Joseph Bonaparte, eldest brother of the Emperor Napoleon (Bonaparte), arrived in this country in August, 1815—landing in New York on the twenty-eighth of the month—the passage from Bordeaux having consumed thirty-four days.

It was not without risk of capture that Joseph succeeded in reaching the soil of this country. Two English war-vessels had overhauled the ship after leaving Bordeaux, but appeared satisfied with the passports that had been secured before sailing. Joseph's was in the name of Surviglieri, anticipating by analogy the one of Survilliers later adopted in this country.

Joseph and his small suite lingered a few days in New York before setting out for Washington, D. C., passing through Philadelphia and Baltimore en route; the object of this journey being a proposed call on President Madison. For political reasons and for fear of embarrassing the Administration, Madison declined to receive Joseph—so that being apprized of this decision after leaving Baltimore, he did not continue his journey to the Capitol. On the journey back he passed through Lancaster, Pennsylvania, being entertained there by a Mr. Slaymaker. He reached Philadelphia on the eighteenth of September, 1815.

Napoleon had advised him to take up his residence in this country somewhere between Philadelphia and New York, so that news from the Old World could readily reach him. In pursuance of this advice, he determined to cast about for such a place, and in the
meantime to take up his residence in Philadelphia. The Bingham house and place known as *Lansdowne* happened to be vacant. There he established himself for a year. It was in July, 1816, that he made his purchase at Bordentown, New Jersey, of the farm known as *Point-Breeze* containing some two hundred acres—and after settling himself there purchasing from time to time more land, until his entire holdings amounted to some eighteen hundred acres.

He very soon became *persona-grata* in Philadelphia and established friendly relations with many of the prominent and distinguished men in various walks of life then resident in Philadelphia.

He was admirably fitted for the social side of life and very soon became the centre of a circle with whom he could be on familiar terms.

Nicholas Biddle (1786-1844) writing his friend Edward Coles then in Washington under date of February 25, 1818, has this to say:

The town is gay and likely to continue so for some time. Among my regrets at not being here when you first came, one of the strongest is, my not having had an opportunity of making you see and know Joseph Bonaparte. I have lately seen a good deal of him and really he is by far the most interesting stranger that I have ever known in this country. He is free and communicative and talks of all the great events and the great persons of his day with a frankness which assures you of his good nature as well as his veracity. I am going to dine with him as soon as I finish this letter. . .

At these social dinners that followed each other at frequent intervals, Nicholas Biddle took a prominent part. Not only that, but from his early training and knowledge of French he was enabled to jot down many of Joseph Bonaparte’s remarks in conversation. It is from this source that we are enabled to present an outline of Joseph’s career abroad and his contacts with European politics.

*Vol. LV.—14*
May 10, 1816 [Joseph Bonaparte not present]

I dined yesterday at Cadwalladers and sat between Marshal Grouchy and Genl. Le Febvre Desnoettes.

Grouchy stated that not a man in the French Army complained of Bonaparte's departure from the Army, following the retreat from Moscow. The great dangers were past—the Army was almost sheltered, and the soldiers finding that they could no longer fight, that the campaign was at an end, perceived that the best thing to be done, was that the Emperor should return to France to reestablish affairs and reorganize an Army. Never was there complaint in the Army.

"The forces of the French Army engaged in the Russian Campaign have been greatly exaggerated. I do not believe that there were more than 150,000 Frenchmen, and perhaps as many Austrians, Prussians, etc., etc."—said Grouchy. (He had said as much to me two weeks previously. N.B.)

As to his (Bonaparte's) return from Egypt it was not owing to personal danger; it was governed rather by Ambition and he wished to take advantage of the circumstances then prevailing in France.

The great Art of Bonaparte, was the firmness and determination that accompanied all that he undertook; and which commanded the same sentiments throughout his Army. He desired absolutely to carry out such and such a thing and in the end he accomplished it. But on a Battle-field Moreau was much superior to Bonaparte.

I asked Grouchy if Bonaparte inspired a feeling of friendship among those who surrounded him—He replied "Not exactly friendship, but that there was a certain attraction in his manners, something which interested—for a long period one had only seen—[Leaders] so contemptible that people were charmed to find in the Chief of Government, a brilliant soldier, an excellent mathematician, a man of science—that he inspired respect."

It was a grievous fault to have lingered so long at Moscow—but he (Bonaparte) was lured to it by the hope of peace being declared. He had dictated it at Vienna, in Berlin, and other conquered cities. He thought he could do as much in the Capital of Russia. The Russian Government entertained him with propositions, the dispatch of Couriers, etc. until the [advancing] Season enabled them to attack him with overwhelming advantage.

Clause
d (who was present) said that Bonaparte had not received a single letter from France during his exile (at Elba). That only Savary had sent him the Court Almanac, and had made with the prick of a pin on the margin marks indicating the disposition of people towards Bonaparte—Thus, opposite the names of his friends—there were no marks—those who were against him had, one, two or several pin-pricks according to
the degree of their enmity, marked against their names—Also that this booklet sent to Bonaparte, he received at Lyons after disembarking, which made it appear that Savary had done it to curry favor with the Emperor after his exploit of leaving Elba.

