

brought by Colonel Fabvier, namely, that the army of Portugal might keep the left bank of the Duero, and form a junction with that of the King, if it were not abandoned, induced him instantly to march upon Segovi—a bold and even a rash movement if the French army of Portugal should have passed the Duero, and in fact that army had crossed the river at Tudela, pursuing its retreat on Burgos.

Joseph feeling secure of the army of Portugal, which as it approached the Ebro, must be reinforced by the entire army of the north, but apprehensive of the fate of his capital and the centre of the kingdom, left Segovia on the fourth day, and returned to Madrid. He hoped to be able to maintain that position if his orders issued to the army of the south, promptly executed, should bring him a corps of 25,000 men: but in either hypothesis, as he was determined to leave Spain only with the last of the French, he resolved to advance and form a junction with those who were far in the Peninsula, return in force upon the grand Anglo-Hispano-Portuguese army, cut off its retreat, or give

battle with advantage. This plan was executed happily, notwithstanding the obstacles of every species which he had to surmount.

Lord Wellington, who had entered Madrid on the 12th of August, having learned the advance of the King's troops, hastily left it on the 1st of September, and proceeded to Valladolid and Burgos, the siege of which last fortress he commenced.

The Portuguese horse was overthrown by General Trelliard's cavalry, under the walls of Madrid. A corps of twelve or thirteen thousand men, landed at Alicant, were marching on La Mancha, but on receiving intelligence of the King's advance, retreated, and returned to their place of debarkation. In a word, the armies of the south and the centre, formed a junction at Fuente-Higuerra, whither Joseph repaired and issued the necessary orders for executing the movement he had conceived. On the third of November he returned to Madrid: the army of Portugal, apprized of his views by General Lucotte, aid-de-camp of the King, who had been despatched from the army of

Arragon, pursued the retrograde movement of the enemy's armies, who were evacuating Burgos, but without pressing them. Having remained a single day at Madrid, Joseph passed the Tormes, and found himself on the battle field of Arapiles, at the head of more than 100,000 men. The enemy's force probably amounted to an equal number, but consisting, as it did, of the troops of three different nations, the victory could not be doubtful. The King having seen the movement commenced under his own view, by which the army of the south was to intercept the route from Salamanca to Ciudad Rodrigo, and thus cut off the enemy's retreat to Portugal, proceeded at once to his own army of Portugal, which arrived on the same battle ground, burning with feelings which may be easily imagined. But the rain, which had been falling in torrents, had rendered the roads nearly impassable, and greatly retarded the movements of the army of the south. Lord Wellington, after having lost 2000 men in vainly attempting to storm the castle of Burgos, commenced a most disastrous

retreat by the road to Ciudad Rodrigo, which still remained open. Five or six thousand prisoners, however, were made during the retreat, amongst whom was the English general of cavalry, Sir Edward Paget. The King entered Salamanca with the army of Portugal. The enemy retired to Portugal, and the French army soon found itself weakened by the loss of more than thirty thousand men, who received orders to repass the Pyrenees.

At this period, a Spanish force that had advanced into La Mancha, made propositions to unite with the King's forces. He authorised one of his aides-de-camp to treat with this body, and was still in negotiation with its chiefs, when he received a positive order from the Emperor to leave Madrid and take up the line of the Duero. The state of affairs in Russia made obedience to this order a matter of positive duty. Compliance was unavoidable, and the departure of the King for Valladolid took place instantly. As soon as Madrid was abandoned, the fires of insurrection were kindled, and raged with greater violence than ever. The Spanish officers who,

as in the case of the army mentioned above, were all discontented with the proceedings of the regency which had placed them under the orders of the English, were compelled to dissemble, to conceal their dissatisfaction, and were thus thrown into the arms of the enemies of France. Spanish, English, Portuguese, all advanced upon the French army, then enfeebled by the loss of its best officers and non-commissioned officers, who had been withdrawn to aid in the formation of new corps in France.

At Valladolid the King remained no longer than was requisite for the assembling of the different corps that were on the Tormes, and resumed his march as soon as they were embodied.

