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James Brown.

Esq. No. 10. Wall St.

The Metropolitan Magazine.

At the present crisis of European affairs, this biography may prove
universally interesting. . . . Joseph appears to be a man of common
talents, and of profound judgment; it has long been his habit to
write first of his brother, it is scarcely more restrictive, more philosophical,
and better adapted to comprehend the pathos of the subject. . . . The author
works his subject closely to the point; nothing extraneous is inserted
to swell the volume; and though the subject is treated in a simple manner,
yet, nothing is common or uninteresting. . . . The power and
the force of the author's language are everywhere to be seen in the
language, which is written with a view to a book in the hands of
Government, and a long time.

Biographical Sketch

OF

JOSEPH NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,

&c. &c.

THIRD EDITION.

Arnold's Magazine of Paris, &c. for July, 1833.

To all who wish perfectly to understand, in other than the way
properly systematic, the Character of Joseph Bonaparte—who wish facts
and documents to be the foundation of their opinion, and those full
indication of the events both in public and social, which called forth the
energy of his great mind—to all such persons we recommend this work
as a valuable and highly interesting contribution.

EXTRACTS FROM " LITERARY NOTICES "

OF THIS WORK.

The Metropolitan Magazine.

" At the present crisis of European affairs, this biography must prove universally interesting. . . . Joseph appears to be a man of eminent talents, and of profound judgment; if his genius be less brilliant than was that of his brother, it is assuredly more reflective, more philosophical, and better adapted to promote the happiness of mankind. . . . This small work does infinite credit to the compiler; nothing extraneous is inserted to swell the Volume; and, though the subject deserves a much larger work, nothing is omitted that might fail to give a true impression of the brother of that " Man of Fate," the Artillery Officer, the Emperor, and the Exile, who schooled Emperors, and gave Kings to the Realms of Europe, who, in return, gave him fifty acres on a rock in the Atlantic, a Governor, and a tomb-stone."

The New Monthly Magazine.

" It contains much that is highly interesting; indeed, we have rarely met with a more pleasing record than the detail of the improvement effected, and the evils exterminated, in the accession of Joseph Napoleon to the Throne of Naples. He seems to have striven hard to render himself a real benefactor to the people amongst whom his lot was for a time cast. The concurring testimonies of General Lamarque, General Foy, Bernardin de St. Pierre, and General Lafayette, sufficiently show the estimation in which the Count has been held by those competent to judge."

Arnold's Magazine of Fine Arts, &c. for July, 1833.

" To all who wish perfectly to understand, in order that they may properly appreciate, the Character of Joseph Bonaparte—who wish facts and documents to be the ground-work of their opinions, and desire full information of the events both in Naples and Spair, which called forth the energies of this great man—to all such persons we recommend this work, as a valuable and highly interesting Compendium."

BIOGRAPHICAL

Sketch

TO THE READER

OF

JOSEPH NAPOLEON BONAPARTE,


COUNT DE SURVILLIERS.

THIRD EDITION.

LONDON :

J. RIDGWAY & SONS, PICCADILLY.

MDCCLXXXIV.



BIOGRAPHICAL

sketch

JOSEPH NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

COUNT DE SURVILLERS

THIRD EDITION

LONDON

J. RIDGWAY & SONS, PICCADILLY



A FEW WORDS
TO THE READER.

(TRANSLATION.)

THE French, and other papers, have for some time been indulging in speculations relative to the return of Joseph Napoleon Bonaparte, Count de Survilliers, to Europe. Political motives have been attributed to it in consequence of its supposed connexion with the death of his nephew, Napoleon II., although, until the arrival of the Count in England, he was ignorant of the misfortune which, by a strange coincidence, occurred on the very same day

that Joseph quitted the Republic of the United States, where he had lived like a true philosopher, doing good ; receiving, as a father, all the unfortunates who were banished from France, and gaining the universal esteem of the America of Washington.

His appearance in England, where his nephew, Prince Napoleon Bonaparte, proceeded to join him, has excited considerable curiosity. Each party in France accounts for it in its own way : prejudices against him have been revived, which will vanish by a simple recital of facts, like the absurd calumnies which were heaped upon the Emperor Napoleon after his fall, to which time, and the reason of the nation, have done ample justice. What chiefly recommends the family of Napoleon to popular sympathy, is the fact that it has been persecuted by the Allied Sovereigns ever since treason effected the fall of the Emperor, and that these same

Sovereigns protect the dynasty of the Bourbons: the first family representing the principle of the French revolution, the second the principle of divine right. At the present moment calumnies against Joseph and his nephew have been renewed: the family will never be pardoned the declaration of the French people in the year 13 (1804), which acknowledged the descendants of the male branches to be successors by right to the national and imperial sovereignty, residing and consecrated by the people in the person of the Emperor Napoleon.

A very remarkable work, and one which has produced a deep impression in France, "The History of the Revolution of 1830," by M. Sarrans, has revealed to the public a very honourable correspondence between Joseph and M. Lafayette, the latter of whom had seen and personally witnessed the great consideration which the ex-king and honest man en-

joyed in the United States. The effect caused by this revelation, so honourable to Joseph, has been an inducement to republish simply, and without any attempts at eloquence, some biographical extracts relative to him, published in the North American Review, and other journals, in 1828, at a time when there was no interest in disguising historical truths; to which are added some authentic letters addressed to the Count de Survilliers, by men who have shone in political scenes, such as General Lamarque, and others. Above all, the dates of the letters of Lamarque entitle them to the greatest weight. The protestation of Joseph, addressed to the Chamber of Deputies in 1830, in favour of his nephew Napoleon, has also been inserted, and which, for certain reasons not made known, was *concealed* from the French people. In this collection of details it will be seen that Joseph, as citizen, representa-

tive, orator, captain, ambassador, philosopher, king, exile, and husbandman; was always loved and esteemed, and always a friend to humanity and popular institutions. He was the intimate confidant of the patriotic projects which his brother Napoleon contemplated for France. He was even still more, he was *his best friend*, which few words imply every thing.

A YOUNG PATRIOT.

*A Monsieur R***, éditeur de la Biographie,
sous le nom "d'un Jeune Patriote."*

MONSIEUR,

J'AI lu la Biographie, que vous venez de publier sous le nom *d'un Jeune Patriote*. Tout ce qui s'y trouve des principes de ma vie est vrai. Quant à la lettre à la Chambre des Députés, il faut se reporter à sa date, pour en

concevoir l'opportunité. Je remplissais un devoir de conscience, en faisant au nom de l'orphelin de mon frère, ce qu'il lui était impossible de faire lui même.

Sa mort à jamais déplorable m'impose aujourd'hui un autre devoir, celui de rester plus que jamais fidèle à la déclaration du Peuple Français, de l'an 13 de la République (27 Novembre 1804) jusqu' à ce qu'il plaise à la nation, d'en décider autrement. Toute fois dans ma pensée toute patriotique et de devoir rigoureux, loin de moi l'ombre d'une prétention capable d'occasioner le moindre trouble. Que sont quelques individus en face de la nation! notre exil, la mort même sur le sol étranger, nous paroîtroient des offrandes patriotiques, s'ils étaient imposés aux français par des nécessités plus fortes que leurs sympathies pour nous. Il est toujours assez glorieux de souffrir avec, et pour un grand peuple, dont on n'a pas démerité.

Tout pour le Peuple Français, fut la devise de Napoléon : tout pour le Peuple Français et par le Peuple sera aussi la devise des héritiers de son nom, de celui sur tout, à qui cette grande âme fut toujours ouverte. La paix générale seule, eut manifesté Napoléon tout entier à l'amour et à la reconnaissance des Français ; ceux qui ne le jugent que par sa dictature (nécessité par la guerre, que ne cessèrent de lui faire les ennemis de la France) ne le connoissent pas. Quelle seroit aujourd'hui la France après une paix de 18 ans, si Napoléon eut continué à la gouverner!!!

(*Signé*)

JOSEPH NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

TRANSLATION.

To M. R***, editor of the *Biography*, under the name of "*A young Patriot*."

SIR,

I HAVE read the *Biography* which you have just published, under the name of a *young patriot*. Every thing which I have found in it, relative to the principles by which my conduct throughout life has been governed, is true. With respect to the letter to the Chamber of Deputies, the date must be referred to in order to shew how opportune it was. I conscientiously fulfilled my duty by doing that in the name of my brother's orphan, which it was impossible for him to do for himself.

His ever to be deplored death now imposes upon me another duty, that of adhering with inviolable fidelity to the declaration made by the French people in the 13th year

of the Republic (27th of November, 1804),* until the moment that the nation shall please

* It is thought necessary to insert what follows for the information of English readers, many of whom are not aware that the decree referred to, has ever been promulgated :—

The rights which the imperial dynasty has in justification of its pretensions, are comprehended in the Senate's decree of the 28 Floreal year 12 ; it must be borne in mind that this decree was ratified by the votes of the French people. The following are the articles wherein these rights are contained :—

“ Art. 3. The imperial dignity is hereditary in the direct and legitimate descendants of Napoleon Bonaparte, from male to male by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.

“ Art. 4. Napoleon Bonaparte may adopt the children or grandchildren of his brothers, provided that they shall have attained the age of 18 years complete.

“ Art. 5. In defect of lawful heirs, or adopted heirs of Napoleon Bonaparte, the imperial dignity is devolved and deferred to Joseph Bonaparte and his lawful descendants, by order of primogeniture, from male to male, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.