Clausel said that Ney had committed a great mistake to say to the King (Louis XVIII) what he did when he left to take command against Bonaparte.

Clausel himself had not heard the expression. "But Savary and other officers who were present and who recounted the matter to me, immediately after—were indignant at it—He (Ney) said that he was delighted with the occasions of showing his zeal for the King—that he would bring Bonaparte in an Iron Cage, etc., etc."

Clausel said it was true that Ney's wife had been exposed to some injurious treatment—however that the old and the newly created nobility got on pretty well, barring the women—that in order to avoid wounding the pride of the newly created personages, when they were presented to the Royal family, the ladies or the gentlemen in attendance would utter in a very low voice either "feather" or "crown" (plume or couronne) to make it known if the person presented belonged to the old Régime or not.

The nobles created by Bonaparte bore on their Coats of Arms a feather—the old nobility a Crown—it followed that more fuss and attention were paid to the new-comers than the old.

Grouchy said that after the return of the Bourbons the Emperor Alexander (of Russia) finding himself at supper with Mme. de Stael where the only others present were himself, (Grouchy), and the Marquis of Lafayette, ridiculed the Bourbons. He said that if he had known them as well eighteen months before as he did now, he would not have made efforts towards putting them on the Throne—that only real "legitimacy existed by the will of the people!"

Jan'y 10, 1818—Messrs. Joseph Bonaparte and Vandamme and myself at C. J. Ingersoll's.

J. B. when the Emperor left Paris in 1814 to attack the Allies, and while he was fighting them, he wrote me secret instructions. Foreseeing the possibility of the Allies reaching Paris, and fearing that the Empress and the King of Rome might fall into their hands, and by means of the establishment of a long Regency, be able to govern France, he told me that in case Paris should be in danger, I should conduct the Empress and her son to the other side of the Loire, either to Tours or Blois. He said that he would rather see the Empress dead outside of Paris, than captured alive in Paris. "That was what was said at the time," remarked Vandamme, and Joseph added that it was true. "I remember well his words—'I would rather stab my son with my own hand, than to see him fall into the hands of
the Austrians like Astyanæ.’” The historical situation that he feared as the most disquieting was the one of Anax son of Hector in the hands of Pyrrhus. He added that I must take away with me the 60 millions of gold in the public Treasury in Paris, and bring the Senate, and the most prominent people of the Court. When the Allies were approaching Paris, Lacepede, President of the Senate, came on his part to propose to me, proclaiming the King of Rome, and that I should be named (or the Empress I cannot recall which) Regent. I refused. The crisis was at hand, the Senate was assembled; I read the Emperor’s letter—Everyone was dumbfounded at the name of the Emperor—the opinion was expressed that he must be obeyed. I said to them—are we in the situation predicted by the Emperor? “Yes.” Where is the Enemy? Marshal Marmont announced that the enemy were in strong force—150,000 men. “You, Minister of War, can Paris arm itself?” Clarke answered that Paris had but 6000 piques (lances). It was decided that everyone should depart on the morrow. I had therefore done my duty.—I did more. The Emperor in his secret letter had stated that Cambacères and myself should accompany the Empress, and that she should always consult with us. I should in effect have been the head of the Government, especially as I was chief of the Empress’ guard. When it was decided to leave, I told the Senate that as an insurrection in Paris was feared, that the people would not oppose the enemy, I would remain in the City; for if the enemy did not reach there I could recall the Empress, and that if they came in such numbers that resistance was impossible, I would follow her. I therefore in the night following issued a proclamation tending to appease and reassure the inhabitants. I went up and down the City. The next day I gathered together all the troops I could, as Commander of the National Guard, forbidding them to leave Paris. I remained in the City until the near approach of the Enemy, and then I gave orders to Hulin, Commandant, to make the best capitulation possible, and escaped with some 60 individuals who surrounded me. We escaped the Enemy by 2 hours (margin).

Before leaving, an Engineer officer, who had been on reconnoitering duty came to my head-quarters. He had been captured and taken before the King of Prussia, Prince Schwarzenburg and the Emperor of Russia who were already close to Paris. The last mentioned one sent him to tell me that he knew Paris could not defend herself—that he could not answer for his Cossacks after that self-same day, and that he advised capitulation. I then made my dispositions and departed.

En route, I wished to go to Fontainbleau to see the Emperor (his brother Napoleon) but the enemy was between us and I could not accomplish it. I therefore proceeded to Blois. N. Biddle —— I asked him (Joseph Bonaparte) if the Emperor (Napoleon) could not have joined the Empress at Tours where
he could have had the support of Souchet’s Army and that of Soulé—which amounted to 100,000 men. Joseph replied that he might have, and Vandamme blamed the Emperor a good deal for not having pursued that course, or else to have surrendered to the Allied Powers.