But it was impossible for him to maintain consistency or unity of plan in the ulterior operations. The minister of war in France corresponded directly with the chiefs of the armies of the north, of Portugal, and of the troops stationed in the provinces of the Ebro, and not unfrequently issued orders for retrograde movements to corps who were to be replaced by those

of the line. By this course of things, the latter were so far reduced that they were compelled to concentrate upon Burgos without fighting. The corps of General Clausel received orders direct from France to proceed to Navarre against Mina.

The King, after leaving Burgos, passed the Ebro, and took a position before Vittoria, hoping to avoid an action until the corps of General Clausel had rejoined him. This hope was delusive. The King was obliged to give battle with a very inferior force, and the result is well known.

Joseph, pressed by the solicitations of more than two thousand Spanish families who had followed his fortunes, could not resist their entreaties for an escort to accompany them to France, where they arrived in safety. This detachment left him before the action.\* Clausel had joined the army of Arragon.

\* Certain malicious or ill-informed writers have alleged that this escort was principally intended to accompany the equipages of the King's household: the fact is, that neither those equipages, nor the chests of the treasurer of the civil list, formed any part of this convoy—that they remained near

The King left a garrison of four thousand men in Pampeluna. The retreat was effected in good order. The troops of General Foy, those of the neighbouring garrisons, and those posted on the lines of communication, were drawn in and united to the mass of the army, which then found itself about fifty thousand strong. But it was no longer time to think of Spain.

In the North, the victories of Bautzen and Lutzen laid the spirit of the storm for the moment, but the entire strength of France would have been insufficient to resist the hosts of foes who had conspired against her.

Joseph returned to Paris, where his brother, the Emperor, again left him with the title of his lieutenant, when he departed to put himself at the head of that army which, after assailing all the armies of the continent of Europe in their respective countries, was at last reduced to defend itself on its own soil.

The Empress, Maria Louisa, was left regent at Vittoria, where they were pillaged, and that M. Thibault, the treasurer of the civil list, and several of his *employés* were killed there.

of the empire. Joseph, as the Emperor's lieutenant, had the honours of the military command. The remnant of the guard was under the orders of General Caffarelli—Marshal Moncey commanded the National Guards—General Hulin the troops of the garrison. Joseph was left as counsellor of the Empress, together with the prince arch-chancellor of the empire, Cambaceres. The Empress had instructions to follow the advice of these counsellors. In this singular predicament of public affairs, Joseph refused no duty which his brother saw fit to impose.

If the events of the war should intercept all communication between the imperial headquarters and the capital, and the enemy make his way to Paris, he had verbal instructions from the Emperor, and after his departure *a written order, to remove the King of Rome and the Empress, to proceed with them to the Loire, and to cause them to be accompanied by the grand dignitaries, the ministers, the officers of the senate, the legislative body, and the council of state.*



*Rheims, 16th of March, 1814.*

TO KING JOSEPH.

AGREEABLE to the verbal instructions which I have given to you, as well as to the spirit of all my letters, you must not, in any case, suffer the Empress and the King of Rome to fall into the hands of the enemy ; I am about to manœuvre in such a manner, that it is possible you may be some days without having news from me. If the enemy advances upon Paris with such a force, that all resistance would be impossible, send off in the direction of the Loire, the Regent, my son, the grand Dignitaries, the Ministers, the Officers of the Senate, Presidents of the Council of State, great Officers of the Crown, with the Baron de la Bouillerie, and the Treasurer. Do not quit my son for a moment—and recollect, that I would prefer learning that he was in the Seine, than in the hands of the enemies of France ; the fate of Astyanax, prisoner amongst the Greeks, has always seemed to me to be the most unhappy one recorded in history.

Your affectionate Brother,

&c. &c. &c.

Joseph soon after had ample reason to acknowledge the judgment and foresight which had dictated these precautions. At first, his attention was excited by covert insinuations and whispers, and afterwards his suspicions of disaffection were fully confirmed by more open and explicit remarks. Reserve was thrown aside, and many senators no longer dissembled their opinions in favour of proclaiming Napoleon the Second, or the regency of the Empress, and the lieutenancy of Joseph under an infant Emperor. It was then that Joseph made known to his brother the necessity of concluding peace upon any terms; and when the slender corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier were brought under the walls of Paris, when they declared that they were pursued by an enemy vastly superior, that all communication between the Emperor and his capital was cut off—the case provided for in the verbal and written instructions of Napoleon was admitted to have arrived. Joseph then communicated to the Empress and the Arch-chancellor the last letter from his brother, which recognised and confirmed his former directions.