“ Art. 6. In defect of Joseph Bonaparte and his male descendants, the imperial dignity is devolved and deferred to Louis Bonaparte, and his legitimate descendants,

to decide otherwise. But, however patriotic my feelings and rigorous my sense of duty, far be from me the shade of a pretension which might occasion the least trouble.— What signify individuals in comparison with a nation! Exile, even death in a foreign land, would be regarded by us as patriotic offerings, if an overwhelming necessity, stronger than the sympathy of the French

by order of primogeniture, and from male to male, to the perpetual exclusion of females.”

This decree was confirmed by the people on the 27th of November, 1804, as follows :—

“ The French people wills the succession of the imperial dignity in the direct, legitimate and adopted descendants of Napoleon Bonaparte, and in the direct, and legitimate descendants of Joseph Bonaparte, and Louis Bonaparte, as settled by the decree of the Senate of the 28th Floreal year 12.”

Number of voters	. . .	3,524,254
Negative votes	. . .	2,579
Affirmative votes	. . .	3,521,675

Leaving but two thousand five-hundred and seventy-nine opponents, out of more than three million and a half of voters.

ENGLISH EDITOR.

nation for us, imposed them. It is always sufficiently glorious to suffer with and for a great nation, of which one has done nothing unworthy.

Every thing for the French people, was the device of Napoleon. Every thing for the French people, and by the people, will be likewise the device of the heirs of his name; above all, of him from whom that great man concealed nothing. A general peace only could have completely manifested what claims Napoleon really had, to the love and gratitude of the French. Those who form their opinion of him only from his dictatorship (to which he was compelled by the war which the enemies of France never ceased to make upon him) know nothing of him. What might not France be now, after a peace of eighteen years, if Napoleon had continued to govern it!!!

(Signed)

JOSEPH NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

In this English edition, errors which had crept into the French and American publications, have been corrected, new matter added, and some omissions supplied. From the foregoing letter the public will see that no doubt can be entertained of the authenticity of the work, which may be relied upon as a fair summary of the life of a personage who has sat upon two thrones, and with whose history the English have until now known little or nothing more than what has appeared in the newspapers in a time of war, when there was either no opportunity of ascertaining the truth, or political unwillingness, in those in whose power it was, to make it known.

ENGLISH EDITOR.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF
JOSEPH NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

*Précis Historique des Evénemens qui ont conduit
JOSEPH NAPOLEON sur le Trône d'Espagne, par
ABEL HUGO. Paris.*

*Historical Summary of the Events which placed
JOSEPH NAPOLEON on the Throne of Spain, by
ABEL HUGO. Paris.*

THE circumstances of the emigration to this country of Napoleon Bonaparte's brother, who had possessed successively the crowns of Naples and Spain; of his long, contented, and munificent residence among us; and of the esteem conceived for him by all his American acquaintance, cannot fail to enter into our public annals, and awaken curiosity and reflection through a long tract of aftertime. By reason

of Napoleon's renown, and the share which was assigned him in the administration of the concerns of the European continent, a considerable interest adheres to his personal character, past career, and present position. On these accounts our attention was particularly attracted to the volume designated above, and we infer that whatever may be deemed authentic concerning the individual, in connexion with the history of the era, will be acceptable to the American world.

Abel Hugo was originally in the train of Joseph, as a page, and afterwards one of his staff in the Spanish campaigns. Though a devoted servant of "the principle of legitimacy and the august family of the Bourbons," he has not hesitated to publish at Paris the highest praise of his old master; and he exults, at the end of his Summary, in the weight which his tribute to justice and gratitude is likely to have from the notoriety of his loyal opinions, and his independence on the favour of him whose merits he commemorates. The lamented General Foy, in the second volume of his History

of the War in the Peninsula under Napoleon, has borne similar evidence to the excellent private dispositions, generous and enlightened public intentions and acts, liberal attainments and salutary ends, which distinguished Joseph in all the vicissitudes of the Bonaparte family. In adopting *him* as the subject of an article, we think it well not to confine ourselves to the authentic and honourable narrative of M. Hugo, but rather to furnish, from materials which we regard as having the stamp of full knowledge and authority, a sketch of his political life in general, and especially his scheme and course of government in Naples and Spain, and his important agency during the final struggles of Napoleon in France. These latter topics possess signal historical consequence in themselves, and are recommended here by a digest of striking particulars, now for the first time brought together so as to warrant confidence in their accuracy.

Joseph Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Corte, in the island of Corsica, in the year 1768. His father being deputed to Paris by the states

of that province, carried him to the continent and placed him at the College of Autun in Burgundy, where he completed his course of studies with great distinction. His own predilections were in favour of a military life, but in obedience to the last wishes of his father, who died at Montpellier in the prime of life, he abandoned these views, and returned in 1785 to his native country, where he became in 1792 a member of the Departmental Administration under the presidency of the celebrated Paoli. When the English, availing themselves of the distractions and troubles of France, took possession of Corsica, Joseph retired to the continent, and in 1794 married one of the daughters of M. Clari, one of the richest capitalists of Marseilles.

At this time he united with his colleagues of the department,* some of whom had become

* It is not true, as has been alleged in a work published at Paris, that he was secretary of the representative of the people, Salicetti, in the National Convention. That deputy, the only one from Corsica who voted for the death of the King, had been his colleague in the department of Corsica,

members of the Convention, in urgent entreaties for the supplies requisite to drive the English out of the island, but their application was disregarded until 1796, and it was only after the occupation of Italy by the French army that their wishes were crowned with success. In that campaign Joseph accompanied his brother. Circumstances rendering General Bonaparte anxious to conclude a peace with the King of Sardinia, he despatched him from Piedmont to demonstrate the necessity of this measure to the Directory.

Appointed minister plenipotentiary, and afterwards envoy extraordinary to the court of Rome, he entered directly on a negotiation with his Holiness Pope Pius VI., the object of which was to obtain the good offices of the Pontiff in bringing the Vendéans to peace. And for that purpose his Holiness engaged to employ all those means of authority and persuasion, with which the confidence of that people had invested as most of the other deputies of that department had at different periods been, all of whom voted in favour of the King.

the visible head of the catholic church. This treaty was in progress, and he had good reason to hope a successful issue to the negotiation, but the favourable dispositions of the Papal Court were counteracted by the intrigues of the Austrian party as well as by the imprudence of the revolutionists, some of whom were shot by a battalion of the Roman soldiery in the courtyard of the French palace, where they had taken refuge. It is known that at Rome the residences of envoys of the great powers enjoy the privilege of sanctuary in common with most of the churches. In the present instance, however, this immunity was disregarded, and Duphot, one of the French generals, in the suite of the ambassador, was killed at his side, whilst engaged in endeavouring to bring the two parties to reason.

Not receiving the satisfaction due to him for this outrage, the Minister withdrew, and proceeded to Paris, where the Government fully sanctioned his conduct, and offered him the embassy of Prussia. But Joseph had been recently named a member of the Council of

Five Hundred, and he preferred shewing his gratitude for the confidence of his fellow-citizens by entering the legislative body. He was there soon distinguished for sound sense and moderation. Upon one occasion, when, in a joint committee of the two councils, the Directory made an attack upon his brother, General Bonaparte, who was absent in Egypt, Joseph addressed the body with so much energy and conclusive argument that his accusers were confounded, and an unanimous vote obtained in his favour. A few days after this occurrence he was appointed secretary of the Council of Five Hundred.

Under the consulate, he was a member of the council of state. Being nominated with Messieurs Rœderer and De Flurien to discuss and terminate the differences which existed between France and the United States of America, he was one of the negotiators of the treaty of the 30th of September, 1800, which was signed at his estate of Mortefontaine.

On the 9th of February, 1801, he signed with the Count de Cobenzel, at Luneville, the treaty

between France and Austria; and it has been remarked as a singular circumstance during that negotiation, that although Mantua had been left in the hands of the Austrians by virtue of an armistice agreed upon between the commanders in chief in Italy, a convention concluded at Luneville by the plenipotentiaries put the French army in possession of that important post.

TRANSLATION.

“ Letter from the General in Chief, Moreau, to Citizen Joseph Bonaparte, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Congress at Luneville.

“ ARMY OF THE RHINE.

LIBERTY.

EQUALITY.

“ Head-Quarters, Saltzbourg, 12th Pluiose, 9th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

“ The General in Chief, Moreau, to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic at Luneville.

“ CITIZEN MINISTER,

“ I have received your letter of the 6th of this month, and the copy of the armistice which

you have concluded with M. de Cobenzel. Receive my compliments for the manner in which you have besieged and taken Mantua without quitting Luneville.

“ Health and Friendship,

“ (Signed)

MOREAU.”

The treaty of Amiens, which was signed on the 25th of March, 1802, was also conducted under his management and direction. The instructions of the British Plenipotentiary required that each government should discharge the expenses of its own prisoners. A balance of several millions of francs appeared against France, and this circumstance threatened to arrest the progress of the negotiation, when Lord Cornwallis assured Joseph confidentially, that the question of a few millions should not prevent the conclusion of peace. But some days after, the British government had changed its views; and the Plenipotentiary received orders to insist upon the payment of this balance as a condition *sine qua non*. Lord Cornwallis, however, not choosing to be put to the blush before a man

whose character and conduct had inspired him with esteem, openly declared that his word had been given, and should not be forfeited for the sum in dispute. Whilst engaged in diplomatic pursuits, Joseph was the first to suggest a plan of concert among the contracting parties, France, England, Spain, and Holland, for the suppression of that system of rapine and piracy, whereby, to the disgrace of the Great Powers of Christendom, the smaller states were annoyed by the corsairs of Barbary. This liberal project was communicated in a letter to his brother, then First Consul, by whom it was adopted. In the year 1803, he was created a senator, and member of the grand council of the legion of honour.

