsular War.

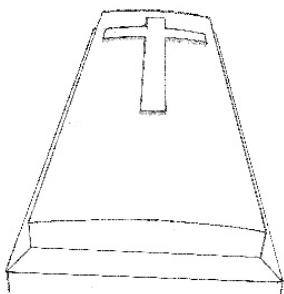
[†] i.e., Tasmania.

minded Sir Hudson Lowe (see Colonel Gideon Gorrequer above) believed that they assisted Napoleon's household in transmitting clandestine correspondence. Croft 47.

3161/100/RS Chest tomb. The monument is located on the east side of the path, immediately to the north of a Peterhead granite ledger to other members of the Skelton family.

Return to Centre Avenue and walk east until the road widens, turn left and walk uphill until you reach the Circle (square 90). The monument to Lucia Abell is on your right and to the right of the substantial monument to Admiral Sir Robert Waller Otway, who was a Commander at the Battle of Trafalgar under Admiral Nelson (1758-1805).

⑤ ABELL, Lucia Elizabeth (née BALCOMBE) (1802-1871)



Friend of the former Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. Lucia Elizabeth Balcombe was the second daughter of William Balcombe* (died 1829), local Agent of the East India Company, Navy Agent and Purveyor to the former Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte on St Helena.† Balcombe was later Colonial Treasurer of New South Wales.

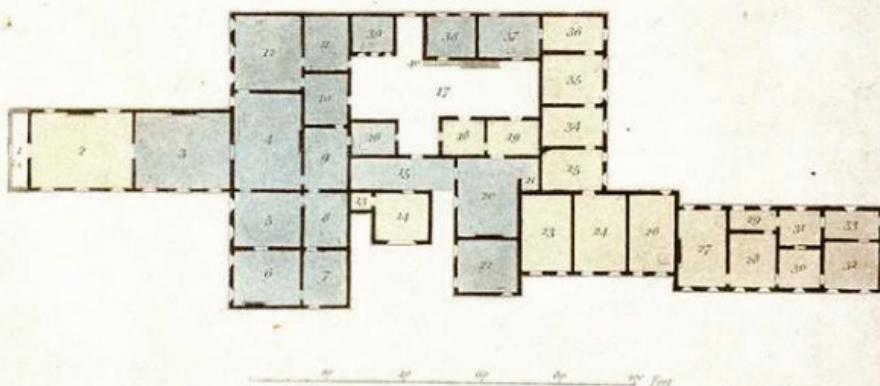
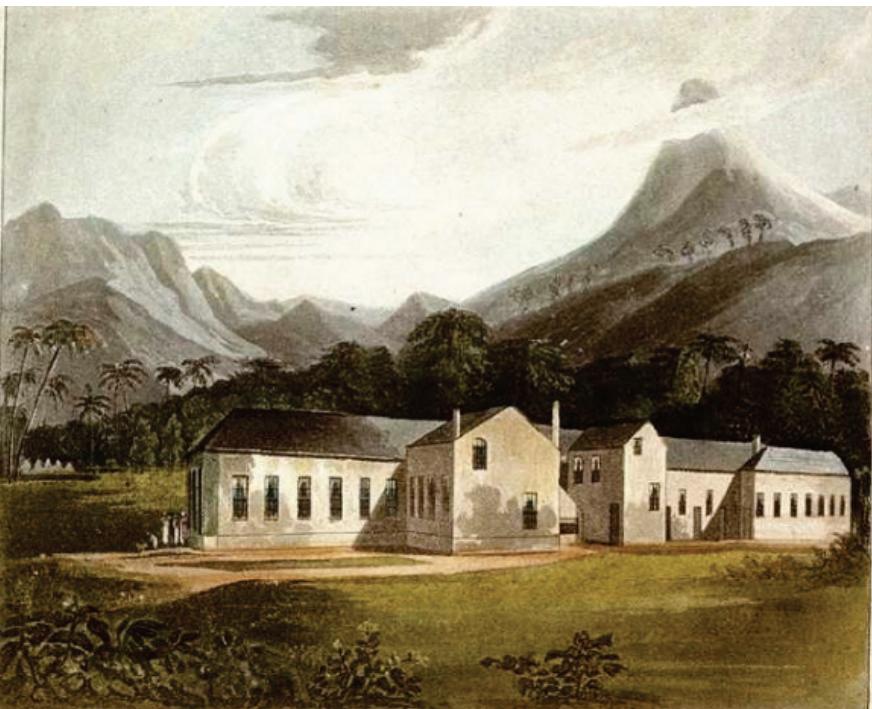
Napoleon Bonaparte stayed in the pavilion in the grounds of William Balcombe's house, The Briars, for the first seven weeks‡ of his exile on St Helena (Napoleon and his entourage then moved to Longwood House). Lucia Elizabeth Balcombe was initially fearful of Napoleon (whom she perceived as a bogeyman), but they became friends – she was familiarly known as 'Mademoiselle Betsee' by Napoleon and she called him 'Boney' (with no rebuke from him§) on her frequent visits to Longwood House.