The ministers, the grand dignitaries, and presidents of the sections of the council were assembled, to the number of twenty-two members. They all admitted that the case provided for had occurred ; and that it was better to leave Paris to its own authorities, and to its own particular forces, than to hazard the fate of the Emperor, and thereby endanger that of the entire empire.\* The minister of war (Duke de Feltre) declared that there were no arms ready, that they were daily given out to the new levies as they departed, and that they were exhausted. Thus it was unanimously decided that the government should be removed to Chartres, and thence to the Loire.

But Joseph remarked they were yet unin-

\* It is a curious fact that foreigners judged more correctly than those in the legislative councils of France who opposed the designs of the Emperor, when he was in conflict with the Allied Sovereigns and the oligarchy of Europe. The late Ex-President Adams made this remark in reply to a French General, and to Baron Quinette, of the Chamber of Peers, and Member of the French Government in 1815, whom he invited to his table some years since—" You did not understand the Emperor Napoleon."

formed as to the enemy they had to do with : that the advancing forces might be reconnoitred and measures adopted on the result of that reconnoissance. He offered not to set out with the Empress. The ministers of war, of the administration of war, and of the marine, concurred with him, and promised not to return to the Empress except in the last extremity, when they should be convinced that they were retiring before the entire mass of the allied armies. If, on the contrary, upon reconnoitring, it should appear that they had only a detached corps to resist, which they could destroy without exposing the capital, they would support the two Marshals with all the means under their control. It was in the hope that the last hypothesis might prove correct, that the proclamation of King Joseph was drawn up and published that evening. The council applauded these generous and disinterested offers, and the Emperor's letter passed into all hands.

The Empress, her son, the court, the members of the government, the ministers, M. de la Bouillerie, treasurer of the crown, with the

funds intrusted to him, took their departure. During the night the Marshals were informed of the enemy's approach. The next morning they were in conflict with the outposts. Joseph, accompanied by the ministers of war, of the administration of war, and of the marine, agreeably to the resolution of the council, left Paris to investigate the actual state of affairs more closely. The National Guards were put under arms to maintain internal tranquillity, and posted at the different gates to prevent any insult which might be attempted by detached corps.

In the morning Marshal Marmont having sent the King information that he was too weak to repel the troops then before him, the King directed Marshal Mortier to reinforce him ; an order which was promptly complied with. In the afternoon an officer of engineers of the French army, taken prisoner by the enemy, had been admitted to the presence of the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Austrian Generalissimo. This officer had seen the enemy's army drawn out, and came to make a

report to the Marshals, and afterwards to the King. Marshal Marmont declared that he could not hold out longer than four o'clock, nor prevent Paris from being inundated with irregular troops during the night. He demanded authority to treat for the preservation of the capital and the security of its population. Some legions of the National Guard solicited permission to place themselves in line of battle outside the walls—it was refused, lest Paris might be deprived of their support where it could alone be useful, in the interior and throughout the immense extent of its inclosure. The decision of the council under the presidency of the Empress-regent was literally carried into execution under these trying circumstances, when the ministers, who were with the King, admitted that the greatest part of the allied forces was under the walls of Paris. They did not leave Paris until four o'clock, when they learned that the enemy had occupied St. Denis, and that in a few moments more it would be too late to cross the Seine. Joseph passing through Versailles ordered the cavalry at the dépôts in that

city to follow him, and proceeded to Chartres, where he found the Empress, and thence to Blois.