The concordat with the Court of Rome was signed by Joseph, by the Abbe Bernier, since Bishop of Orleans, and by the Minister of the Interior, Cretet; the Cardinals Caselli, Spina, and Gonsalvi, signed on behalf of the Holy See. By this important measure the peace of the Church was consolidated, the liberties and immunities of its Gallican branch were secured, and a fearful volcano which had been lighted up

by fanaticism in the departments of the west, was extinguished. Nearly at the same time the treaty of guarantee was signed with Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Bavaria, which recognised and confirmed the various political changes which had taken place in the Germanic empire. In this negotiation also, Joseph was invested with the full powers of France.

The camp at Boulogne was formed in 1804. Napoleon invited his brother to take part in that expedition. He accepted the command of the fourth regiment, and repaired to the camp, where he contributed his full share to the spirit of concord and union which so remarkably distinguished that large body of officers, whose opinions and prejudices upon most subjects were far from harmonious. But Joseph was now summoned to a more exalted sphere of action, and the residue of his public life was passed in the midst of those striking revolutions which so remarkably characterised the early part of the present century.

The senate and people of France, on calling Napoleon to the empire, declared Joseph and

his children heirs of the throne, on failure of issue of Napoleon. In the same year, the crown of Lombardy was offered to him. Not choosing, however, to renounce the new political bonds which attached him to France, nor to enter into engagements which appeared to press hard upon Lombardy, he refused it. During the campaign of Austerlitz, he remained in the direction of affairs at Paris. A few days after that battle he received an order from the Emperor to proceed to Italy, and assume the command of the army destined to invade the kingdom of Naples, whose sovereigns had violated the treaty which bound them to France. The Neapolitan forces had been augmented by fourteen thousand Russian, and several thousand English auxiliaries. On the 8th of February, 1806, forty thousand French troops entered that kingdom. Joseph, at the head of the corps of the centre, arrived before Capua, which, after making a show of resistance, opened its gates. Eight thousand men were there made prisoners of war. The English and Russians effected their retreat, and king Ferdinand embarked for

Sicily, after creating a Regency at Naples, by whom Commissioners were immediately dispatched to the French head-quarters. They entered into stipulations for the surrender of the capital and all the fortified posts, and this agreement was carried into effect; with the exception of the fortress of Gaeta, under the command of the Prince of Hesse-Philipstadt, who disavowed the authority of the Commissioners. The siege of that place was accordingly directed. General Regnier had orders to pursue the Neapolitan army, which was directing its retreat on Calabria. He overtook and defeated them at San Lorenzo, Lago Negro, and Campo Tenese.

Joseph made his entry into Naples on the 15th of February, 1806, and was received with open arms by the people as their deliverer. He availed himself of these favourable indications by retaining in public stations the greater part of those who then occupied them. No sooner had he organized a provisional administration in the capital, than he determined to make a personal examination into the state of

the kingdom generally, and also to satisfy himself, by actual inspection on the spot, of the feasibility of an attempt upon Sicily. With these views, he commenced a tour, attended by a *corps d'élite* under the command of General Lamarque. The course adopted as he advanced, was eminently calculated to afford him accurate and practical information of the character, peculiarities, and wants of the country and its inhabitants. He halted in all the villages—entered the principal churches, where the clergy were in the habit of assembling the people. The condition to which the country was reduced, favoured his views in this investigation. Beneath the most enchanting sky, in the shade of the orange and the myrtle, it was not uncommon to find an entire population covered with rags, and worn down by poverty and starvation, prostrated on the luxuriant soil, from which moderate industry might with ease obtain an ample support—uttering the most abject supplications for charity and compassion. Nor was it difficult to perceive that these unhappy beings entertained the most

absolute indifference as to political changes, resulting from the conviction that whatever the result of the new order of things then announced to them might be, their own situation could by no possibility be rendered worse. So far had their former rulers been successful in desolating and destroying the fair work of Nature!

It was during this journey that Joseph first received intelligence that the Emperor had recognised him as King of Naples, and that the other sovereigns of the European continent were disposed to do the same within a short period. On his arrival at Palma, at the entrance of the Straits of Messina, he was forced to admit the impossibility of an expedition against Sicily. The enemy had concentrated his forces there, and carried off with him all means of transportation, even the smallest skiffs. Thus compelled to postpone the attempt, he continued his journey across that *Magna Græcia*, once so celebrated and flourishing, then so humbled and degraded. His course led him along the shores of the Ionian sea, passing

through Catanzare, Cotroni, and Cassano. It was during this *progress* that he caused an examination to be made, by competent officers, into the character and practicability of a project long since conceived, of uniting the Ionian and Tyrrhenian seas by a canal, and ordered surveys to be made and plans drawn, which might serve hereafter for the direction of that magnificent enterprise. He visited Tarentum, traversed the Basilicate, and a part of Apulia, and returned to his capital, where he was awaited by a deputation of the French senate, appointed to offer the felicitations of that body on his accession to the throne of Naples, and express the hope of still preserving him as Grand Elector and a Prince of France. This deputation consisted of Marshal Perignon, General Ferino, and Count Rœderer. The last accepted the department of finance at Naples, and skilfully availing himself of the aid and support afforded by the King, in re-organizing the fiscal affairs of the kingdom on new bases, established a public credit which has maintained itself under all the changes that have subsequently occurred.

Marshal Jourdan, who had been appointed Governor of Naples by the Emperor before the accession of the King, was retained in the same station.

Congratulations were tendered by all classes of his subjects. The clergy, led by Cardinal Ruffo, the nobility and the people, vied with each other in celebrating the arrival of the new monarch. The capital and the provinces united in expressing their satisfaction in the result.

In the formation of his government, Joseph appointed a council of state, composed of a large number of individuals, in the choice of whom he was guided by public opinion, without distinction of birth or party. It was a ministry in which the most celebrated lawyers found themselves associated with Barons of the loftiest birth. The French whom he admitted to his council or to his court, were generally men who had been most distinguished for their abilities in the national assemblies of France; Rœderer, Salicetti, Mathieu Dumas, Miot, Cavagnac, Stanislas Girardin, Jaucourt, Arcam-

bal, Dedon, Maurice Mathieu, Saligny, Ferri, Hugo, Blagniac, &c. &c.

Such modifications and improvements as had been suggested by his unreserved conversations with men of all classes of his subjects in the long progress he had then completed, were marked out for accomplishment in proper time, and in a calm and deliberate manner. His council of state he divided into sections, and gave in charge to each committee the task of digesting all practicable reforms pertaining to its peculiar department, holding up to them as a model the French Revolution, but at the same time earnestly cautioning them to avoid its evils, whilst they imitated and improved upon the fortunate changes it had introduced. Upon all he enjoined strict justice and moderation—the only true guides to the happiness of nations.

The war, however, was not at an end. Gaeta kept a portion of the army employed—the English squadron was on the coast—the Neapolitan troops, although beaten and dispersed, had formed themselves into numerous private bands,

which infested and pillaged the country. The Sicilian Court had instigated the landing of an English army in the Gulph of St. Euphemia, where the army commanded by Regnier, chiefly composed of Poles, was beaten, an occurrence which for the moment fomented partial insurrections. Earnestly engaged in concentrating the requisite means for reducing Gaeta, Joseph proceeded in person to that fortress, and at the same time ordered thither a flotilla of gun-boats, which he had caused to be built, armed, and equipped—he visited the trenches and the most advanced batteries—he reconnoitred the post where the brave Vallongue, general of engineers, had been recently killed, and ordered the immediate erection of a monument to his memory.

On the seventh of July the king was again under Gaeta, accompanied by Generals Campredon of the Engineers, and Dulauloy of the Artillery, and in his presence a battery of eighty pieces of cannon opened its fire with such effect, that on the eighteenth two breaches were practicable, and Marshal Massena was making his dispositions for the assault, when the garrison



of seven thousand men proposed a capitulation, which was signed the same day. Massena and his corps d'armée were then directed on Calabria, whence the English retired, on his approach, to Sicily.—Joseph himself moved on Lago Negro with a reserve. The Marshal having received orders to join the Army of Germany, the King substituted General Regnier in the government of Calabria. This officer actually destroyed a body of Neapolitan troops, consisting of about six thousand men, which had been landed from Sicily under the command of the Prince of Hesse-Philipstadt. The post of Amantea was captured, that of Marathea had been taken some days before by General Lamarque. On the side of the Adriatic, General St. Cyr, commanding the Italian divisions, had quieted those provinces and taken Civitella del Tronto. Affairs began to assume a more settled aspect. The chiefs of the most active bands had fallen, all attempts at the assassination of the new King had proved abortive, and the national guards which had been organized in all the provinces under the command

of the wealthiest proprietors, (who had all espoused the new régime,) contributed greatly to extinguish the flame of revolt and preserve the tranquillity of the country, as soon as the principal masses of the enemy had been beaten and dispersed by the army.