* William Balcombe appears frequently in Gorrequer's *Diary* under the pseudonym 'Providatore' (which was also used of Denzil Ibbetson – both were Purveyors).

† An estimate in *Napoleon in Exile* (vol 2, p 450) of the household expenses at Longwood House includes 'House and table expenses' supplied by Mr Balcomb (*sic*), purveyor at £11,700 *per annum*.

‡ From 18 October to 10 December 1815; though in *Recollections*, Abell claims that the former Emperor stayed at The Briars for the first three months of his exile on St Helena.

§ Though when Las Cases explained the Bon(e)y nickname, Napoleon replied 'Je ne suis pas osseux'.



*A View & Plan of Longwood House, St. Helena,
The Residence of Napoleon Bonaparte.*

*Longwood House, which was Colonel John Skelton's
summer residence until its allocation to the
former Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte and his entourage.*
(Royal Maritime Museum, Greenwich ID: PAD2029)*

* With the exception of the Grand Marshal, Count Henri-Gratien Bertrand, who lived at Hutt's Gate.

Balcombe married Edward Abell 1821, but the marriage soon failed. She wrote *Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon* in 1844 which covered the first three years of the former Emperor's captivity on the island. The book presents Napoleon Bonaparte as an urbane man who also enjoyed the company of children (for example, playing blindman's bluff). In *Recollections*, Abell also records Napoleon Bonaparte's match-making between Le Petit de Las Cases and herself.* Boase i 5.

20908/90/RS Grey granite ledger, commemorating Charles Edward Johnstone,[†] but the records also list Lucia Elizabeth Abell. The monument is located on the east side of Junction Avenue and to the right of the monument to Admiral Sir Robert Waller Otway (1770-1846). It is signed W. Field & Co 13 Parliament St.

Walk back down to Centre Avenue and turn east (left) along Centre Avenue to the point where North Branch Avenue and South Branch Avenue meet in square 48. After a further 10 metres take the path on your right and walk past the monument to Isambard Kingdom Brunel (on your left); take the path immediately on your right and walk about 20 metres. The monument to John Ward is on your left in the third row.

⑥ WARD, Lieutenant Colonel John (1796-1878)

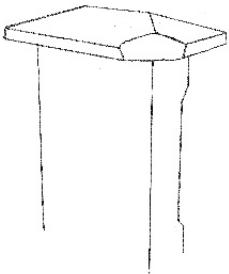
Army Officer. Lieutenant Colonel John Ward served with the 66th Regiment of Foot on St Helena towards the end of the former Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte's captivity there. He made sketches of Napoleon during his life and after his death. Ward also executed a medallion in plaster of the head of the Emperor on his deathbed and assisted Dr Francis Burton,[‡] surgeon of the 66th Regiment, in taking the plaster death-mask on 7 May 1821. The death-mask of Napoleon Bonaparte was appropriated by Count Bertrand[§] and

* Le Petit de Las Cases was a pall-bearer when the remains of Napoleon Bonaparte were taken to the *Belle Poule* (of the French Navy) for return to France 1840.

† Charles Edward Johnstone (1826-1868) married Abell's daughter Elizabeth Jane Balcombe Abell (*circa* 1822-1892) and was therefore, Lucia Elizabeth Abell's son-in-law. Elizabeth Jane Balcombe Johnstone was buried with her mother 1892.

