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HISTORICAL SUMMARY
OF THE
EVENTS WHICH PLACED
JOSEPH NAPOLEON

ON THE
THRONE OF SPAIN.

BY

ABEL HUGO



PARIS.

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DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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JOSEPH W. BARNETT

THEORY OF...

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

Historical Summary of the Events which placed JOSEPH NAPOLÉON
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 honorable 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 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 dispatched 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 Vendeeans 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 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 favorable 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 court-yard 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

* It is not true, as has been alledged 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, as most of the other deputies of that department had at different periods been, all of whom voted in favour of the king.

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 Rœdeker and De Fleurien 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 thirtieth of September, 1800, which was signed at his estate of Mortefontaine.

On the ninth 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.

The treaty of Amiens, which was signed on the twenty-fifth 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 quâ 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 recognized 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 characterized 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 a lure 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 twelve thousand English auxiliaries. On the eighth 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 despatched to the French head quarters. They entered 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-Philippstadt, 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 fifteenth 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 Catanzaro, 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 skillfully availing himself of the aid and support afforded by the king in reorganizing 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, Arcambal, 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 Gulf of St. Euphemia, where four thousand Poles and a handful of French soldiers were 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 gunboats, 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 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 interest 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 counselors 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 bigotted 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 domi-

nions 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—provincial 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 embel-

lished, 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 work-shops, “I have seen the work-shops 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 endowment 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 institution, 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 counsellors 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 burdens, 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 human probability, have succeeded in regenerating one of the fairest portions of Europe.

In an interview which he had, some months previous, held with the Emperor Napoleon at Venice, he received an intimation of the feuds which distracted the reigning house of Spain, and of the political embarrassments to which they must inevitably lead. He now received 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 of events, that Joseph set out, cherishing the delusive hope of again returning to 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 an 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 king-

dom, 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 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 cour-

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

tiers 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 Bessiere's 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 Jan. 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 favorable 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 recognized 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 expulsion 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 that the enemy's object was to concentrate his forces and fall upon the capital, which he flattered himself 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 Villacastin, 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 twenty-seventh 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

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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 immoveable 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 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, where they remained tranquil spectators of the movements of their al-

* Father Rey, General of the Augustins.

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

‡ The Abbé Llorente, former secretary of the inquisition, councillor 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.

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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. In the meantime he had only fifty thousand men to oppose to the English and Spanish forces which were double his own. 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 thirty thousand 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 the Alberche, were kept in check.

The action was bloody. Talavera was evacuated by the Spaniards, and the French army remained in possession of the field of battle. By their own admissions the enemy lost more men than the French, 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 combined English and 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 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 paralysed 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

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lies without participating in the action, 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 Augerau 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 eighth of January 1810, a very few days after the battle of Ocana, he found himself on the eleventh, 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 Tacher 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 Saint 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 could neither do good nor prevent evil, if the system of military governments were not abandoned. The situation of the 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, 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 gua-

rantee, 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 seventy-five thousand men, after taking Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, and defeating the English at Busaco, was compelled, in March, 1811, to withdraw his troops, then reduced, by sickness, forced marches and want of provisions, to thirty-five thousand. Marshal Soult laid siege to Badajoz, which surrendered on the nineteenth 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 Carthagená 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 régiments 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 cherished by the gold of the English and 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 twenty-five thousand men, to let him pass the Tagus on the first advices and form a junction with Marshal Marmont. 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 Ma-

drid with the guard and the troops of the neighbouring garrisons. He reached *Blasco-Sancho* with fourteen thousand 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*. 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*, brought by Colonel *Fabvier*, namely, that the army of Portugal might keep the left bank of the *Duero*, and form a junction with that of the king, if it were not abandoned, induced him instantly to march upon *Segovia*—a bold and even rash movement if the French army of Portugal should have passed the *Duero*, and in fact that army had crossed the river at *Tudela*, pursuing its retreat on *Burgos*.

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

The English horse was overthrown by General *Trelliard's* cavalry, under the walls of *Madrid*. A corps of twelve or thirteen thousand men, landed at *Alicant*, were marching on *La Mancha*, but on receiving intelligence of the king's advance, retreated, and returned to their place of debarkation. In a word, the armies of the south and the centre formed a junction at *Fuente-Higuerra*, whither Joseph repaired and issued the necessary orders for executing the movement he had conceived. On the third of November he returned to *Madrid*: the army of Portugal, apprized of his views by General *Lucotte*, *Aid-de-camp* of the king, who had been dispatched from the army of *Aragon*, pursued the retrograde movement of the enemy's armies, who were evacuating *Burgos*, but without pressing them. Having remained a single day at *Madrid*, Joseph passed the *Tormes*, and found himself on the battle field of *Arapiles*, at the head of more than a hundred thousand men. The enemy's force probably amounted to an equal number, but consisting, as it did, of the troops of three dif-