Before returning to Naples the King renewed his visit to the provinces, and persevered in the same course of inquiry and inspection which had produced so much satisfactory information on the former occasion. Mingling freely with the inhabitants, he interrogated them directly as to their wants and wishes—inquired into abuses—called certain dishonest functionaries to a severe account—and by the strict impartiality he maintained, as well as the sincere interest he exhibited in the welfare of his subjects, inspired universal confidence and secured a peaceful triumph over their hearts and affections, far more glorious than any which owes its origin to authority or force. Rich in the personal knowledge he had thus acquired of his people—of their necessities and desires, he fully developed his plans of reform to the Counsellors

of State, whom he had appointed on his first arrival, and found little difficulty in persuading this intelligent and patriotic ministry that the individual good of each class was to be found only in the meliorated condition of the whole. Few instances on record more strikingly exemplify the power of reason over the minds of the most bigoted than the events of this revolution. The principal nobles of the kingdom were the first to applaud and sustain the projects of reform ; thus, feudal rights were abolished with their free consent, and the most enlightened prelates, also members of the Council of State, approved and voted for the suppression of the monastic orders, whose funds soon contributed to the solidity of public credit. A judicious administration introduced order and system into the finances. The feudal judges, whose jurisdictions had been annulled, were for the most part selected for judicial appointments in the new royal institutions. In a word, the national welfare and regeneration were attained without blood or tears, or the oppression of a single individual. Every thing was done *for*

the people, but nothing *by* the people, and the awful convulsions attendant upon the sudden rising of an oppressed nation were thus carefully avoided. Wisdom and moderation presided over these important changes. Monks, priests, nobles, all were satisfied with the public felicity in which they each enjoyed a share.

The provincial intendants received instructions to engage such of the ex-monks as possessed the competent ability and inclination, in the work of public education. Those who were deemed suitable for the duties of a parochial clergy were not removed. The more infirm who had grown old in the cloister and survived all their relatives, were assembled, protected, and encouraged in large public establishments, where they continued, with ecclesiastics of different orders, to live in common. The learned among them, still possessed of youth and health, who preferred living thus, were permitted to devote themselves to the prosecution of those sciences which had so signally illustrated their predecessors, and the famous houses of Monte-Cassin and La Cava were assigned to them,



where the libraries and manuscripts of other religious houses were collected. These precious deposits were consigned to their care. Other individuals of the monastic orders, who yet retained the vigour of youth, occupied the two great establishments of Cinquemiglia and Monte-Tenese, which were regulated on the plan of that which exists at St. Bernard ; and the peculiar duty assigned to them was to watch over the safety of travellers in the lofty regions of Calabria and the Abruzzi, which are generally covered with snow.

The prisons, encumbered with crowds of unhappy wretches, who had languished for years within their pestilential enclosures, were emptied of their tenants by the sentences of four tribunals erected for that express object. An ignominious method of recruiting the armies from the prisons, known under the name of the *trullati*, was abolished. In each province a college and house of female education was established. The daughters of officers and of public functionaries enjoyed the benefit of a central institution, under the immediate protection of the Queen, at

Aversa, into which the most distinguished pupils of the provincial schools were, of right, admitted at the end of each year. The provincial administration, the military and the civil engineer corps were emulously employed on public works. Practical roads for wheel carriages were opened as far as Reggio, from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, and by the energy and skill of those bodies, an enterprise, commenced ages before, and then known only by the tax existing under the name and pretext of the *Calabrian road*, was promptly completed:—in a single year the road was finished, and the impost abolished. From time immemorial in the Neapolitan dominions the royal progresses had been an oppressive charge upon the people, owing to the privileges enjoyed by each officer of the royal household. These privileges were annulled, and the exactions discontinued.

The people of the Abruzzi having expressed a wish to receive a visit from the King, similar to that which he had made to the Calabrians, he acceded to their wishes, and on the tour he

made in their country, enjoyed the gratification of beholding the entire population of several districts meet him on his passage—labouring with ardour to open new roads, and to improve the face of their country—already convinced that the change from sloth and listlessness to active and enterprising industry, was the most acceptable homage which they could offer to their new King.

His attempts to conciliate those who, from their connection with the foreign troops, or from other causes, were inimical to his government, were marked with perfect and fearless confidence. Chiefs of the private bands who had submitted and come in were freely admitted to private interviews with the King; nor had he cause, in a single instance, to repent it. One of these leaders, who had resolved at last to enter the royal service, chose to exhibit a degree of confidence equal to his own. Knowing that this Prince was expected at Salerno with a considerable body of troops, he drew up his band on the road in array of battle. The King, attended only by a few officers,

came upon them far in advance of his guard. He was saluted by the chief, and requested to review his troop, all of whom took the oath of allegiance, mingled with the royal escort, actually entered Salerno with it, and became the nucleus of another Neapolitan regiment.

The spirit of improvement actively pervaded every department. Several manufactories of arms were established by the General of Artillery, Dedon—an army of twenty thousand Neapolitans was organized, and the system of military administration in use in the French armies introduced into it—provisional regiments were raised, and the command of them generally conferred on the sons of the most influential families—a military school was established under the direction of General Parisi—a topographical bureau organized and intrusted to the government of the learned geographer, Zannoni—the labours of the splendid map of the kingdom were resumed and completed—fortified places and the ramparts of the cities were restored and strengthened. The navy presented a force of one ship of

the line, a few frigates, and about ninety gun-boats, carrying a single twenty-four pounder each, which had been constructed for the expedition of Capri.

By the direction of the King, skilful engineers had examined a site for the erection of a village, where a portion of the *Lazzaroni*, who infested the capital with their laziness and misery, were to be employed. Two thousand of these wretched beings were embodied in a corps of labourers. Clothed, fed, and paid, their toil eventuated in the completion of a new passage from the metropolis, under the Capo di Monte, which rivalled in beauty the Grotto of Posilipo. The city was embellished, and a part of the population, until then thought incorrigible, became active and industrious. Individual crimes ceased as soon as a paternal administration took charge of this unhappy race, and far from banishing or destroying them, discovered and applied the true system of reform—that of reputable labour. The aged and respectable *Cianciulli*, whom King Ferdinand had left as one of the regents of the kingdom,

and who had become chief justice under Joseph, was in the habit of saying to the minister of police on entering the council after traversing these workshops, "I have seen the workshops of the Lazzaroni, have you any further report to make?" And in fact the moderate labour and restriction to which this numerous, beggarly, and destitute class had been subjected, prevented the commission of offences, and almost dispensed with the action of the police. The city of Naples, which, in common with most of the Italian towns, was lighted only by a few wretched lamps, placed at the feet of the Madonnas, in the second year of Joseph's reign was completely lighted in the style of the city of Paris with reflectors, and the experiment was then tried for the first time of the parabolic mirror. The hospitals established at this period, were endowed out of the national funds, and the nobility received an indemnity for the feudal rights they had surrendered, in certificates which were taken in payment for the national domains: the public debt was chiefly paid off, and its entire discharge secured by the creation and endow-

ment of a sinking fund—a loan, filled in Holland, was guaranteed and its repayment assured in national certificates.

The excavations at Pompeii and in Magna Græcia were encouraged. A learned body was established by the King, under the title of the Royal Academy, and divided into four classes. In this institution those of Herculaneum and Pompeii were merged. The conservatorios of music were fostered, although, at the same time, an infamous practice, which no taste for this art can palliate, was forbidden under the severest penalties. The Academy of Painting soon numbered twelve hundred pupils. In honour of the national poet the King made a formal visit to the house in which Tasso was born, at Sorrento, a town which can only be reached on horseback along the brink of a precipice. He directed a collection to be made of all the editions of this celebrated poet, and to be deposited in the house, under the care of his nearest lineal descendant, to whom he granted suitable appointments. And to facilitate visits to this shrine of genius, he

directed a convenient road to be opened to that point.

In his travels through Apulia, Joseph had been much struck by the establishment of the *Mesta*. This system may have been useful when agriculture was in its infancy, and the principal reliance of the peasant was on his herds. It is the plan adopted by the Spaniards for the pasturage of their flocks of sheep. A vast district, known under the name of the "*Tavoliere di Puglia*," belonging to the Crown, was withheld from culture, and dedicated exclusively to the pasturage of innumerable flocks, which resorted thither every year from all parts of the kingdom. A special administration existed for this establishment, at the city of Foggia, which is situated in the heart of this territory. The annual income of it was considerable—so great, it has been remarked in the history of the wars of that country, that the season of these payments often entered into the estimates and arrangements of their generals. So much was the King's attention excited by this singular in-

stitution, that he carried with him from Foggia one of the administrators who had furnished him with a manuscript of the celebrated Filangieri, who, many years previous, had proposed the destruction of this system of the *mesta*. And on his return to Naples, he caused this project to be discussed and thoroughly examined by his Council of State, which was then composed of nearly fifty members. It was adopted, to the great benefit of the public treasury; for, this fertile and extensive territory was purchased and brought into luxuriant cultivation by industrious agriculturists.