Vandamme said that in Russia all the officers were agreed that the Emperor (Napoleon) possessed certain advantages at the moment, and it was only through the treachery of Marmont that he was delivered up to his enemies. During their stay at Tours, orders came from the Emperor to move on to Orleans. Everything was got ready. The Empress was moving off and not seeing Cambacères—sent for him to ascertain if he was prepared. He sent word back with many apologies that he had taken physic that day and could not start at the moment. They moved off, but Cambacères slipped away and proceeded to Paris where he joined the Allies. My sister Caroline was promised to Murat before the 18th Brumaire and he married her soon after.

Napoleon and Moreau did not know each other, had not seen each other before this period. I had made Moreau’s acquaintance, and I engaged him to come and meet my brother at my house. I presented him to Napoleon. We were but three (3) in the Room. Napoleon and Moreau conversed. Napoleon said that things were going badly, that the government was being run by petty lawyers, that France could not be governed by such (folk). He said a good deal and spoke for some time without making his intent quite clear. At last Moreau interrupted him. “Come now, it’s not worth while talking about it longer.” “I did not know you—now I do.” I see that things cannot be worse than they are. I am not at home in politics I do not wish to mix in intrigue. Do therefore as you desire, so that it be nothing against the well-being of our Country. As for myself, look upon me as one of your aides de Camp—give me orders—I’ll get together what military remain in Paris—such of my ancient comrades from the Army of the Rhine, and I’ll obey you.”

Actually before separating, Bonaparte gave Moreau orders to take the Luxembourg where the Directory sat. He took it, became master of that body and collaborated with Bonaparte.

After the departure of Moreau, I introduced Cambacères who not desiring to talk with three present—I withdrew. He remained for 3 hours with my brother, and separated from him highly pleased that his place was assured to him.”

Vandamme related that Bonaparte offered his sister Caroline to Moreau. Joseph remarked that this could not be, as he had already committed himself to Murat. Moreau’s animosity (later) against Bonaparte arose from the jealousy of women.—Of his own wife and her Mother Mme. Hulet against the Mother and wife of Bonaparte—about this Joseph and Vandamme seemed in agreement.

Bonaparte said to Vandamme—“Tell Genl. Moreau that any
place he may wish in the government he may have as second in military rank. I wish the government to have a chief, and while I do not fear rivalry from him, I do not desire to have Rivals.

Clarke (minister of War) suffered from hernia and could not mount horse-back, although with much pain he accompanied Joseph to Tours.

“At my entry into Spain, the Duke Infantado-Cavallos, the Duke Fernand Nunez called for the purpose of bidding me farewell, but after talking with them, they remained with me.

“One must make it a point always to regard one’s self as above one’s position. When one is conscious of this feeling, the sense of pride that it gives, guards against one’s being corrupted” spoke Joseph very well.

“Do not let that Merry, my Secretary of Legation, bother you,” said Cornwallis to me at Amiens, he’s a little Portuguese, not an Englishman.

It is true as quoted in the Edinburgh Review.

N. Biddle. I had asked him whether it was true that Lord Whitworth had proposed to recognize the Bonaparte family as the reigning house of France—if he (Bonaparte) would cede Malta.

Joseph B. I answered him that the family would be what France desired, and that it could not owe its dignity to strangers.

“As at the moment I (Joseph) occupied no place (i.e. office) and he addressed me in a private capacity, and as he thought me interested in Conserving the Peace of Amiens, which I had concluded, the thing went no farther.

I have his (Lord Whitworth’s) letter in which he tells me that England, in its high opinion of me, would submit to my arbitrage, certain disputed points that had arisen with regard to the Treaty of Amiens.

I have since occupied more important places, but I have always retained that letter with feelings of the greatest satisfaction. When I was engaged with the Treaty of Lunéville, I had instructions which permitted me to make Peace, leaving Tuscany to the Austrian family. The Austrians knew of this through Talleyrand, I suppose. They made me the offer of a Principality in Italy for myself and the sum of 6 million (francs?) if I would consent. I refused. I had a great deal to complain of with regard to Soult.”

(Fouché)

Joseph Bonaparte:

The man who behaved worse than any other in all these matters is Fouché. As to Talleyrand, he may be excused on the ground that in his coming out for the Bourbons, he fell back on the place he occupied before the Revolution. But Fouché soiled with all sorts of crimes, steeped in blood, what interest could he be in the
eyes of the Bourbons? He is a mixture of mud, steeped in blood!

"Carnot is an honest man, but I do not rank him as a great one in war."

Grouchy was not of the same opinion and remarked that it was he who had reorganized the French Army and directed all its movements as Chief of the Committee of Public Safety.