ferent nations, the victory could not be doubtful. The king having seen the movement commenced under his own view, by which the army of the south was to intercept the route from Salamanca to Ciudad Rodrigo, and thus cut off the enemy's retreat to Portugal, proceeded at once to his own army of Portugal, which arrived on the same battle ground, burning with feelings which may be easily imagined. But the rain, which had been falling in torrents, had rendered the roads nearly impassable, and greatly retarded the movements of the army of the south. The English profited by this delay, and hurried their retreat by the road of Ciudad Rodrigo, which still remained unoccupied. The success of this day was limited to five or six thousand prisoners, among whom was the English general of cavalry, Lord Paget. The king entered Salamanca with the army of Portugal. This day ought to have counterbalanced the disasters of Russia, but fate ordered otherwise. The enemy retired to Portugal, and the French army soon found itself weakened by the loss of more than thirty thousand men, who received orders to repass the Pyrenees.

At this period, a Spanish force that had advanced into La Mancha, made propositions to unite with the king's forces. He authorized one of his aides-de-camp to treat with this body, and was still in negotiation with its chiefs, when he received a positive order from the emperor to leave Madrid and take up the line of the Duero. The state of affairs in Russia made obedience to this order a matter of positive duty. Compliance was unavoidable, and the departure of the king for Valladolid took place instantly. As soon as Madrid was abandoned, the fires of insurrection were kindled, and raged with greater violence than ever. The Spanish officers who, as in the case of the army mentioned above, were all discontented with the proceedings of the regency which had placed them under the orders of the English, were compelled to dissemble, to conceal their dissatisfaction, and were thus thrown into the arms of the enemies of France: Spaniards, English, Portuguese, all advanced upon the French army, then enfeebled by the loss of its best officers and non-commissioned officers, who had been withdrawn to aid in the formation of new corps in France.

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

But it was impossible for him to maintain consistency or unity of plan in the ulterior operations. The minister of war in France corresponded directly with the chiefs of the armies of the north, of Portugal, and of the troops stationed in the provinces of the Ebro, and not unfrequently issued orders for retrograde movements to corps who were to be replaced by those of the line. By this course of things, the latter were so far reduced that they were compelled to concentrate upon Burgos without fighting. The corps of General Clausel received orders direct from France to proceed to Navarre against Mina.

The king, after leaving Burgos, passed the Ebro, and took a position before Vittoria, hoping to avoid an action until the corps of General Clausel had rejoined him. This hope was delusive. General Clausel was unable to return or to partake in the glory of that battle of Vittoria, where thirty thousand Frenchmen in line disputed the victory with more than a hundred thousand enemies. By the confession of the English, their loss on that occasion surpassed that of the French army.

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

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

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

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

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

If the events of the war should intercept all communication between the imperial head-quarters and the capital, and the enemy make his way to Paris, he had verbal instructions from the emperor, and after his departure *a written order*, to remove the king of Rome and the empress, to proceed with them to the Loire, and to cause them to be

* Certain malicious or ill-informed writers have alleged that this escort was principally intended to accompany the equipages of the king's household: the fact is, that neither those equipages, nor the chests of the treasurer of the civil list, formed any part of this convoy—that they remained near Vittoria, where they were pillaged, and that M. Thibault, the treasurer of the civil list, and several of his employes, were killed there.

accompanied by the grand dignitaries, the ministers, the officers of the senate, the legislative body, and the council of state.

Joseph soon after had ample reason to acknowledge the judgment and foresight which had dictated these precautions. At first, his attention was excited by covert insinuations and whispers, and afterwards his suspicions of disaffection were fully confirmed by more open and explicit remarks. Reserve was thrown aside, and many senators no longer dissembled their opinions in favour of proclaiming Napoleon the Second, or the regency of the empress, and the lieutenantancy of Joseph under an infant emperor. It was then that Joseph made known to his brother the necessity of concluding peace upon any terms; and when the slender corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier were brought under the walls of Paris, when they declared that they were pursued by an enemy vastly superior, that all communication between the emperor and his capital was cut off—the case provided for in the verbal and written instructions of Napoleon was admitted to have arrived. Joseph then communicated to the empress and the arch-chancellor the last letter from his brother, which recognised and confirmed his former directions. The ministers, the grand dignitaries, and presidents of the sections of the council were assembled to the number of twenty-two members. They all admitted that the case provided for had occurred; and that it was better to leave Paris to its own authorities, and to its own particular forces than to hazard the fate of the emperor, and thereby endanger that of the entire empire.* The minister of war, (Duke de Feltre,) declared that there were no arms ready, that they were daily given out to the new levies as they departed, and that they were exhausted. Thus it was unanimously decided that the government should be removed to Chartres, and thence to the Loire.