‡ Francis Burton is called 'Fisico of 66th' in Gorrequer's *Diary*. He arrived on St Helena on 31 March 1821.

§ General Count Henri Gratien Bertrand (1773-1844), French military engineer, General, friend of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Count was Napoleon's companion in exile, first on Elba 1814-15



taken away by him. Ward eventually joined the 91st Regiment and was present at Napoleon's exhumation 1840. He was one of only two British officers to attend both Napoleon's funeral in 1821 and his exhumation in 1840 (known as *Le Retour des Cendres* or the Return of the Ashes [to Paris]).

24032/46/3 Worn headstone on which the inscription is illegible. It is located to the south of the path and to the south-east of the flat slab in a surround commemorating William Henry Ryder.



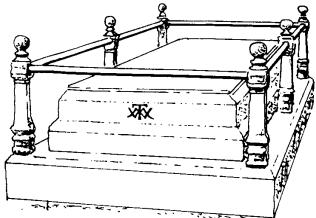
Death mask of the former Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte taken by Francis Burton, assisted by Lieutenant Colonel John Ward

Retrace your steps towards the Brunel monument and turn right heading for the Grand Union Canal and the south side of the Cemetery. Then turn left onto South Branch Avenue. The

and on St Helena 1815-21. His diary, *Les Cahiers de Sainte Hélène*, is considered invaluable for its frank account of Napoleon's character and life in exile (and more reliable than Las Cases' *Le Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*). The Count was among the party chosen to accompany the Prince de Joinville (1818-1900) to St Helena to retrieve Napoleon's remains in what was known as *Le Retour des Cendres*.

Thackeray monument is on your left, adjacent to a distinctive red-brick chest tomb.

⑦ THACKERAY, William Makepeace (1811-1863)



Writer and Editor. William Makepeace Thackeray was born in India and sent to England and school at Charterhouse 1817. The ship, the *Prince Regent*, stopped at St Helena and Thackeray was taken to see the former Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte at Longwood House. D.J. Taylor wrote in *Thackeray* of the visit:



... the voyage ... contained a significant formative event. The ship called in at St Helena, where William [Makepeace Thackeray] was taken to see a small dumpy-looking man prowling the pathways of an enclosed garden. This, explained Barlow* who accompanied him as they examined Bonaparte's pacing figure, was an ogre who ate children.

An alternative account by Gordon Ray reads:

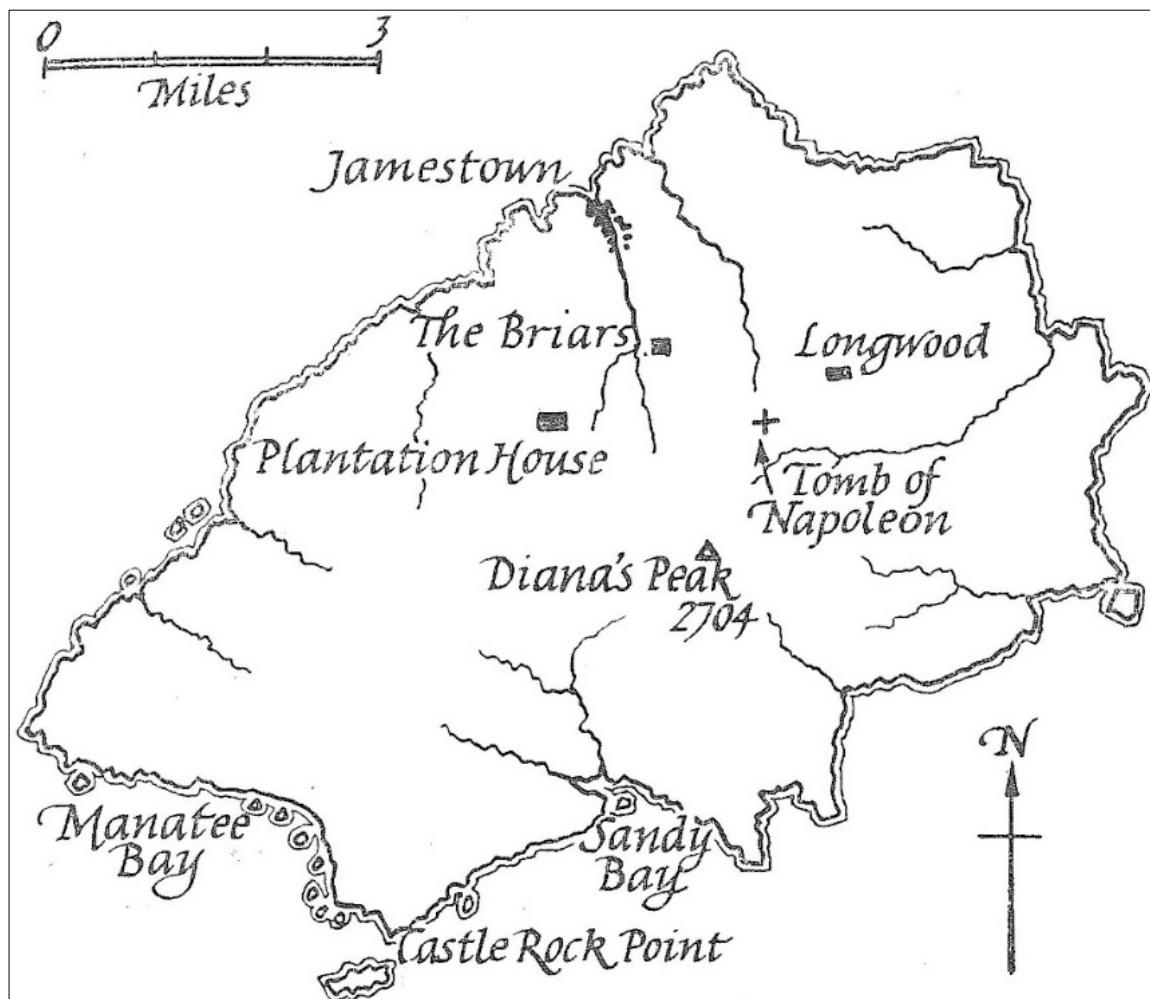
That is Bonaparte! He eats three sheep every day, and all the little children he can lay hands on

Thackeray first made his mark 1844 with *Barry Lyndon*. In 1847/8 his masterpiece, *Vanity Fair*, was published with the celebrated description of the Duchess of Richmond's ball on 15 June 1815, the night before the Battle of Quatre Bras (a preliminary engagement before the Battle of Waterloo which took place two days later). *Pendennis*, *The History of Henry Esmond* and *The Newcomes* followed.

Thackeray's wife became incurably insane and he more or less ate and drank himself to death. Ann Smyth, Thackeray's mother, is deposited with him and his daughter, Harriet Stephen, is deposited elsewhere in the Cemetery. His doctor, John Elliotson (1791-1868), who was the dedicatee of the second volume of *Pendennis*, is also deposited in the Cemetery. ODNB, Boase iii 917, Croft 65 and Justyne 65.

18177/36/1 Raised marble slab surrounded by railings. The monument is located to the north of South Avenue. It is grade II listed.

* The native servant Lawrence Barlow, who accompanied Thackeray and his four-year-old cousin Richmond Shakespear.



*The Island of St Helena from 'St Helena during Napoleon's exile:
Gorrequer's Diary'*

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* Kindly loaned by Dr Roger Bowdler.

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Taken to see Napoleon Bonaparte at Longwood House	20

W

WARD, LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN (1796-1878)

Assisted Francis Burton in taking the death-mask of Napoleon Bonaparte	19
Attended both the funeral and the exhumation of Napoleon Bonaparte	19
Buried in Kensal Green Cemetery	19
Executed a medallion in plaster of the head of the Emperor on his deathbed	19
Part in <i>Le Retour des Cendres</i>	19
Sketched Napoleon Bonaparte on St Helena	19

White House

Burnt by Admiral Sir George Cockburn during the Chesapeake Campaign of the War with America 1812	9
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Finis



The former Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte on St Helena
watercolour by Franz Josef Sandmann, circa 1820