Princess could not at the moment recollect the name of the Queen of Carthage; the Dauphin was vexed at his sister's want of memory, and though he never spoke to her in the second person singular, he bethought himself of the expedient of saying to her, "But *dis donc* the name of the queen, to mamma; *dis donc* what her name was."

Shortly after the arrival of the King and his family at Paris the Duchesse de Luynes came, in pursuance of the advice of a committee of the Constitutional Assembly, to propose to the Queen a temporary retirement from France, in order to leave the constitution to perfect itself, so that the patriots should not accuse her of influencing the King to oppose it. The Duchess knew how far the schemes of the factious extended, and her attachment to the Queen was the principal cause of the advice she gave her. The Queen perfectly comprehended the Duchesse de Luynes' motive; but replied that she would never leave either the King or her son; that if she thought herself alone obnoxious to public hatred she would instantly offer her life as a sacrifice; but that it was the throne which was aimed at, and that, in abandoning the King, she should be merely committing an act of cowardice, since she saw no other advantage in it than that of saving her own life.

One evening, in the month of November 1790, I returned home rather late; I there found the Prince de Poix; he told me he came to request me to assist him in regaining his peace of mind; that

at the commencement of the sittings of the National Assembly he had suffered himself to be seduced into the hope of a better order of things; that he blushed for his error, and that he abhorred plans which had already produced such fatal results; that he broke with the reformers for the rest of his life; that he had just given in his resignation as a deputy of the National Assembly; and finally, that he was anxious that the Queen should not sleep in ignorance of his sentiments. I undertook his commission, and acquitted myself of it in the best way I could; but I was totally unsuccessful. The Prince de Poix remained at Court, he there suffered many mortifications, never ceasing to serve the King in the most dangerous commissions with that zeal for which his house has always been distinguished.

When the King, the Queen, and the children were suitably established at the Tuileries, as well as Madame Elizabeth and the Princesse de Lamballe, the Queen resumed her usual habits; she employed her mornings in superintending the education of Madame, who received all her lessons in her presence, and she herself began to work large pieces of tapestry. Her mind was too much occupied with passing events and surrounding dangers to admit of her applying herself to reading; the needle was the only employment which could divert her.[1] She received the Court twice a week before

[1] There was long preserved at Paris, in the house of Mademoiselle Dubuquois, a tapestry-worker, a carpet worked by the Queen and Madame Elizabeth for the large room of her Majesty's

going to mass, and on those days dined in public with the King; she spent the rest of the time with her family and children; she had no concert, and did not go to the play until 1791, after the acceptation of the constitution.[1] The Princesse de Lamballe, however, had some evening parties in her apartments at the Tuileries, which were tolerably brilliant, in consequence of the great number of persons who attended them. The Queen was present at a few of these assemblies; but being soon convinced that her present situation forbade her appearing much in public, she remained at home, and conversed as she sat at work.[2] The sole topic of her discourse was, as may well be supposed,

ground-floor apartments at the Tuileries. The Empress Josephine saw and admired this carpet, and desired it might be taken care of, in the hope of one day sending it to Madame.—*Madame Campan.*

[1] A judgment may be formed of the situation in which the Queen found herself placed during the earlier part of her residence in Paris, from the following letter written by her to the Duchesse de Polignac:—"I shed tears of affection on reading your letters. You talk of my courage: it required much less to go through that dreadful crisis which I had to suffer than is daily necessary to endure our situation, our own griefs, those of our friends, and those of the persons who surround us. This is a heavy weight to sustain; and but for the strong ties by which my heart is bound to my husband, my children, and my friends, I should wish to sink under it. But you bear me up: I ought to sacrifice such feelings to your friendship. But it is I who bring misfortune on you all, and your troubles are on my account" (*History of Marie Antoinette*, by Montjoie).—*Note by the Editor.*

[2] The Queen returned one evening from one of these assemblies very much affected: an English nobleman, who was playing at the same table with her Majesty, ostentatiously displayed an enormous ring in which was a lock of Oliver Cromwell's hair.—*Madame Campan.*

the Revolution. She sought to discover the real opinions of the Parisians respecting her, and how she could have so completely lost the affections of the people, and even of many persons in the higher ranks.[1] She well knew that she ought to impute the whole to the spirit of party, to the hatred of the Duc d'Orléans, and the folly of the French, who desired to have a total change in the constitution; but she was not the less desirous of ascertaining the private feelings of all the people in power.