But Joseph remarked they were yet uninformed as to the enemy they had to do with: that the advancing forces might be reconnoitred and measures adopted on the result of that reconnoissance. He offered not to set out with the empress. The ministers of war, of the administration of war, and of the marine, concurred with him, and promised not to return to the empress except in the last extremity, when they should be convinced that they were retiring before the entire mass of the allied armies. If, on the contrary, upon reconnoitring, it should appear that they had only a detached corps to resist, which they could destroy without exposing the capital, they would support the two marshals with all the means under their controul. It was in the hope that the last hypothesis might prove correct, that the proclamation

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

of King Joseph was drawn up and published that evening. The council applauded these generous and disinterested offers and the emperor's letter passed into all hands.

The empress, her son, the court, the members of the government, the ministers, M. de la Bouillerie, treasurer of the crown, with the funds intrusted to him, took their departure. During the night the marshals were informed of the enemy's approach. The next morning they were in conflict with the out-posts. Joseph, accompanied by the ministers of war, of the administration of war, and of the marine, agreeably to the resolution of the council, left Paris to investigate the actual state of affairs more closely. The National Guards were put under arms to maintain internal tranquillity, and posted at the different gates to prevent any insult which might be attempted by detached corps.

In the morning Marshal Marmont having sent the king information that he was too weak to repel the troops then before him, the king directed Marshal Mortier to reinforce him; an order which was promptly complied with. In the afternoon an officer of engineers of the French army taken prisoner by the enemy, had been admitted to the presence of the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Austrian Generalissimo. This officer had seen the enemy's army drawn out, and came to make a report to the marshals, and afterwards to the king. Marshal Marmont declared that he could not hold out longer than four o'clock, nor prevent Paris from being inundated with irregular troops during the night. He demanded authority to treat for the preservation of the capital and the security of its population. Some legions of the National Guards solicited permission to place themselves in line of battle outside the walls—it was refused, lest Paris might be deprived of their support where it could alone be useful, in the interior and throughout the immense extent of its enclosure. The decision of the council under the presidency of the empress regent was literally carried into execution under these trying circumstances, when the ministers, who were with the king, admitted that the greatest part of the allied forces was under the walls of Paris. They did not leave Paris until four o'clock, when they learned that the enemy had occupied St. Denis, and that in a few moments more it would be too late to cross the Seine. Joseph passing through Versailles ordered the cavalry at the dépôts in that city to follow him, and proceeded to Chartres, where he found the empress, and thence to Blois.

Great censure has been cast upon King Joseph for his proclamation, in which he assured the National Guard that he was not to accompany the empress, but would remain at Paris:—There is little justice in the exceptions taken to his conduct. No one can doubt that such were his intentions, and those of the council, which was then held, and the object of the immediate annunciation of their views can be readily conceived. But a few hours afterwards every thing was

changed by the arrival of the whole allied army under the walls of Paris. There remained to King Joseph the choice of three courses : To accompany the empress to the point designated by the Emperor : to remain at Paris, or to follow the army of Marshal Marmont : certainly there was no room for hesitation in selecting from among these expedients. Joseph, in following the regent, did his duty. Would he have acted more wisely in voting for the stay of the empress ? Could he with honour deviate from the strict path marked out in his instructions ? Subjected to the commands of the emperor he was bound to obey them, and not to surrender his wife and son to the enemy. Ought he to have exposed himself to the chance of presiding at the dethronement of the emperor and to have made peace by the sacrifice of his brother ? His orders in a given case, which actually occurred, were precise, to assemble on the Loire the national authorities around the regent, and to collect at the same point all the forces he could obtain. This order was punctually complied with : the armies of the Dukes of Castiglione, Albufera, and Dalmatia were yet untouched : if the emperor had reached the Loire, he might still have balanced the chances of war, when he found assembled under his hands all the resources which he had ordered to be collected. « *Fay ce que dois, advienne ce que pourra,* » is without doubt the maxim of every public officer who respects himself.

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

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

Joseph was received in New-Jersey with the greatest kindness and respect, and a law was enacted expressly for his case, which was addressed to him, with expressions of benevolent courtesy, by the governor of that state, in 1817. By this act he was enabled to purchase and hold real estate there *without becoming an American citizen*. The mansion which he erected on his grounds fell a prey to the flames some years since ; an occasion on which he received from the inhabitants of Jersey, the most touching proofs of affectionate interest.

Impartial and unbiassed judges of men, the citizens of the United States have been enabled to anticipate the decision of posterity and to pass upon the degree of credit which ought to be given to the countless slanders which have been invoked to blacken and vilify the name of the emperor and his family. Thus also it appears that the people of Naples and even of Spain, enlightened by experience, appreciated at their just value the incessant calumnies which were heaped upon their new monarch. Separated from his family and from his country by almost insurmountable obstacles, it is yet a source of gratification to believe, as we sincerely do, that a rich store of enjoyment for the residue of life is secured to Joseph—a conscience void of offence—possessed of which, no upright man can fear solitude.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY
OF THE
EVENTS WHICH PLACED
JOSEPH NAPOLEON

ON THE
THRONE OF SPAIN,

BY
ABEL HUGO.

PARIS.

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