The Custom Houses were removed to the frontiers of the country. A land-tax, equably levied and collected, permitted the repeal of all other direct imposts. The civil list was fixed at one hundred thousand ducats per month, and one moiety of this sum was discharged in certificates receivable in payment for public lands, of which the King made presents to many of the inhabitants of Naples who were attached to his court. These domains encircled his residence at Capo di Monte. His principal motive

in adopting this course was a wish to inspire the Neapolitan nobility with a taste for a country life. In furtherance of this view, he created an Order to which persons of all pursuits and professions were admitted, and he appointed a grand dignitary of the order in each province, to reside on an agricultural establishment, the government and management of which were intrusted to him. This was intended as a species of model farm, the best means which could be devised for extending a knowledge of the most approved theory and practice of culture among the people. At the same time, he influenced the barons, whose domains he traversed, to re-establish their ancient residences, and invited them to accompany him in his progresses, and upon all occasions to hold themselves forth as protectors of the country and friends to the poor. He had planned several large buildings at the most distant points from the capital, and a residence at each of them for a portion of the year, that he might judge by personal inspection of the progress of his institutions.

Under the former government, the most rigid etiquette prevailed at the palace. The Sovereign was accessible only to a very small number of favourites. Feeling the necessity of seeing and hearing every thing, and apprehending nothing from the detection of his most secret thoughts, Joseph threw open his palace to the nobility, to his ministers, to the counselors of state, the members of the tribunals, the municipality of Naples, and officers of the higher grades. From their families he daily selected the guests of his table. It was thus he gained an influence over the minds and hearts of all classes of society, and thus that the greatest changes were peacefully effected by invoking the practical good sense of the people to his aid, without the slightest employment of force.

Joseph presided in person at the meetings of the Council of State, and although at that period no regular Constitution existed, and his will was supreme, the instance is not to be found in which he ever adopted a decree, unless approved

by a majority of votes after a discussion, in which uncontrolled liberty of debate was allowed. Speaking Italian with ease, he availed himself of this advantage, to develop and to support theories new to that people, but whose utility had been fully determined by experience in France. When Joseph arrived in Naples, the revenues of the state did not exceed seven millions of ducats: they were augmented by him without the slightest oppression, and in fact with a diminution of the public burthens, to fourteen millions. At the same period the public debt was one hundred millions. Of this, fifty millions were paid off, and the means ascertained and secured for the extinguishment of the residue. His efforts at reform and improvement in all the departments of government were crowned with entire success, and every species of national and individual prosperity was opening on Naples, in brilliant perspective, when the will of Providence removed him to a different scene, where greater exertions and sacrifices were demanded, and where, but for the unparalleled

occurrences of 1813-14, he would, in all probability, have succeeded in regenerating one of the fairest portions of Europe.

Before proceeding any farther, this appears to be the proper place to insert two letters from the patriot, General Lamarque, which do great honour to the character and genius of Joseph, and one of which contains an admirable summary of the benefits conferred upon Naples, by his administration. The impression made by them upon the citizen mind of the General was so profound, that at the end of twenty years he wrote it, during the restoration, and at a time when it is evident that the eulogy contained in it was a clear and evident expression of truth towards a man, who had been proscribed and basely calumniated. General Lamarque died true to his principles, and his civic funeral, so expressive of the homage of the nation, gives the greatest authority to his assertions. Copies of the letters were found amongst his papers.

(TRANSLATION.)

Paris, 27th of March, 1824.

COUNT,

IN several articles which have appeared in the newspapers, I have already refuted some atrocious or ridiculous calumnies which were published against you ; and I have always appeared before the world as your admirer. Be assured that your reputation is honourable and glorious. The truth has already dissipated a great many clouds, and before long it will shine in all its splendour ; pamphlets have only an ephemeral existence, and are nothing more than reptiles which crawl about the pedestal of a statue.

You will do well to devote some time to your Memoirs ; but before printing them, they should be sent to Paris, and confided to some one possessed of a pure and solid taste, who would communicate them to other persons in different situations, and having different

opinions, because you do not write for a party, or a coterie; and in the exalted sphere to which you were elevated, you must soar above all interests, recollections, and hopes. It appears to me, that the most interesting part is that of your reign in Naples. You there realised that which Plato wished so much for the good of humanity—a philosopher on a throne. I remember well, in your travels, how strongly you inculcated to the nobles the love of the people; to the people, respect for the laws—toleration to the priests, and order and moderation to the army. Not being able to establish political liberty, you endeavoured to make your people enjoy all the benefit of that municipal administration which you considered to be the foundation of all institutions.

Under your administration, too short for a nation by which you were so much regretted,

Feudality was destroyed,

Depredation and robberies ceased,

The system of taxation was changed,

Order was established in the finance,

An administration created,

The nobles and the people reconciled,
 Roads constructed in every direction,
 The capital embellished,
 The army and navy re-organized,
 The kingdom evacuated by the English,
 Gaeta, Scylla, Reggio, Marathea, and
 Amanthea taken.

Your memoirs will be a lesson to kings. I beg a thousand pardons, my General, for having thus presumed to give advice to my master ; to him whose knowledge, talents, and mind, I have so often admired ; but, I hope, that my attachment will excuse this imprudent indiscretion.

Like you, I have been proscribed ; like you, I have wandered in foreign lands, always offering up vows for my country. I know how much, under such circumstances, one becomes irritable and sensible ; how keenly one feels the attacks of enemies : but, on my return, I perceived, that in exile, the importance of such attacks is much exaggerated. The generosity of the French nation is an immense shield which

protects the unfortunate, and the shafts directed against them fall back upon the aggressors.

You would have more to fear, Sire, if you were still on the throne. Be tranquil, therefore, on this subject, and do not let the calumnies which reach you after crossing the ocean, trouble for a moment your domestic happiness and the serenity of your situation. It is the last puff of the tempest—the last dash of the expiring wave.

My General, depend upon my attachment, which nearly equals that which I bear to the memory of my father. Depend upon my gratitude, and accept the homage of the sincere and respectful devotion of your most humble and most obedient Servant,

MAX. LAMARQUE,

Lieutenant-General.

To the Count de Survilliers,

&c. &c. &c.

(TRANSLATION.)

Bordeaux, 22nd February, 1830.

COUNT,

HAVING met by chance a brave officer of our old army, who is about to go into your neighbourhood in order to make some agricultural experiments, I shall not let pass an occasion to bring myself to the recollection of a man whose kindness and goodness I shall never forget.

Possessing upon the throne the practical virtues of a philosopher—friend of humanity—having without pain returned to the class of simple citizens,—you have the great and generous soul of a King, diffusing happiness around him, and giving consolation to the unfortunate.

The part which your former Chief of the Staff has to play is greatly changed. He no longer faces bullets, but combats the enemies of our institutions. He formerly sought for glory—he has now devoted himself without reserve to the defence of liberty. A political conscript, he has already stammered out a few speeches at the tribune. If he had that easy and brilliant eloquence which he so much admired in the King of Naples when he had the honour to

accompany him in Calabria, Apuglia, and the Abruzzi, he would have prostrated to the ground those men of the counter-revolution with whom the Throne has imprudently surrounded itself. A great and decisive struggle is preparing ; the definitive result is not doubtful, but the victory may be dearly bought. No matter ; I am on the breach, and I shall never forget that I have been captain of grenadiers.

I often feel a great desire to go and see you ; and notwithstanding my advancing age, I yet hope to effect it.

Accept, Count, the assurance of the wishes which I offer for your happiness, the homage of my respectful devotion, and the imperishable gratitude which I bear to you.

Your very humble,

And very obedient servant,

(Signed)

MAX. LAMARQUE,

Lieutenant-General, Deputy of Landes.

To the Count de Survilliers.

Note by the English Editor.—The young French Patriot, the editor of the Biography of Joseph Bonaparte, might have annexed to the letter of General

In an interview which Joseph had, some months previous, held with the Emperor Napoleon at Venice, he received an intimation of the

Lamarque many other testimonials and opinions equally honourable to this historical personage, and which would have given them additional authority. General Foy, on whose remains, as well as those of General Lamarque, a popular funeral oration was pronounced, in remembrance of the struggles which he maintained at the rostrum in support of liberty, and the independent and republican principles which he preserved even in the field; expresses himself as follows in his History of the War of Spain, when describing the elevation of Joseph to the throne of that country. It would be difficult to conceive a higher opinion of the elder brother of Napoleon, than that which is conveyed in a few lines from an historian whose honesty and frankness is well known:—

“ This prince, (Joseph,) was far from coveting such a destiny. He was forty years old. His figure was graceful, and his manners elegant. He was fond of women, of the fine arts and of literature. His conversation, methodical and abounding with observations, indicated a habitude of speaking and a knowledge of mankind only to be acquired in the midst of equality.

feuds which distracted the reigning house of Spain, and of the political embarrassments to which they must inevitably lead. He now re-

When General Bonaparte became master of the Republic, and wanted to found a new dynasty with the sword, he shewed his elder brother to the soldiers. Napoleon having assumed the imperial diadem, offered his brother the Iron Crown of Italy, which Joseph refused. *Republican by conviction*, he knew the rights of the people too well, not to be also aware of the duty of kings." vol. iv. p. 12. These lines were written by General Foy under the anti-national government of the Bourbons.

The French Editor also appears to have forgotten a curious passage, from the pen of one of the most celebrated French writers, which, from the simplicity of its construction, conveys a high idea of the person whom it describes. The reader will not probably be displeased at seeing a quotation of the testimony borne by the illustrious Bernardin de St. Pierre, author of *Paul and Virginia*, taken from the preface to the grand folio edition of his immortal romance. What renders this homage still more valuable is that Bernardin de St. Pierre openly professed republican doctrines. The passage only requires to be quoted.