Joseph—But he allowed himself to be set aside (I believe by Fouché) in the Revolution of Fructidor which is not to his credit, as a man of ability—afterwards on the return of the Bourbons, Fouché persuaded him that they desired to establish a Republic and thus form a division between those who opposed the Bourbons, some of whom wished a Napoleon 2, and others a Republic.

Grouchy—I declared for a Napoleon 2nd, and proclaimed it at the head of the Army, but on reaching Paris, found no party of my own view. Fouché said to me, that there was no chance of success except through a recall of the Bourbons, and Carnot and the Corps Legislatif, for the reëstablishment of a Republic."

February 16, 1818, at a dinner at my house (N. B.). Joseph Bonaparte, Grouchy, Allen Smith, Short, Unzaga, Cadwalader.

Joseph said he had not been disappointed with regard to the laws, liberty, etc., of this country. He had been a little disappointed as to the lands, which were not so rich as he had anticipated, but what had surpassed his expectation, was the general ease and comfort of the people.

"If the question were raised as to what country in the world, the majority of the Nation enjoyed the greatest happiness, certainly this one (United States) would be named, and which settles the question." Mr. Short cited the observation made by Mr. Correa—"that in the United States there was much happiness, but little pleasure." Joseph answered, "Oh! that's a mere 'bon-mot'" (witticism)—he did not consider it a fact.

"It is sought now a days to frighten my wife and my children by stories of Serpents and all sorts of things to prevent their coming over here. I have written them that never have I seen fewer serpents than since my arrival in America, that during a residence of almost two years I have seen but one."

After dinner there was much talk of France and the French.

N. Biddle. "Have you seen the last work of the Abbé Pradt, on the events which brought about the Restoration?" Joseph, "No."

N. B. He attributes it to Talleyrand and the Baron (the return of the Bourbons), and he states that when the Emperors arrived in Paris the Bourbons were not in question. Joseph—He is right.
N. B. Also that the work (book by Abbé Pradt) has been suppressed because the Bourbons did not wish their return attributed to any other cause than a spontaneous movement of the French people.

Grouchy. Never was reckoning more false, for certainly public opinion was very pronounced against them.

Talleyrand's name was brought into the conversation:

Joseph: Talleyrand is an ignoramus.

N. B.—You astonish me.

Joseph—Yes, but Talleyrand is an ignoramus. He is very lazy and all lazy people are ignorant. I distinguish between men who are something in themselves, who are familiar with science or proficient in Art, and those who have a mere smattering of everything.

Mr. Short: I saw a good deal of Talleyrand. I have had occasion to come in contact with many individuals, but in all my experience I never met one more despicable.

Grouchy: Mr. Short is entirely right.

Joseph—I formerly respected Talleyrand as the friend of Mirabeau (a man infinitely superior to him).

Mr. Smith—Is it true that he opposed the war with Spain?

Joseph—So little true that he offered himself to watch over the Royal family at Valencia undertaking to amuse them, etc. He did not oppose the war with Spain. I was at Lunéville working on the Treaty. Laforest, Talleyrand's creature, was with me occupying the post of Secretary. One day as we were at table, dispatches were brought announcing the victory of Hohenlinden. Rumors were afloat that important news was at hand that a great victory had been won, but as Cobenzell was at my side, I did not wish to read the dispatches just then. But Cobenzell said to me—"No matter read the dispatch, if it is a battle lost 'twill not interfere with my digestion. If I lost my appetite for each battle that we have lost I would no longer be living." "Well," I replied, "if you wish it you shall have it," and we read the story of the battle. Immediately afterwards Laforest received a dispatch from Talleyrand, the object being that as there was a question in the Treaty of payment by the Bank of Vienna of its notes, which circulate in Belgium, and Talleyrand foreseeing that the victory would insure Peace, and that their Bank bills would increase in value, sent an agent (and this agent was LeRoy de Chaumont) to buy them all up. Laforest therefore proposed to me that I should defer the signing of the Treaty for 24 hours, to give time to LeRoy de Chaumont to carry out the plan. I might have done so without compromising myself. It was the agent of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Talleyrand) who requested it. I had only to say to him "Cobenzell and I are in agreement. I will postpone the signing of the Treaty. I will feign to be indisposed, or state that ink has been spilled upon
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

"Copied by Catlin from a miniature in the possession of Joseph Bonaparte for N. Biddle." From the inscription by Judge Craig Biddle, son of Nicholas Biddle. Catlin's copy now is in the possession of Edward Biddle. Joseph Bonaparte considered this the best likeness of his brother. See note 12.
my copy of the Treaty, we must wait until to-morrow for a fresh one to be prepared, all this would have gained time. Lafortest pleaded for it, but I refused. To understand how infamous this project of Talleyrand's was, one should take into account that a delay of 24 hours would have perhaps caused an advance of the French army, another battle, the death of perhaps 25,000 men, and all for the purpose of filling Talleyrand's pockets. With all the money he gained, his expenditures were so considerable, that he did not save much—his luxurious living, the extravagant style that reigned in his household, was carried to such a point that the Emperor reproached him for it, saying that he carried things too far and must respect public opinion."