Great censure has been cast upon King Joseph for his proclamation, in which he assured the National Guard that he was not to accompany the Empress, but would remain at Paris:—There is little justice in the exceptions taken to his conduct. No one can doubt that such were his intentions, and those of the council, which was then held, and the object of the immediate annunciation of their views can be readily conceived. But a few hours afterwards every thing was changed by the arrival of the whole allied army under the walls of Paris. There remained to King Joseph the choice of three courses: To accompany the Empress to the point designated by the Emperor; to remain at Paris, or to follow the army of Marshal Marmont: certainly there was no room for hesitation in selecting from among these expedients. Joseph, in following the Regent, did his duty. Would he have acted more wisely in voting for the stay of the

Empress? Could he with honour deviate from the strict path marked out in his instructions? Subjected to the commands of the Emperor he was bound to obey them, and not to surrender his wife and son to the enemy. Ought he to have exposed himself to the chance of presiding at the dethronement of the Emperor, and to have made peace by the sacrifice of his brother? His orders in a given case, which actually occurred, were precise, to assemble on the Loire the national authorities around the Regent, and to collect at the same point all the forces he could obtain. This order was punctually complied with: the armies of the Dukes of Castiglione, Albufera, and Dalmatia were yet untouched: if the Emperor had reached the Loire, he might still have balanced the chances of war, when he found assembled under his hands all the resources which he had ordered to be collected. “*Fay ce que dois, advienne ce que pourra,*” is without doubt the maxim of every public officer who respects himself.

The armies of Arragon and of Spain were



disposed to receive any impulse which the Emperor chose to give them, but the idea of resistance was abandoned, and the abdication of Fontainebleau left Joseph no choice but a retirement to Switzerland, where he remained until the 19th of March, 1815, the day on which he learned the arrival of his brother Napoleon at Grenoble. He set out alone with his children. At the sight of them the troops on the frontiers mounted the tri-coloured cockade amidst cries of "*Vive l'Empereur! Vive la Nation!*" It was thus he crossed part of France and arrived at Paris on the 22d of March.

The loss of the battle of Waterloo having again brought foreign armies into France, Joseph retired to America, where he originally expected to join his brother Napoleon, whom he left at the Isle d'Aix making arrangements for his departure to the New World. Fate disposed of him differently, but Joseph remained in France until after he knew that the Emperor had left it.

Joseph was received in New Jersey with the greatest kindness and respect, and a law was

enacted expressly for his case, which was addressed to him, with expressions of benevolent courtesey, by the Governor of that State,\* in

\* During the sixteen years which Joseph resided in the United States, he won universal esteem from the citizens. All the inhabitants of Bordentown repaired to his retreat, to bid farewell to one who, for so many years, had been an object of respect and attachment to an independent population; of many of whom he had been a benefactor, and of all the friend. Similar testimonies of respect were paid to him on his embarkation at Philadelphia, where the most distinguished citizens, and most respectable inhabitants, of a city which numbers so many, went to pay their tribute to one whom they had learned to know and appreciate.

In his person, Joseph so much resembles his brother Napoleon, that, were he not taller and considerably less stout, he might pass for him. In his habits also there is great similarity; Joseph being extremely temperate and fond of early hours, generally retiring to rest at ten o'clock, and rising at four or five in the morning. When he resided temporarily in Cavendish Square, the market-gardeners and flower-sellers frequently expressed surprise at seeing a *gentleman* up and out, when they were proceeding with their baskets to Covent Garden market. In consequence of his abstinence from excesses, although now past sixty, he has the constitution and strength of a man of forty.

1817. By this act he was enabled to purchase and hold real estate there *without becoming an American citizen*.\* The mansion which he erected on his grounds fell a prey to the flames some years since ; an occasion on which he received from the inhabitants of Jersey, the most touching proofs of affectionate interest.

In 1825, the Government of the State of New York, in consequence of a request to that effect, which had been made by Joseph, having duly appreciated the honourable motives which prevented him from becoming an American citizen, issued an act of a similar nature, by which he was authorised to hold landed property without becoming a citizen of America.†

Impartial and unbiassed judges of men, the citizens of the United States have been enabled to anticipate the decision of posterity, and to pass upon the degree of credit which ought to be given to the countless slanders which have been invoked to blacken and vilify the name of

\* See Appendix, No. I.      † See Appendix, Nos. II. & III.

the Emperor and his family. Thus also it appears that the people of Naples and even of Spain, enlightened by experience, appreciated at their just value the incessant calumnies which were heaped upon their new Monarch. Separated from his family and from his country by almost insurmountable obstacles, it is yet a source of gratification to believe, as we sincerely do, that a rich store of enjoyment for the residue of life is secured to Joseph—a conscience void of offence—possessed of which, no upright man can fear solitude.