From the very commencement of the Revolu-

[1] This is somewhat inconsistent with the following extract from a letter written by Madame Campan in the latter part of 1789:—"Since the Queen has been at Paris her Court is numerous; she dines three times a week in public with the King; her card-rooms are open on those days. Though the apartments are small, all Paris is to be found there; she converses with the commanders of districts; she finds familiar opportunities of saying obliging things even to the private soldiers, among whom citizens of the first class are to be found, as well as the lowest artisans: mildness, resignation, courage, affability, popularity, everything is made use of, and sincerely, to reconcile people's minds, and promote re-establishment of order. Every one gives the credit due to such affecting attentions; and that is a reparation for the cruel sufferings that have been endured, for the dreadful risks that have been encountered. Upon the whole, nothing is more prudent, or more consistent, than the conduct of the King and Queen; and therefore the number of their partizans increases daily. They are spoken of with enthusiasm in almost every company. In moments of adversity the Queen has displayed a character generous and elevated; she is an angel of mildness and of goodness; she is a woman particularly gifted with courage. She has given proofs of it in the most critical moments; and Paris, replete with the most seditious opinions—Paris, continually reading the most disgusting libels, could not refuse her the admiration due to bravery, presence of mind, and courtesy. Her bitterest enemies confine themselves to saying, 'It must be confessed that she is a woman of strong mind.'"

tion General Luckner indulged in violent sallies against her. Her Majesty, knowing that I was acquainted with a lady who had been long connected with the general, desired me to discover through that channel what was the private motive on which Luckner's hatred against her was founded. On being questioned upon this point, he answered that Maréchal de Ségur had assured him he had proposed him for the command of a camp of observation, but that the Queen had made a bar against his name; and that this *par*, as he called it, in his German accent, he could not forget. The Queen ordered me to repeat this reply to the King myself, and said to him, "See, Sire, whether I was not right in telling you that your ministers, in order to give themselves full scope in the distribution of favours, persuaded the French that I interfered in everything; there was not a single licence given out in the country for the sale of salt or tobacco but the people believed it was given to one of my favourites."—"That is very true," replied the King; "but I find it very difficult to believe that Maréchal de Ségur ever said any such thing to Luckner; he knew too well that you never interfered in the distribution of favours. That Luckner is a good-for-nothing fellow, and Ségur is a brave and honourable man who never uttered such a falsehood, however, you are right; and because you provided for a few dependants, you are most unjustly reported to have disposed of all offices, civil and military."

All the nobility who had not left Paris made a point of presenting themselves assiduously to the

King, and there was a considerable influx to the Tuileries. Marks of attachment were exhibited even in external symbols; the women wore enormous bouquets of lilies in their bosoms, and upon their heads, and sometimes even bunches of white ribbon. At the play there were often disputes between the pit and the boxes about removing these ornaments, which the people thought dangerous emblems. National cockades were sold in every corner of Paris; the sentinels stopped all who did not wear them; the young men piqued themselves upon breaking through this regulation, which was in some degree sanctioned by the acquiescence of Louis XVI. Frays took place, which were to be regretted, because they excited a spirit of rebellion. The King adopted conciliatory measures with the Assembly in order to promote tranquillity; the revolutionists were but little disposed to think him sincere; unfortunately the royalists encouraged this incredulity by incessantly repeating that the King was not free, and that all that he did was completely null, and in no way bound him for the time to come. Such was the heat and violence of party spirit that persons the most sincerely attached to the King were not even permitted to use the language of reason, and recommend greater reserve in conversation. People would talk and argue at table without considering that all the servants belonged to the hostile army; and it may truly be said there was as much imprudence and levity in the party assailed as there was cunning, boldness, and perseverance in that which made the attack.

Annex to Chapter IV.

It will be useful to compare the following full and minute narrative with the details of the same events furnished by Madame Campan. The writer, François E. Guignard, Comte de Saint Priest (1735-1821), was at the time Minister of the Interior. He emigrated in 1790, and returned to France in 1814.

Account of the Departure of Louis XVI. for Paris on the 6th of October 1789, by M. de Saint Priest.[1]

I commence the narrative of what took place at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October 1789 by relating the contents of a letter written to me by M. de La Fayette a few days before. I was unable to preserve it, as my papers were burned in France during my emigration: but I have copied it from Bailly's journal, printed after his death.

"The Duc de la Rochefoucauld will have informed you of the idea put into the grenadiers' heads of going to Versailles this night. I wrote to you not to be uneasy about it, because I rely upon their confidence in me, in order to divert them from this project. I owe them the justice to say that they had intended to ask my permission to do so, and that many of them thought it was a very proper step, and one ordered by me. Their very slight inclination has been destroyed by four words which I said to them. The affair is off my mind, except as to the idea

[1] We recommend the reader to collate this interesting account with those contained in the *Memoirs* of Ferrières, Dusaulx, and Bailly, and the explanations annexed to Weber's book.—*Note by the Editor.*

of the inexhaustible resources of the plotters of mischief. You should not consider this circumstance as anything more than an indication of a design, and by no means as dangerous."

M. de La Fayette did not rely so much as he told me he did upon the obedience of these grenadiers, who had formerly belonged to the French guards, since he posted detachments of the unpaid national guard at Sèvres and at Saint Cloud to guard those passages of the river Seine. He informed me of it, and ordered the commandant of those posts to apprise me if there should be any occasion.