“ About a year and a half ago (1804), I was in-

ceived from Bayonne, where the Spanish Princes had joined Napoleon, a pressing invitation to proceed without delay to that city. Nothing was yet decided, and no views or intentions explained; and it was in this total uncertainty both of projects and events, that Joseph set out, cherishing the delusive hope of again returning to

vited by one of the subscribers to the fine edition of Paul and Virginia, to come and see him at his country house. He was a young father of a family whose physiognomy announced the qualities of his mind. He united in himself every thing which distinguishes a son, a brother, a husband, a father, and a *friend to humanity*. He took me in private, and said: ‘ My fortune, *which I owe* to the nation, affords me the means of being useful; add to my happiness by giving me an opportunity of contributing to your own.’” And the author finishes his recital of the interview with a few words, which speak volumes. “ This philosopher, so worthy of a throne, if any throne was worthy of him, was Prince Joseph Napoleon Bonaparte.”

Thus it is, that at different times, the ablest and the most enlightened minds have done justice to the personal merits of one who finished by making friends of all those who knew him.

his family at Naples, where they remained. But at a short distance from Bayonne he was met by the Emperor. Napoleon then informed him that the passions of the Spanish Princes had produced a crisis which had arrived but too soon—that they were as far from a harmonious agreement at Bayonne as they had been in Spain—that Charles IV. preferred retirement in France on certain conditions, to re-entering Spain without the Prince of Peace—that both he and the Queen chose rather to see a stranger ascend the throne than to cede it to Ferdinand—that neither Ferdinand nor any other Spaniard wished for the return of Charles, if he was determined to restore the reign of Godoy—and that they also would prefer a stranger to him—that he (the Emperor) perceived that it would cost him a greater effort to sustain Charles, with the Prince of Peace, than to change the dynasty—that Ferdinand appeared to him so inferior, and of a character so vague and uncertain, that it would be highly indiscreet to commit himself on his behalf, or attempt to sustain a son in the struggle to dethrone his father, and that such a dynasty

would be as little suited to Spain ;—that no regeneration was practicable whilst it continued—that the first personages of the kingdom, in rank, information, and character, assembled in a national Junta at Bayonne, were convinced of this truth—and that, since destiny pointed out this course, and he then felt assured of accomplishing what he would not have voluntarily undertaken, he had nominated his brother, the King of Naples, who was acceptable to the Junta, and would be so to the nation at large. Ferdinand had long since solicited one of his nieces in marriage, and the kingdom of Etruria, but since his residence at Bayonne, and more intimate knowledge of that Prince, he did not think proper to accede to his wishes. He further urged that the Spanish Princes had departed for France—that they had ceded to him all their rights to the crown, which he had transferred to his brother, the King of Naples—that it was highly important that his brother should not hesitate, lest the Spaniards, as well as foreign monarchs, might suppose that he (Napoleon) wished to encircle his own brows with this additional crown, as he had done with

that of Lombardy some years before, upon the refusal of Joseph to accept it—that the tranquillity of Spain, of Europe, the reconciliation of all the members of his own family,* depended upon the course which Joseph was then about to adopt—that he could never allow himself to believe that regret at leaving an enchanting country, where no danger or difficulty remained to be combated, could induce him to refuse a throne where many obstacles, it was true, were to be surmounted, but where also much good was to be accomplished. This conversation contained matter for the serious reflection of the King of Naples; but when he arrived at Bayonne, the members of the Junta were all assembled at the chateau of Marrac; and he was obliged to receive their addresses, to which he returned vague and indefinite answers, postponing a decision until he could, in the course of a few days, see the different members in private. The Spanish Princes were gone. The Duke del Infantado and Cevallos passed for the warmest partisans of Ferdinand—both were

* It was then proposed to recognise Lucien as King of Naples.

presented next day to take leave. Joseph had a long conversation with the Duke, which terminated in a full offer of his services. This nobleman then observed that he now found the intelligence which had been transmitted to him by his agents at Naples, where he possessed domains, was true, and if Joseph was destined to be to Spain what he had been to Naples, no doubt could exist but the entire nation would rally round him. He also assured him that he would find the same disposition in Cevallos and in all the members of the Junta; that those who were regarded as the most violent partisans of Ferdinand, entertained for that prince, of whom they knew little, and expected every thing, merely that sort of attachment which a misgoverned nation exhibits, in turning to any one whom it considers most competent to redress its grievances. Cevallos held nearly the same language to Joseph, who afterwards received in succession all the members of the Junta. It consisted of nearly one hundred persons. They painted in strong colours the evils which afflicted their country,

and the facility which existed for their suppression. In fact the courtiers of the father and son were agreed upon one point, the absolute impossibility, namely, of their living together under either of them. Joseph alone, by sacrificing the throne of Naples to ascend that of Spain, appeared to unite all parties, and promised, as they fondly hoped, to restore and even to surpass the happy reign of Charles III.

The rising at Saragossa and in several of the provinces under the pretence that Napoleon was seeking to annex Spain to France—the assurances given by all the members of the Junta, (without a single exception,) to Joseph, that his acceptance of the crown would quiet these troubles, insure the independence of the monarchy, the integrity of its territory, its liberty and happiness, which appeared so practicable to a prince who had crossed the Pyrenees solely with this noble purpose, aroused and exalted the natural generosity of Joseph's temper. He yielded, and sacrificing his dearest interests to the hopes of promoting the welfare

of a much greater number of men, finally resolved to accept the throne which was offered to him. He felt it an imperative duty to seek the post where the greatest peril existed. Duty, not ambition, conducted him to Spain. But he would not leave the throne of Naples without obtaining a pledge that his institutions should be preserved, and that the Neapolitans should enjoy the benefits of a constitution which was in a great measure a summary of his own most important laws, sufficient then for the circumstances and wants of that people. He obtained for it the guarantee of the Emperor Napoleon, and would only enter Spain on that condition. A constitution founded nearly in the same principles was adopted by the Junta of Bayonne for Spain, and also guaranteed by the Emperor. Joseph and the members of the Junta swore fidelity to it: had events permitted them to maintain their oaths, there is little doubt it would have sufficed for the regeneration of that people. The recognition of national sovereignty represented in the Cortes, the independence of their powers, the demarcation of the patrimony

of the crown and the public treasure would alone have proved sufficient to extricate Spain from the abyss into which she had been sinking for centuries.

The accession of Joseph to the throne of Spain was notified by the Secretary of State Cevallos to the foreign powers, by all of whom, with the exception of England, he was formally recognised. Thus, at first, his relations with the monarchs and governments of the continent were satisfactory. The Emperor of Russia had replied to the communication of General Pardo, Ambassador of Spain, by felicitations grounded on the personal character of the new king. Ferdinand had written letters of congratulation, and one amongst others, wherein he implored his intervention and good offices to induce the Emperor Napoleon to give him one of his nieces in marriage. The oath of allegiance of the Spaniards who were with him in France was annexed to these letters, which were made known by a Spanish nobleman to the chiefs of the insurrection. Most of the members of the Junta had previous knowledge of them. Upon

his entry into Madrid, Joseph found the people greatly exasperated at the events of the second of May, 1808. A stranger to all that had passed, and strong in his own innocence, he convened on the morrow, at the palace, all those persons who might naturally be regarded as representatives of the different classes of society, grandees of Spain, chiefs of the religious orders, members of the tribunals, priests, officers, generals, the principal capitalists, the syndics of the various handicrafts. All the saloons were crowded for the first time, with a concourse of men who were astonished to find themselves together. The new King entered into free conversation with his guests, and expressed himself with candour on the events which had brought him into Spain, on the motives of his conduct, on his views and intentions. He ventured alone into the different rooms filled with crowds of persons inimical to him, and inspired so much confidence by this fearless reliance on their honour, that all hearts were gained. And in a few days these missionaries whose services he had secured by his

confiding hospitality, completely changed the opinions of the capital. But all these gleams of popular favour were overcast by the disastrous intelligence from Baylen, which arrived six days after this entertainment. The retreat on Burgos was effected, and the King found himself in the midst of Marshal Bessieres' army, that army which but three weeks before had so gallantly fought and won the battle of Rio Seco. On quitting Madrid, he left the minister of justice, Pinuella, Cevallos, and the Duke del Infantado, with instructions to sound the chiefs of the Spanish army recently victorious at Baylen. At this juncture, General Junot found himself compelled to evacuate Portugal, and thus left all the English and Portuguese forces disposable. The Spaniards flocked in from all quarters against the French army, which was unable to resume offensive operations until the month of November. The actions of Tudela, Burgos and Sommo Sierra, once more opened the gates of Madrid. The Emperor had arrived and put himself at the head of his army, but was soon summoned,

first by the English to the frontiers of Galicia whence he drove them out, and then by the Austrians to Germany. On his departure he left his brother in command of the forces that remained in Spain.

King Joseph returned to his capital on the twenty-second of January, 1809. The people had not lost the remembrance of the hopes which they had conceived on his first entry. Every inhabitant came individually to take the oath of allegiance to him, each in his respective parish. Joseph exerted himself to foster, and extend these favourable symptoms. On a solemn occasion he renewed the assurances he had already given of his determination to maintain the independence of Spain, to preserve her territory entire, to support her religion, and to protect and uphold the liberty of her citizens, "conditions," he said, "of the oath which I took on accepting the crown; it shall never be dishonoured whilst on my head." He pledged himself for the convocation of the Cortes and for the evacuation of Spain by the French troops as soon as the country should be pacified.