The newspapers of the restoration have frequently published, that Joseph Bonaparte had ceased to be a Frenchman, by having voluntarily become an American citizen. The above mentioned official documents prove the reverse. His estate became a place of refuge for the European patriots who came to him.

In 1830, after the people of Paris had expelled the dynasty which had been forced upon France by foreigners, Joseph thought it his duty to send to the Chamber of Deputies a letter, of which the following is a translation, a



duplicate of which was deposited in the Archives of M. P. S. Duponceau, Notary Public in Philadelphia.

To the Members of the Chamber of Deputies  
at Paris.\*

GENTLEMEN,

THE memorable events which have hoisted the national colours in France, and destroyed the order of things established by foreigners in the intoxication of success, have shewn the nation in its true light; the great Capital has resuscitated the great Nation. Proscribed far from my native soil, I would have presented myself along with this letter had I not read amongst many names acknowledged by the liberality of the nation, that of a Prince of the House of Bourbon. The events of the last days of July have placed in a strong light this historical truth, that it is impossible for a House reigning by Divine right, to retain the throne

\* This document will be found in the original in the Appendix, No. IV.

when it has been once expelled by the voice of the nation, because it is impossible that Princes born with the pretensions of having been predestinated to reign over a nation can divest themselves of the prepossessions of their birth. Thus the divorce between the House of Bourbon and the French people had been pronounced, and nothing in the world could destroy the recollections of the past: all the blood, all the battles, glory and advancement in every kind of civilization, all the prodigies effected by the Nation under the influence of liberal opinions, were brands of discord kindled every day between the governors and the governed. Wearied with so many revolutions, and desirous to obtain peace under a charter given and accepted as a sheet-anchor after so many hurricanes, the well-disposed were in vain ready to make any sacrifices; the force of things stronger than men was there, and nothing could reconcile the men of other times, who had remained stationary, with those who had been elevated and regenerated by a revolution of thirty years. In vain the Duke of Orleans

abjured his House in the hour of its misfortunes; being a Bourbon himself, and having entered France sword in hand, with the Bourbons in the train of foreigners; of what consequence is it that his father voted for the death of his own cousin in order to seat himself in his place! Of what consequence is it that the brother of Louis XVI. appointed him to be Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and Regent of his grandson! Is he the less a Bourbon? Does it in any manner make him lessen his pretensions to be called to the throne by right of birth? Is it really upon the choice of the people or upon Divine right that he depends, to enable him to sit upon the throne of his ancestors? Will his children think otherwise, and does not the experience of the past and present times enable us to foresee clearly what will come to pass under a branch of that House? Did not the 4th of July and the 10th of August, foretel sufficiently the last days of July 1830, and these days in their turn, do they not menace the nation with a new 28th of July, at a period which may be more or less near?

No, Gentlemen,—Princes instituted by Divine right, will never pardon those to whom they are indebted ; sooner or later they will punish them for the benefits which they have received from their hands ; their arrogance only bows before the author of Divine right, because he is invisible ; these truths are repeated in the annals of all nations, they abound in the history of our own Revolution, they are written in letters of blood on the walls of the capital. To what purpose have served the thousand millions squandered upon the enemies of our country, and the condescensions of every description, which have been paid to the men of other times ?

If you forget these everlasting truths, you will build upon a foundation of sand, you will be accountable to the nation, to posterity, for the new calamities to which you deliver them.

Gentlemen, there are no governments upon the earth legitimate, except those acknowledged by nations ; nations alone create or destroy them, as they think necessary ; nations alone have the *right*, individuals and particular families only have *duties* to fulfil.