Joseph continuing.

That book "Letters from the Cape" states that the Emperor did not consult Talleyrand about the affair of the Duc d'Enghien but I know to the contrary.

"I made a visit to my brother at Malmaison and on arrival found Josephine weeping (plunged in tears), and who came to me saying "Oh my dear friend the Emperor is with Mr. Berthier and Mr. Talleyrand in consultation as to the fate of the Duc d'Enghien I fear that they will harm him. I have already engaged Berthier to speak in favor of the Duc. I myself do not wish to approach the Emperor, because he will think me an intriguer, in that I mix in matters which do not concern me, but go you I beg to speak to your brother in his favor. On leaving her, I strolled into the garden. Shortly after the Emperor came and joined me. I made no specific allusions and talked of indifferent matters, when he asked me what was being said about the affair of the Duc's? "There is Berthier, a mediocre man who thinks he should be saved, while Talleyrand who has genius and judgment is of the opinion he should be done away with."

After all the events that followed, when I was in Switzerland, I was talking with Mme. de Stael of the affair, and I recounted all these circumstances to her and before Mr. Schlegel (whom it was said was her lover, but who was not). Sometime after I read in the "Gazette of the Empire" which was either in the pay of Talleyrand or directed by him, an answer to my observations, which was certainly written or dictated by Talleyrand. While Talleyrand was very closely associated with Mme. de Staël, it was she who had done the most harm in the eyes of the Emperor. M. Le Brun and I (Joseph Bonaparte) spent an entire day trying to engage the Emperor to pay back the two millions advanced by M. Necker to France, and to leave her in quiet. The Emperor finally became impatient. What? he said you speak in favor of that hussy ( ), you who have only known her for a certain number of days—while Talleyrand who has known her a very long time is opposed to it.

Madame de Staël said of him (Talleyrand) "He is an individ-
ual who always comes to the rescue of the victor.” When he began
to grow cold towards her and commenced his attention to Mme.
Grant, she asked him one day to test his affections, whether if
she and Mme. Grant were threatened with shipwreck and he
could rescue but one of them which one he would endeavor to
save?

His answer was: “But Madame you have a charming house at
Coppet on the lake of Geneva. Your father was a far seeing man
who took precautions. Assuredly he had you taught to swim! !”

He (Talleyrand) said one day to Mme. de Staël during the
Emperor’s residence at the Island of Elba that he thought a good
deal about the Emperor and that he would be curious to know
what he said about him, Talleyrand. “Well, said Mme. de Staël, I
do not believe he has anything against you for the rôle you have
played. He likes a rôle well performed, and he will say ‘How is
it Talleyrand is now in favor with the Bourbons?’ ”

Joseph speaking.

But the Emperor treated him harshly when they were at odds.
On my return from Naples I saw him (Talleyrand) at Court
the Emperor avoided speaking to him, nobody desired to speak
to him.

Short: He had borrowed of his nephews 100,000 crowns (ob-
solete French coin) and in the highest state of his prosperity,
they never could obtain repayment of any portion of it.

Grouchy: I sold him the land embraced in his garden. It
belonged to my establishment, and my business agents told me
that never had they encountered a man so much given to quib-
bling and petty meanness. He is a sordid creature.

Joseph: Talleyrand possessed much natural wit and could
make himself very agreeable and the Emperor liked his talk
and his manners.

Short: He could win over whom he pleased—cast a spell as
it were—man or woman he could render them fond of him.

Grouchy: There was one, however, who would have none of
him. This was my sister to whom he paid court a long time,
writing her billets, morning and evening which she scoffed at.
(N. B. I learned that this sister was Madame Condorcet noted
for her beauty.)

Joseph: Notice the character of his mind. I am persuaded
that he invented the word legitimacy, and that it was he who
named Louis 18th the “desired one” (le Desiré). I do not know
it positively, but cut my arm off if it was not he, being as it was
the last thing in the world an ordinary individual would have
thought of doing, attaching the name “Desired one” (Desiré)
to a man not in the least so!

He did not like the United States.

N. B. He even wrote against us.

Joseph: But he wrote very little; he always had promoters
Joseph Bonaparte

about him. Like Hauërée and La Forest—he'd say to some one, "There is something that could or should be written up." He would pronounce two or three ideas and the promoters (faiscurs) had a book!

July 7th, 1818—Dined with Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, a small party, where for the first time I heard Joseph Bonaparte come out. He said a great many interesting things:

While King of Spain, Ferdinand, the present Sovereign, wrote to him to request the decoration of one of the orders established by Joseph. He also wrote to him complaining that Napoleon had promised to let him marry his niece, Lucien's daughter, but now refused, and he begged as a Spanish prince that Joseph would interfere to persuade his brother to comply with his promise. The fact was, Bonaparte had agreed to let him marry Lucien's daughter, who is a very fine girl, but when he came to see what sort of a creature he (Ferdinand) was, he refused.