“ If I love France as my family,” he often exclaimed, “ I am devoted to Spain as to my religion.”

The choice of his ministry was made with entire deference to public opinion. The nomination of the members of his council of state was governed by the same spirit. Five regiments were already organized, from which all persons stained by criminal convictions were carefully excluded. Infamous punishments were discontinued, and the stimulus of honour and love of country, as in the French army, substituted for corporal inflictions, which are fit only to make slaves and not soldiers. Pursuing the same course which his own sense of justice and views of policy had dictated in his former government at Naples, he recognised the existing public debt, and provided means for its extinction—gave facilities for the secularization of monks, without, at that moment, compelling it—inspected in person the works then unfinished and necessary to the completion of the Guadarama canal—promoted that useful enterprise, and generally gave aid and

countenance to national industry in its various departments.

The earliest military occurrences of his reign were propitious. Saragossa had opened its gates to Marshal Lannes : the enemy was defeated at Medelin by Marshal Victor, and by a movement which the King himself made in La Mancha with his guard, the Dessolles divisions, and the fourth corps under General Sebastiani, the army of Venegas had been driven beyond the Sierra Morena. The English army, after its retreat from Corunna, had been disembarked in Portugal, whence it was now issuing under the orders of Sir Arthur Wellesley. Marshal Beresford with a Portuguese army was advancing on the upper Duero, and by this movement compelled Marshal Soult to fall back from Oporto on the corps of Marshal Ney. The King, informed of this state of things by General Foy, whom Marshal Soult on leaving Oporto had despatched to him at Madrid, could not doubt the enemy's object was to concentrate his forces and fall upon the capital, which he flattered him-

self would be found unprotected. The grand Spanish army of General Cuesta had then passed the Tagus at Almanez to form a junction with the English. The King instantly resolved to anticipate them by an attack at a distance from his capital. Marshal Mortier, whose head-quarters were at Villa-Castin, received orders to pursue the course which should be pointed out to him by Marshal Soult. The same order was transmitted to Marshal Ney. General Foy was despatched on his return to Marshal Soult's head-quarters, fully instructed in the views of the King, who was to advance in person with all his disposable force, comprising the first corps commanded by Marshal Victor, and the fourth corps which was then employed in keeping the army of Venegas in La Mancha in check, and covering Madrid, whilst Marshal Soult advancing rapidly, from the banks of the Duero by the Sierra de Francia, towards the Tagus, should take the allied army in the rear. On the 27th of July, 1809, the English and Spanish armies formed a junction at Talavera, and menaced the corps

of Marshal Victor. The King had received no further intelligence from General Foy, or from Marshal Soult, and although he had every reason to hope that the movement which the Marshal was ordered to make had been commenced, he was without any certain information on the subject. The combined army was superior in numbers to the French. The army of Venegas, on the other hand, no longer held in check by the fourth corps, and having gained several marches, was advancing on Aranjuez, and threatened to pass the Tagus at that point, and to fall upon Madrid, where all the resources of the government and the army must have been inevitably destroyed. In this critical posture of affairs the King determined to order an attack of the *plateau* which was occupied by the English army, Marshal Victor entertaining no doubt that the 30,000 men under his command were sufficient to carry that position, provided the residue of the enemy's force, consisting of the Spanish troops before Talavera and those upon Alberche, were kept in check.

The action was bloody, and the loss on each side was nearly equal; but the *plateau* occupied by the English could not be carried. Yet upon the whole, the result of the action was favourable: the enemy, who, but two days before, threatened the first corps, was now checked by that same corps, and the King having made a rapid movement on the *Val de Moro*, the Spanish army of Venegas, which had passed the Tagus at Aranjuez, now abandoned its designs upon Madrid, and retired. Reassured as to the fate of his capital, the King crossed the river, and entered Toledo. The rear-guard of the enemy's Spanish army was overtaken at the bridge *del Arzobispo* by the corps of three marshals and cut to pieces, and the army of Venegas, thirty thousand strong, which had given so much uneasiness to Madrid, being attacked on the fourth of August, at Almonacid, by the fourth corps, and the King's reserve, was dispersed and destroyed. Its artillery, and a great number of prisoners, fell into the hands of the victors. In these operations, Marshal Jourdan

acted as the King's major-general. General Sebastiani, as has been already remarked, commanded the fourth corps; General Merlin, the guard; and General Dessolles, the reserve. It was not until after he had traversed the greater part of La Mancha that the King re-entered Madrid. He publicly expressed his satisfaction to General Belliard, who had manifested great firmness in the most trying circumstances, and to all those who had so efficiently seconded and supported him.

As the battles of Talavera and Almonacid had paralyzed the enemy's movements, the King availed himself of the calm which ensued to regulate the administration of the interior. He now resolved to suppress entirely the religious orders, being convinced that the restoration of the finances and the claims of public tranquillity alike demanded this measure. All ecclesiastical jurisdictions were annulled, and their duties assigned to the civil tribunals, and the privilege of sanctuary heretofore allowed to the churches, was abolished. The councils of the Indies, of the Orders, of finance,

of the marine, and of war, whose functions were almost identical with those of the new council of state, were dissolved—the points for the collection of the duties fixed on the frontiers—the municipal system was settled—laws regulating public education were digested in the council of state—the debt which had been formerly recognized, was guaranteed—the ashes and monuments of the illustrious dead scattered through the suppressed convents were assembled in several churches, and particularly in the metropolitan at Burgos.

The buildings of the Escorial were assigned for the reception of fifteen hundred priests, members of the different religious orders who were desirous of continuing to live in common, either from family reasons, considerations of health, or a strong bias to consecrate themselves to study in those vast depôts wherein lay buried large collections of manuscripts and other literary treasures, so richly meriting examination and perusal. The buildings of St. Francis were chosen for the sittings of the Cortes, and the alterations to be made in them

put under contract. One hundred millions of reals were appropriated as an indemnity to owners of property who had suffered by the ravages of war. Joseph, faithful to the principles which had been crowned with such signal success at Naples, firm and immovable amidst the host of prejudices excited by the bitterness of party-spirit, proscribed no individual because he had been a member of any particular corporation.

In his Council of State were to be found superiors of religious orders, who voted for the suppression of those orders :* general officers of the insurgents, who voted against the insurgents :† inquisitors voting against the inquisition :‡ and in his family and household grandees of Spain openly advocating the most

* Father Rey, General of the Augustins.

† Lieutenant-General Moria, who long held the command at Cadiz and Madrid.

‡ The Abbé Llorent, former Secretary of the Inquisition, Counsellor of State, author of a very candid and liberal history of the Inquisition—died at Paris a few years since. The Grand Inquisitor, Arce, Archbishop of Saragossa.

popular laws. In the towns recently abandoned by the enemy, he not unfrequently found hearts open to that confidence, and hope, with which his personal character inspired even his enemies—men who often made him the depository of their former opinions, and the arbiter of their future fate.

A few months after his return to Madrid, Joseph received intelligence that fifty thousand Spaniards had made a descent from the Sierra Morena into La Mancha. He instantly marched against them, and came up with them at Ocana, where they were entirely discomfited by twenty thousand French and four thousand Spaniards in his service. Twenty-five thousand prisoners, most of whom entered his army, thirty standards and the entire artillery of the army, were the fruits of this victory. The English, who had advanced to Truxillo and Badajoz, retired to Portugal as soon as they learned the destruction of the Spanish army.

Upon his return to the capital, the King was informed of the successes of General Kellerman at Alba de Tormes, of Marshal

Suchet in Arragon, and of Marshal Augereau in Cataluna, where Girona had fallen into his hands. He resolved to follow up this series of good fortune. The junta of Seville having summoned the Cortes for the month of March, he determined to anticipate them. Leaving Madrid on the 8th of January, 1810, a very few days after the battle of Ocana, he found himself on the 11th at the foot of the Sierra Morena, with a force of sixty thousand men. Marshal Victor moved by the right on Almadin, General Sebastiani by the left on Lenares; the corps of Marshal Mortier, and the reserve commanded by General Dessolles entered Andalusia by the centre. Marshal Soult acted as major-general in place of Marshal Jourdan, the latter having returned to France. The positions of the enemy were carried in a few hours, and eight or ten thousand prisoners taken.

The King was attended by his ministers and the principal officers of his household and guard. He openly announced his intention to hold the Cortes at Grenada in the month of

March. Cordova surrendered to him without firing a gun, and it was in this city that he received, from the hands of the Archbishop, the French Eagles, which had fallen into the power of the Spaniards, after the disastrous affair of Baylen. They had been left in the Cathedral, where they lay hidden amongst relics of the saints—they were instantly forwarded to Paris by Colonel Tascher de la Pagerie.