Napoleon's family was named by three million five hundred thousand votes : if the nation thinks it will be advantageous to it to make another choice, it and *it only* has the power and the right to do so; Napoleon II. was proclaimed by the Chamber of Deputies, in 1815, which recognised in him a right, conferred by the nation. I accept in his name and for him, all the modifications decreed by the Chamber of 1815, which was dissolved by the enemies' bayonet. I have the most positive proofs of knowing, that Napoleon the Second would be worthy of France. Above all, it is as a Frenchman, that I desire the recognition of the incontestable right which he has to the throne, as long as the *nation shall not have adopted another form of government*. He is the only person who is legitimate in the true meaning of the word, that is to say, legally and voluntarily elected by the people; he has no need of a new election; nevertheless, the nation is competent to confirm or to rescind titles which it has conferred, whenever *such is its pleasure*. Until then, Gentlemen, you owe your duty to

Napoleon the Second; and until Austria restores him to the wishes of the French, I offer to share your danger, your efforts, your labours, and, on his arrival, to transmit to him the desire, the example, and the last disposition of his father, while dying a victim to the enemies of France, on the rock of St. Helena. These words have been written to me by General Bertrand: "Tell my son, above all, to recollect that he is a Frenchman, that he should give to the French nation as much of liberty as I gave of equality. Foreign wars did not allow me to do all that which I would have done in a general peace; I was compelled to be perpetually a dictator, but in all my actions I had but one moving principle, the love and the glory of the Great Nation. Let him adopt my device, *entirely for the French people*, because, whatever we have been, it was the people that made us so."

Gentlemen, I have fulfilled what appeared to me to be a sacred duty. May the voice of one proscribed, cross the Atlantic, and bear to the hearts of his countrymen, the conviction which is impressed upon his own. *France*

*alone* has the right to decide upon the son of Napoleon—the son of that man of the nation alone can re-unite all parties with a truly liberal constitution, and preserve the tranquillity of Europe; the successor of Alexander is aware that that Prince died regretting that he had removed the son of Napoleon; the new King of England has a great duty to fulfil, that of effacing from his (brother's) reign the opprobrium with which the ministerial gaolers of St. Helena are loaded. The sentiments of the Emperor of Austria cannot be doubtful, and those of the French people are for Napoleon II.

The liberty of the press is the triumph of truth—by it the conscience of every one is enlightened—let it speak, and let the will of the great nation be accomplished; I subscribe to it with all my heart and soul.

(Signed) JOSEPH NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

*Count de Survilliers.*

*New York, 18th September, 1830.*

This letter was not read to the Chamber. The new government was installed without the

people having been consulted ; so that, not being founded either upon hereditary right, or upon a popular election, it has only been able to sustain itself up to the present moment, by making concessions in favour of foreign powers, and by persecuting citizens of every class.

The new persecution of the family of Napoleon, which the Chamber of 1831 has assimilated with that of Charles the Tenth, is an act of such revolting injustice, that there can be no hesitation in stating, that it will no more receive the sanction of the *nation* than that of the election of a Bourbon after the three sanguinary days of July. Let them dare to take the opinion of France upon it !



## APPENDIX.

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No. I.

*Trenton, New Jersey, 28th Jan. 1817.*

*Letter from Mr. Bickerson, Governor of the  
State of New Jersey, to the Count de Sur-  
villiers, (Joseph Bonaparte.)*

SIR,

MR. INGERSELL will present to you a copy of an Act of the Legislature of New Jersey, which authorises foreigners to hold land in this State.

I avail myself eagerly of this opportunity to testify to you the sincere joy I feel for the preference you have been pleased to give to this State, in selecting it for your residence.

The members of the legislature of the State participate in my sentiments of good will towards you: the act which they have just

passed relative to you will give you the most certain proof of it.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) MAHLON BICKERSON.

*To the Count de Survilliers.*

No. II.

*Translation of the demand made by Joseph Bonaparte (Count de Survilliers), the 1st of March, 1825, to the Legislature of the State of New York.*

JOSEPH BONAPARTE begs the Legislature of New York to authorise him to hold land in this State. Although a foreigner, he is not one of those who daily solicit in order to quit this hospitable country, where the true rights of man are the most respected; but nevertheless being more than ever attached to his own country, and bound to it by duties rendered still more sacred by misfortune, he is not in a position to profit by the law which offers him the honour-

able and precious title of American Citizen, and thereby confer upon him the right of holding land. He must continue to be a Frenchman ; hoping, however, to find in the Legislature of the State of New York the same kindness and good will which he has experienced in the other States of the Union, he begs the Legislature will grant him the right of holding land in this State of New York.

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No. III.