"I went to Spain because I thought I could do them good. When they asked me 'What are your rights to the throne?' I always said your happiness. They saw that I was their friend. What occasioned my being driven from Spain was this—my brother had asked me to cede some of the Spanish territory, to give to France the Pyrenees, and as far as the Ebro perhaps including Valencia. I refused. He (Napoleon) said to me—This is strange enough. Ferdinand will do anything I wish, but you, my brother, a prince of my family, will give nothing. I refused to cede an inch of the Spanish territory. This the true Spaniards saw and liked me for it. But at length the Emperors of Russia and Austria entered into a coalition with Napoleon, that if he would consent to their taking Constantinople and Turkey they would agree to his going to the Ebro. This I could not prevent, and I lost my hold on Spain because I could no longer stand between them and their dismemberment. The grandees acknowledged me, but I did not think myself legitimate until I could procure the recognition by the Cortes, which I wished to assemble.

"I received my ideas in the Revolution. I am a Republican more even than you Americans are. I did not wish the formation of the French Empire. I did not wish Napoleon to marry any except a French woman. I wished him to recall, but not to employ the emigrants. His idea was that France was to be brought back (after the Revolution) to the rest of the European system by his management by the return of the nobles, connected by a sort of free masonry with the nobles of Europe. He thought that it was necessary to acquire absolute dominion over the French parties and the French Nation. I wished for a more limited Monarchy."

Talking of Napoleon's marriage he said, "It is not a thing to boast of, but as a matter of fact our family is one of the oldest
in Europe—traced clearly back for 800 years to Galgonière of Florence. It was not so much the family of Napoleon who were his flatterers, as the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia who addressed and courted him in the meanest style of flattery. I have some letters of Alexander which prove it. In one he says that if a new war should break out, he wished Napoleon would let him be his Aide-de-Camp. Everybody had got into a habit of cringing to Napoleon. Nobody except Lucien and I would speak truth to him. In Councils of State none dared to give an opposite opinion. In discussions the question was not what was right or what was wrong, but what the Emperor thought or said of it. Talleyrand would reply to any remark of a free kind, ‘That may be, but the Emperor has said so and so.’ The Emperor would on such occasions say to me, ‘See now, you are the only person who thinks in such a way.’”

Eugène a mediocre young man was a boy with me when I was Ambassador at Rome. The Emperor liked him for his extreme subserviency. The preference which he gave to him over Murat after the Russian Campaign was the cause of the disaffection and ruin of the latter (Murat). His (Eugène’s) subserviency was shown by his consenting (for Bonaparte’s sake) to demand the divorce of his Mother, Bonaparte would not have dared to propose such a thing to me. On the contrary in the quarrel between Josephine and my Mother, I took my Mother’s side, the side which my feelings dictated. I always spoke what I thought, I had my principles, my opinion, and was his elder brother.

Eugène is the richest man in Europe. The palaces, jewels, etc., which he possessed as Vice-Roy and which of course did not belong to him, but to the Emperor, he was permitted to retain and he was then very glad to go and live at Munich.

The Emperor is good. I speak freely of his defects, and may therefore be believed when I say that his heart was good. He could refuse nothing to entreaties, to people in distress, and he was very generous. After passing the evening with a person he liked, he would send him a million in the morning. He thus sent a million to Cambacères. As a proof of the general submission, he says that during the Consulate he, Joseph and Le Brun wished to state freely to the Emperor some circumstances relative to the nomination of the members of the Legion of Honor. In the Council before the Emperor came in Le Brun and he began to talk about it to Cambacères, whom Le Brun wished to join them and Cambacères did not seem disposed to do it. “Ah!” said Cambacères to Le Brun jocularly “Vous êtes un Jacobin.” Le Brun it was well known had been a great Royalist in the early part of his career and Cambacères a violent Jacobin. After a little while Cambacères came over where Joseph was standing “Voila Le Brun” said he “qui est toujours a machanter pouille, Je m’en vais une foi, pour tout, vous ex pliquer en honnête homme ma politique.” (There is Le Brun who is al-
JOSEPH BONAPARTE TO NICHOLAS BIDDLE

The original in the possession of Edward Biddle

The picture mentioned in the note has remained in the possession of the family ever since its presentation. It is a large canvas (6'3" x 4'8") entitled the Wolf Hunt.

Translation

I beg of you to accept as a remembrance from a man who has learned to appreciate you in a long series of years, a painting by Snyders, which will go well in your Parlor or in your Dining-Room.

Will you also accept, Sir, expressions of my sincere attachment.

Your affectionate Servant

Point Breeze, 15 July, 1832

Joseph (Cte. de Survilliers.)
ways railing at me, I am going to explain once for all in honest fashion for him the nature of my politics.) He went on to explain that he always thought it useless to differ from the Emperor, that the Emperor would at last have his own way, that opposition only irritated him and put him out of humor with Cambacères. "Et en fin, je cherche toujours a concorder mes opinions avec mes intérêts." (And in the end, I always seek to make my opinions agree with my own interests.) He, Joseph, repeated the phrase to us a second time to show the impression it made on him.