The people who had been grossly deceived by the calumnies infused into their minds in regard to the French armies and their chief, were now enlightened by the respectable Spaniards who surrounded the King, as to his views, his character, and his personal qualities, and were thoroughly convinced that no intention existed of subjecting Spain to France, but that on the contrary it was resolved to establish peace between the countries, and to propose a call of the true Cortes, who, fairly representing the whole nation, should be absolutely free to accept or refuse the King whom the Junta of Bayonne had given them, and to whom their former Princes themselves had sworn allegiance. Joseph

pledged himself without reserve, that as soon as the English evacuated the Peninsula, the French armies should also leave it, and that he would follow in their steps, unless retained by the sincere wishes of the nation, when enlightened as to its true interests;—he stated that the constitution of Bayonne was now sufficient for the habits and wants of the people, but admitted that it might hereafter be modified and altered according to circumstances—that the nation could never enjoy a greater share of liberty than the King wished it to possess, inasmuch as he never could feel himself truly her King, until Spain was truly free, and delivered from the presence of all foreign armies. The expression of these sentiments, and confidence in their sincerity, opened the gates of Seville, of Grenada, and of Jaën. The Duke of Santa Fé, former viceroy of Mexico, Minister of Charles IV., of Ferdinand and of Joseph, president of the Junta, a man eminently popular and patriotic, entered Grenada with General Sebastiani, Marshal Victor advanced upon Cadiz, and the King made his entry into Seville, where he was

received with enthusiasm. The chief of the municipality came out to meet him, after having conferred with several of his ministers whom he had despatched from Carmona, among whom were the Captain-General O'Farrell and M. d'Orquiso, who, under Charles IV., had for some time acted in the place of the Prince of Peace, in the management of public affairs.

Ten thousand men, however, under the Duke of Albuquerque, had anticipated Marshal Victor at Cadiz—the English also hastened thither and strongly reinforced the garrison, whilst their squadrons blockaded the harbour. The chiefs of the insurrection themselves, of the four kingdoms of Andalusia, had assembled at Port St. Mary's, in front of Cadiz. They surrounded the King, to whom alone they looked for the termination of their sufferings, and from whom they received the assurance of his positive determination to assemble the representatives of the nation at Grenada immediately. All the members of the central Junta were to form part of this Cortes—all the Bishops—all the grandees

—all the wealthy capitalists. This truly national assembly would have a single question to discuss—

“Do we or do we not accept the constitution and the King offered to us by the Junta of Bayonne?”

If the negative was pronounced, Joseph would leave Spain, fully determined to reign, if at all, by the consent of the people, as he wished to reign for their benefit.

Enthusiasm had electrified all hearts and intoxicated all heads. But the deputies, who undertook themselves to go and treat with their fellow-citizens, unfortunately embarked in small boats, and were detained by the English squadron, and not allowed to land in Cadiz.

On the other hand, the French government was becoming weary of the enormous sacrifices which the obstinate resistance of Spain cost them. They thought the war there, as in other countries, ought to support itself. The King's system, on the contrary, forbade exactions, and tended to calm the exasperation of the Spaniards by kind treatment. He consequently required

that France should continue her sacrifices and her expenditure. About this time a measure was adopted by Napoleon, which gave the King the most lively concern. An imperial decree instituted military governments in the provinces of Spain, under which the French general of division became president of the administrative junta, and the Spanish intendant was reduced to the station of a simple secretary of the body in which he had formerly presided. This state of things could not fail to destroy all the good which had been effected by the glorious campaign of Andalusia—a campaign planned and executed by the King himself, who had now become impatient to have his fate decided, be the result what it might—King of Spain by the will of the Spanish people, or Prince of France by the French and in France. At the opening of the Andalusian campaign, Major-General the Duke of Dalmatie, to cover his own responsibility, had required an autograph letter from the King, previously to transmitting his orders for this expedition, which had not been directed by the Emperor.

Abandoning now all hopes of bringing about the surrender of Cadiz by the conciliatory measures which he had employed, Joseph left Port St. Mary's to visit the eastern part of Andalusia, and directed his route through Ronda. In the course of this journey, he expressed to the deputations from Grenada, Jaën, and Malaga, his firm resolution never to consent to any dismemberment of the monarchy, or to any sacrifice whatever of national independence—very far, in these particulars, from entertaining the sentiments of Ferdinand, who had actually proposed to the Emperor a cession of the provinces on the Ebro.

On his return to Seville, the King issued decrees prescribing territorial divisions, organizing the civil administration within these districts, and directing the formation of national guards. The preparations for the siege of Cadiz were completed, but perceiving that it must necessarily be protracted, and feeling the obligation of repairing to the centre of the kingdom to remedy, as far as possible, the evils produced by the military governments



erected in the provinces, Joseph entrusted the command of the army of Andalusia to Marshal Soult, and returned to Madrid after an absence of five months. The Duke of Santa Fé and the Marquis of Alménara, two of his ministers, were despatched to Paris. The latter was the bearer of a letter from Joseph, announcing his determination to leave a country where he neither could do good nor prevent evil, if the system of military governments were not abandoned.* The situation of the

* *Madrid, 23rd of March, 1812.*

TO THE EMPEROR.

SIRE,

WHEN, more than a year ago, I requested your Majesty's advice relative to my return to Spain, you engaged me to return, and, accordingly, I am here now. You had the goodness to tell me that, at the worst, I would have sufficient time to quit the country, if the hopes we had conceived were not realised; that, in this case, your Majesty would assure me an asylum in the south of the empire, between which, and Mortefontaine, I might divide my residence. Sire, events have deceived my hopes. I have not done any good—and I no longer have any hope of doing so. I therefore beg your Majesty to permit me to depose in your

Emperor was then so complicated and critical, that he could not yield to the wishes of the King. The two ministers, on their return to Madrid, entertained hopes of a change, but no positive effect resulted from their mission. King Joseph proceeded in person to Paris, where he had an interview with his brother. The Emperor induced him to return to Spain by the positive assurance which he gave him that the military governments should soon cease, that the system had already wrought a good effect upon the English government, who offered to retire from Portugal, if the French troops would evacuate Spain, and to recognise King Joseph, if the Spanish nation recognised him, and France would also consent,

hands the right of the crown of Spain, which you deigned to transmit to me four years ago. In accepting the crown of this country, I never had any other object in view, than the good of so vast a monarchy: it has not been in my power to effect it.

I beg of your Majesty to receive me amongst the number of your subjects, and to believe that you will never have a more faithful servant than the friend that Nature has given you.



on her part, to recognise the house of Braganza in Portugal. The different military districts were to be put under the command of King Joseph—the Cortes convened—and the French armies to evacuate Spain as soon as the King was satisfied that their presence was no longer necessary.

It was in the hope of a successful issue to the negotiation with England, and of the faithful execution of the Emperor's promises and guarantee, that he returned to Madrid, where he had every reason to be gratified with his reception.

The subsequent events of this war must be rapidly touched. Marshal Massena, who had entered Portugal at the head of an army of 75,000 men, after taking Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, was compelled, in March, 1811, to withdraw his troops, then reduced, by sickness, forced marches, and want of provisions, to 35,000. Marshal Soult laid siege to Badajoz, which surrendered on the 19th of March. Marshal Victor had been attacked in his lines at Chiclana. The English had kept

alive the flames of insurrection, by landing troops, money, and arms at Carthagena and Alicant, and encouraged, by every means in their power, the resistance of Cadiz. It was at this moment that the first rumours were circulated of the approaching rupture between France and Russia.

The English, no longer held in check by the army of Portugal, had occupied Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. Marshal Victor, the remainder of the Imperial Guard, and several regiments of the line were recalled to France. All hopes of a negotiation with England had vanished ; partial insurrections multiplied ; new guerillas were formed, who were subsidised by the English and fostered by the exasperation of the inhabitants ; the communications became more difficult than at any previous time. Navarre was ravaged by the band of Mina, now swelled to an army—famine was laying waste the capital and the provinces. Such was the face of affairs when the Emperor Napoleon, setting out on his Russian campaign, invested King Joseph with the command of the armies.

Under such circumstances, honour no longer permitted him to retire from a post of difficulty and danger.

Marshal Jourdan returned to him. In the early part of May, 1812, the English having taken the fortifications erected for the defence of the Tagus, threatened at the same time the army of the south and the army of Portugal. Either of these armies, if isolated, was too feeble to offer effectual resistance to the enemy—mutually sustaining each other, they might combat with reasonable hopes of success.

Joseph ordered Marshal Soult and Marshal Marmont, then in command of the army of Portugal, to keep themselves in a condition to lend support to each others movements. Receiving advices that the English had advanced upon the Coa, he saw that their whole weight must fall upon Marshal Marmont, and immediately despatched Colonel Desprez, his aid-de-camp, to Marshal Soult, with orders to him to augment the corps of Count d'Erlon to 25,000 men, to let him pass the Tagus on the first advices and form a junction with Marshal Mar-

mont. In the mean time the English had passed the Aguida, and arrived on the Tormes, near Salamanca. Joseph being informed, on the first of July, by a despatch from Marshal Marmont of the non-performance of his orders, reiterated them to the army of the south and the army of the north, and marched in person from Madrid with the guard and troops of the neighbouring garrisons. He reached *Blasco-Sancho* with 14,000 men, and directed his march on *Penaranda*, where the junction was to be effected. He there learned with pain and mortification the result of the battle of Arapiles, (Salamanca.) Marshal Marmont, although informed of the King's movement, without waiting for the reinforcements which were to join him from the army of the north on the twenty-third and from Madrid on the twenty-fourth of July, had passed the Tormes on the twentieth, given battle and been defeated. His army in full retreat was followed by the English forces, whose pursuit was only checked by the presence of the King's corps. Information which he received in a letter from Marshal Marmont,