*Translation of the Act of the Legislature of the State of New York, giving power to Joseph Bonaparte, Peter Francis Réal, William Cooper, and Mary Anne Lamb, to hold and dispose of landed property.*

It has been decreed by the people of the State of New York, represented at the Senate and assembled, that Joseph Bonaparte, Peter Francis Réal, William Cooper, and Mary Anne Lamb, shall be and are by this Act authorised to acquire landed property in the State, either by contract, succession, or purchase, and to hold



and dispose of the above mentioned property in the same manner as *natural citizens*; and that the right to all property, tenement, or heritage heretofore purchased or acquired by them, or any of them, or which may hereafter be purchased or acquired by them, shall not be injured or annulled on the ground of their being *foreigners*, but that this shall invest the aforesaid Joseph Bonaparte, Peter Francis Réal, William Cooper, and Mary Anne Lamb, their heirs and attorneys, with the same rights as if they were *natural citizens*.

*Office of the Secretary of the State of New York,  
Albany, 1st of July, 1825.*

I CERTIFY that this Act is a true copy of the original of the Legislature of the State which is registered in this office.

(Signed)

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,

*Deputy Secretary.*

## No. IV.

*Copie de l'adresse de Joseph Napoléon Bonaparte (comte de Survilliers), à Messieurs de la Chambre des députés à Paris, le 18 Septembre, 1830, dont le duplicata a été déposé dans les archives de M. Pierre S. du Ponceau, notaire public à Philadelphie.*

A MM. DE LA CHAMBRE DES DÉPUTÉS A PARIS.

MESSIEURS,

LES mémorables événemens qui ont relevé en France les couleurs nationales et détruit l'ordre de choses établi par l'étranger dans l'ivresse du succès, ont montré la nation dans son véritable jour ; la grande capitale a ressuscité la grande nation.

Proscrit loin du sol de la patrie, je m'y serais présenté aussitôt que cette lettre, si je n'avais lu parmi tant de noms avoués par la libéralité de la nation, celui d'un prince de la maison de Bourbon. Les événemens des derniers jours de juillet ont mis dans tout son jour cette vérité historique, il est impossible à une maison régnante par le droit divin de se maintenir sur le trône, lorsqu'elle en a été expulsée une fois par la nation, parce qu'il n'est pas possible que des princes nés avec la prétention d'avoir été pré-

destinés pour régir un peuple, s'élèvent au-dessus des préjugés de leur naissance. Aussi le divorce entre la maison de Bourbon et le peuple français avait-il été prononcé? et rien au monde ne pouvait détruire les souvenirs du passé: tant de sang, de combats, de gloire, de progrès dans tous les genres de civilisation, tant de prodiges opérés par la nation, sous l'influence des doctrines libérales, étaient des brandons de discorde tous les jours rallumés entre les gouvernans et les gouvernés; fatigués de tant de révolutions et désireux de trouver la paix sous une charte donnée et acceptée comme ancre de salut après tant d'orages, les bons esprits étaient en vain disposés à tous les sacrifices; plus puissante que les hommes, la force des choses était là, et rien ne pouvait mettre d'accord les hommes d'autrefois, restés stationnaires, et ceux qu'une révolution de trente ans avait grandis et régénérés; en vain le duc d'Orléans abjure sa maison au moment de ses malheurs, Bourbon lui-même, rentré en France l'épée à la main avec les Bourbons à la suite des étrangers, qu'importe que son père ait voté la mort du roi son cousin pour se mettre en sa place! qu'importe que le frère de Louis XVI. le nomme lieutenant-général du royaume et régent de son petit-fils! en est-il moins Bourbon? En a-t-il moins la prétention de devoir être appelé au trône par le droit

de sa naissance ? est-ce bien sur le choix du peuple ou sur le droit divin qu'il compte pour s'asseoir au trône de ses ancêtres ? ses enfans penseront-ils autrement ? et le passé et le présent ne font-ils pas assez prévoir quel sera l'avenir sous une branche de cette maison ? le 14 juillet, le 10 août, n'annonçaient-ils pas assez les derniers jours de juillet 1830 ? et ces journées à leur tour ne menacent-elles pas la nation d'un nouveau 28 juillet, à une époque plus ou moins rapprochée ?