Yet he said in a Council of State there was no safer counsellor than Cambacères, who saw clearly the points in question and explained them with great eloquence. He could have made any money he pleased by practising law in Paris. He had the chief hand in making the Code Napoleon which is almost all his.

I have the letters of Marshal Oudinot, requesting employment by Bonaparte against the Bourbons, after his return from Elba. [Oudinot now has high employment under the Bourbons.]

June 18, 1831.

I dined with Count Survilliers at Point Breeze and being entirely alone we had a great deal of conversation. In the course of our ride I took occasion to ask why Marshal Grouchy received the command of so large a force at Waterloo. He said that there were many reasons. It was difficult to select an officer of that rank on whom Napoleon could perfectly rely. Grouchy was by birth a nobleman and he therefore would not join the Jacobins and he had just previous done an act which made him odious to the Bourbons, with whom therefore there was no probability of his uniting against Napoleon. Grouchy commanded in the South of France. His second in command had the Due d'Angouleme in his power but made an agreement to liberate him. This agreement Grouchy refused to ratify, wishing to keep the Duke in the power of Napoleon. "I happened," said Joseph, "to be with the Emperor when Grouchy's officer brought the news that Grouchy has refused to ratify the convention and that the Duke was still within reach of Napoleon's authority. The Emperor was excessively angry at this step of Grouchy. He did not wish to keep the Duke d'Angouleme. "Que voulez-vous?" said he, 'que je fasse avec lui? Comme au Duc d'Enghien?'" These words from Napoleon struck me so forcibly that I caused Joseph to repeat them a second time.

Entry of 1839 at Andalusia.

I had not been at Joseph Bonaparte's for a long time. He had dined with me in the summer and I had promised to return his visit but was not able to do it until now. Immediately after my arrival, he ordered his barouche and we drove for several hours over his grounds, conversing all the time on a great variety of topics.
He spent so much money at Point Breeze he says because he was in hopes of bringing his family over to live here and he wished them to see that they had here something better than there is anywhere in Europe, and he thinks he has accomplished it, and that there is no establishment like Point Breeze in Europe. This seems to me an illusion for altho' he has a fine park yet the house is not worthy of the grounds.

He is obviously very anxious to return to Europe and he asked my opinion sincerely and confidentially—for he said I know you always tell me the truth—whether I thought his reputation required him to remain in America. I told him with great sincerity I thought not. He had already passed five and twenty years here. The whole political aspect of things had changed, and I saw no reason whatever why he should not now bring himself nearer to his family. He spoke of all that family with great freedom. . . . If he had to choose his residence in Europe it would be Corsica, where his family is so much esteemed and respected.

NOTES

1 Grouchy, Emmanuel, Marquis de (1766–1847). A French marshal. He was born at Vallette in the Department of Seine-et-Oise, September 5, 1766. He entered the French Army at the age of fourteen, and by 1789, had risen to the rank of captain in the royal body-guards. In spite of birth and training, he threw in his lot with the republicans, and left the royal guard for a line regiment. In 1792, he was a colonel of chasseurs and camp marshal. His services in Savoy and in La Vendée (1793) were rewarded with the rank of brigadier-general (1794); but the decree of the Convention against the nobles forced his retirement for a time. He was reinstated in command in 1795, and took part, as second in command to Hoche, in the Irish expedition (1796), and entered Bantry Bay. In 1798, he fought under Joubert in Italy, and later distinguished himself under Moreau in Piedmont. His public protest against the coup d'état of the Eighteenth Brumaire did not prevent Napoleon from utilizing his services, and he took part in the campaign on the Danube, distinguishing himself at Hohenlinden (1800). After the Peace of Lunéville, Grouchy was made inspector-general of cavalry and employed on various important missions, becoming one of Napoleon’s most trusted followers. He was prominent in all the Emperor's campaigns. During the Russian expedition he commanded a cavalry division at Borodino, and in the retreat led the “sacred squadron” of officers forming the Imperial body-guard. Nevertheless, he was refused the command of an army corps in 1813, but at the close of the year accepted a lesser post, and after fighting bravely against odds, was severely wounded at the battle of Craonne (1814). The Bourbon restoration resulted in Grouchy's loss of rank and banishment, and on
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Napoleon's return from Elba, Grouchy was one of the first to offer his services. He suppressed the Royalists under the Duke of Angouleme, and received a marshal's baton as his reward. He received command of a division of the French Army sent against Wellington and Blücher. With a force of 35,000 men and 100 guns, he was ordered to operate against Blücher and the Prussians after their defeat at Ligny. These orders he obeyed too literally, for in spite of the entreaties of his generals, he remained before Wavre, assailing Blücher's rear-guard of 15,000 men, while the rest of the Prussian army marched to the field of Waterloo. The absence of Grouchy's army resulted in Napoleon's defeat, and caused the Emperor to exclaim: "I would have gained the day but for his stupidity." Grouchy did all he could to repair his fatal error, but the cause of the Empire was lost, and he resigned his command under the walls of Paris. Under the Second Restoration he was proscribed, and passed five years in exile in the United States, residing in Philadelphia. Both parties in France reviled him, and an effort was made to condemn him to death. At last, in 1819, he was restored to his titles and estates, though not given the rank of marshal. He lived in retirement near Caen, constantly defending his conduct in 1815 in pamphlets and letters. After the July Revolution of 1830, he was recognized as a marshal of France, and resumed his seat in the Chamber of Peers. He was forced, from time to time, to defend himself against the attacks of his former generals of staff, and died May 29, 1847, before he was fully rehabilitated. His most important writings appear in the Fragments historiques relatifs a la campagne et a la bataille de Waterloo (Paris, 1830). Consult also: Mémoires du maréchal Marquis de Grouchy, edited by his grandson (Paris, 1873-74); the histories of the campaign of 1815, by Jomini (Paris, 1841), Charras (Brussels, 1857), and Quincet (Paris, 1862).

2 LeFebvre-Desnouettes, Charles, Count (1773-1822). A French General born in Paris, entered the French Army, serving in Belgium in 1792, and afterwards as Aide-de-Camp to Napoleon at Marengo. He distinguished himself at Austerlitz, was made Brigadier; and, in 1808, General of Division. At the siege of Saragossa he was taken prisoner by the English but escaped from England, and took part in the Austrian, Russian and Prussian Campaigns, and fought in France against the Allies in 1814. He was made a peer by Napoleon, in 1815, and was at Fleurus and Waterloo. Condemned to death by the Bourbons, he escaped to the United States, and attempted to establish a colony of French Refugees in Alabama. Despondent and homesick he obtained permission to return to France. Set out joyfully and was drowned off the Coast of Ireland.

8 Clausel, Bertrand (1772-1842). A French Marshal born at Mirepoix, in the Department of Ariège, December 12, 1772. He entered the Army at an early age and commanded a brigade in the Italian campaign of 1799. He was made a General of Division of the Army of the North in 1804; distinguished himself in the Campaign of 1809 against Austria, and subsequently in the War in Spain, where after the battle of Salamanca, July 22, 1812, he succeeded Marmont in the chief command.
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He conducted the very difficult retreat from Portugal with the greatest circumspection, fighting a succession of battles. Although he stood by Napoleon to the last, Louis XVIII., in 1814, named him Inspector General of Infantry. When Napoleon returned to France in 1815, Clausel immediately declared for him, was made a peer, and received the command of the Army of the Pyrenees. On the return of the Bourbons he was declared a traitor. He escaped to the United States and lived several years at Mobile, where he wrote his Exposé justificatif. During his absence, he was condemned to death, but was subsequently permitted to return to France. After the July Revolution, he was put in command of the troops in Algeria; and, in 1831, was made Marshal of France. Died near Toulouse, April 21, 1842.

*Vandamme, Dominigue René, Count (1770-1830). French Soldier. Enlisted in the Army in 1786. Devoted servant of Napoleon. Promoted General of Division in 1799; in 1805, for his leadership at Austerlitz, given the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honor. When Napoleon returned from Elba, Vandamme joined him, and was made peer of France and placed at the head of the Third Corps in the Army of the North. The Restoration first imprisoned and then exiled him. He came to the United States. Died at Cassel, near Dunkirk, July 15, 1830.*

*Napoleon, at St. Helena, is quoted as having said, “I have known only one really perfect traitor,—Fouché!”

*Short, William. Diplomatist. Born in Virginia, 1759; died in Philadelphia, 1849. Served as Secretary of Legation under Jefferson in Paris. Made Charge d’Affaires, in 1789, when Jefferson retired as Minister. Living to a great age, he used to say that he “thought the Lord had forgotten him!”

*Unzaga, Doctor. Accompanied Joseph Bonaparte to this Country. Probably a descendant of the distinguished Spanish General of that name.*


*Abbé Pradt (1759-1817), Almoner to Napoleon I. (Dominique Pradt).*

*Perhaps Baron (Eugéne) de Vitrolles (1774-1854), Minister under Louis XVIII.; ardent Royalist.*

*Peace of Lunéville, signed February 9, 1801.*

*The miniature markedly agrees with the physical description of Napoleon given by Madame de Rémusat in her Mémoirs (1802-1808): “He has thin chestnut hair, his eyes are grayish blue, and his skin, which was yellow while he was slight, became in later years a dead white without any color. His forehead, the setting of his eyes, the line of his nose—all that is beautiful, and reminds one of an antique medallion . . . his chin is short; his jaw heavy and square. His mouth which is thin-lipped becomes agreeable when he laughs; the teeth are regular.”*