Non, messieurs, jamais les princes institués par le droit divin ne pardonnent à ceux auxquels ils sont redevables ; tôt ou tard ils les punissent des bienfaits qu'ils en ont reçus, leur orgueil ne plie que devant l'auteur du droit divin, parce qu'il est invisible ; les annales de toutes les nations nous redisent ces vérités, elles ressortent assez de l'histoire de notre propre révolution, elles sont écrites en lettres de sang sur les murs de la capitale ; à quoi ont servi et le milliard prodigué aux ennemis de la patrie et les condescendances de tous les genres dont on a salué les hommes d'autrefois ?

Vous construiriez sur le sable, si vous oubliez ces éternelles vérités, vous seriez comptables à la nation, à la postérité des nouvelles calamités auxquelles vous les livreriez : non, messieurs, il n'y a de légitime sur

la terre que les gouvernemens avoués par les nations ; les nations les créent et les détruisent selon leurs besoins ; les nations seules ont des droits ; les individus, les familles particulières ont seulement des devoirs à remplir.

La famille de Napoléon a été appelée par trois millions cinq cent mille votes : si la nation croit dans son intérêt de faire un autre choix, elle en a le pouvoir et le droit, mais *elle seule*. Napoléon II. a été proclamé par la Chambre des députés de 1815, qui a reconnu en lui un droit conféré par la nation ; j'accepte pour lui toutes les modifications décrétées par la Chambre de 1815, qui fut dissoute par les baïonnettes étrangères ; j'ai des données positives pour savoir que Napoléon II. serait digne de la France ; c'est comme français surtout que je desire que l'on reconnaisse les titre incontestables qu'il a au trône, tant que *la nation n'aura pas adopté* une autre forme de gouvernement : seul, pour être légitime dans la véritable acception du mot, c'est-à-dire légalement et volontairement élu par le peuple, il n'a pas besoin d'une nouvelle élection ; toutefois la nation est maîtresse de confirmer ou de rejeter des titres qu'elle a donnés, *si telle est sa volonté* : jusque là, messieurs, vous vous devez à Napoléon II., et jusqu'à ce que l'Autriche le rende aux vœux de la France, je m'offre

à partager vos périls, vos efforts, vos travaux, et à son arrivée à lui transmettre la volonté, les exemples, les dernières dispositions de son père mourant victime des ennemis de la France, sur le rocher de Sainte-Hélène. Ces paroles m'ont été adressées sous la plume du général Bertrand : “ Dites à mon fils qu'il se rappelle avant tout qu'il est français, qu'il donne à la nation autant de liberté que je lui ai donné d'égalité ; la guerre étrangère ne me permit pas de faire tout ce que j'aurais fait à la paix générale. Je fus perpétuellement en dictature ; mais je n'ai eu qu'un mobile dans toutes mes actions, l'amour et la gloire de la grande nation ; qu'il prenne ma devise : *Tout pour le peuple français*, puisque tout ce que nous avons été c'est par le peuple.”

Messieurs, j'ai rempli un devoir qui me paraît sacré. Puisse la voix d'un proscrit traverser l'Atlantique et porter au cœur de ses compatriotes la conviction qui est dans le sien ! *la France seule* a le droit de juger le fils de Napoléon ; le fils de cet homme de la nation peut seul réunir tous les partis dans une constitution vraiment libérale et conserver la tranquillité de l'Europe ; le successeur d'Alexandre n'ignore pas que ce prince est mort avec le regret d'avoir éloigné le fils de Napoléon ; le nouveau roi d'Angleterre a un grand devoir à remplir, celui de laver son règne de l'opprobre dont se sont

couverts les geoliers ministériels de Sainte-Hélène; les sentimens de l'Empereur d'Autriche ne sauraient être douteux, ceux du peuple français sont pour Napoléon II.

La liberté de la presse est le triomphe de la vérité, c'est elle qui doit porter la lumière dans toutes les consciences: qu'elle parle et que la volonté de la grande nation s'accomplisse, j'y souscris de cœur et d'ame.

*Signé*            JOSEPH-NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE,  
COMTE DE SURVILLIERS.

New-Yorck, le 18 septembre, 1830.

THE END.