These arrangements appeared to me insufficient for the safety of the royal residence. I took M. de La Fayette's letter to the Council of State, and made it the ground of a proposal to reinforce Versailles with some regular troops. I observed that M. de La Fayette's letter afforded a plausible reason for it, and offered the means of literally complying with the decree sanctioned by the King, which gave the municipal authorities the first right to direct the action of regular troops. The King, by the advice of his Council, approved of my proposal, and charged me to execute it I consequently forwarded M. de La Fayette's letter to the municipality of Versailles, after having apprised the mayor of it. This document was entered in the register, and a resolution was made for demanding a reinforcement of troops for the executive power. Invested with this authority I observed to the Minister at War that the Flanders regiment of foot being on the march, escorting a convoy of arms destined for the Parisian national guard from Douay to Paris, it would be well to draw that body to Versailles as soon as its mission should be fulfilled, in order to prevent, at least in part, the ferment which the arrival of a corps of soldiers of the line in the royal residence would not fail to occasion at Paris and in the National Assembly. This measure was adopted by the Council. Bailly says, in his journal, that he wrote to me respecting the uneasiness it gave the districts of Paris. He adds, that I replied "that the arrival of armed men in the royal residence, announced by circumstantial reports, had determined the King to call in the Flanders regiment, and to take military measures upon the subject."

I am the less able to recollect what I could have meant by that, insomuch as I am certain I never took any step of a military

nature beyond desiring the Flanders regiment to march in a military manner, without turning aside from their destination.

It is true that the civic authorities of Paris, in pursuance of my answer to Bailly, had the insolence to send four deputies to Versailles to learn from the King's ministers their reasons for calling in the Flanders regiment. These deputies alighted at my house, and one of them, M. Dusaulx, a member of the Académie des Belles Lettres, was the spokesman. He interrogated me upon the matter in question in the most imperious manner, informing me that carrying it into execution would be followed by fatal consequences. I answered, with all the moderation I could command, that this demand of a regiment of the line was a natural consequence of the information communicated by a letter from M. de La Fayette. I added that I gave him this answer as from myself, the King not having authorised me to answer a question which his Majesty could never have imagined any one would dare to put to his minister. M. Dusaulx and his three brother deputies returned much dissatisfied. M. de Condorcet was one of them. Some factious members of the National Assembly likewise meddled in the matter. M. Alexandre Lameth and M. Barnave spoke to me, and endeavoured to persuade me to induce the King to revoke his call for this regiment of the line. I answered them in such a manner as to leave them no hope of it. The regiment arrived at Versailles without meeting the smallest obstacle. The conspirators gave the former French guards to understand that they were destined to guard the King in their stead, which was untrue; but that served to make them resume their project of coming to Versailles. I am ignorant whether they had any other view than to take their post again, or whether they had already determined to bring the King back to Paris. However that may have been, the explosion soon took place.

The Body Guards gave a regimental entertainment to the officers of the Flanders regiment, and invited some *sous-officiers* and soldiers, as well as some of the national guards of Versailles. It was an old custom for the military corps quartered at any place to pay this compliment to others which arrived there. Upon such occasions many healths will, of course, be drunk, and the repasts must of necessity be always noisy; and this was the case

with the present. The regimental band had been invited, and the air, beginning "*O Richard! ô mon Roi!*" from the play of Richard Cœur de Lion, excited the liveliest enthusiasm. It was thought right to go and fetch the Queen to increase the fervour. And her Majesty came with the Dauphin, which prompted fresh acclamation. When the company left the dining-hall a few soldiers, perhaps affected by wine, appeared in the marble court below the apartments of the King, who had returned from hunting. Shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" were heard, and one of the soldiers, with the assistance of his comrades, climbed up on the outside, as high as the balcony of the chamber of his Majesty, who did not show himself. I was in my closet, and I sent to know what occasioned the noise. I have, however, no reason to believe that the national cockade was trampled under foot; and it is the less likely because the King wore it at that time, and it would have been a want of respect to his Majesty himself. It was a lie invented to irritate the minds of the Parisian national guard.

The Comte d'Estaing commanded the national guard of Versailles at that time. The King gave him also the command of all the regular troops there. They consisted of the two battalions of the Flanders regiment, two hundred Chasseurs des Évêchés, eight hundred mounted Body Guards, and the Swiss guard on duty. On the 5th of October, at about eleven in the morning, one of my *valets de chambre* came from Paris to apprise me that the Parisian national guard, both paid and unpaid, accompanied by a numerous concourse of men and women, had set out for Versailles. The King was hunting on the heights of Meudon, and I wrote to tell him of it. His Majesty returned promptly, and ordered that the Council of State should be summoned for half-past three. The Council then consisted of eight ministers: the Maréchal de Beauvau, the Archbishop of Vienne, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Keepers of the Seals, M. Necker, Minister of the Finances, and the Comtes de Montmorin, de la Luzerne, de la Tour-du-Pin, and de Saint Priest, Secretaries of State.

I laid before the Council the information I had received, and which had been subsequently confirmed by several other reports. I represented the danger that would attend the waiting for this multitude at Versailles, and I proposed measures to be pursued

on this emergency. They were, that detachments should be sent to guard the bridges across the Seine; a battalion of the Flanders regiment for that at Sèvres; another for that at Saint Cloud; and the Swiss guard for that at Neuilly; and that the King should send the Queen and the royal family to Rambouillet, where the chasseurs of the regiment of Lorraine were; while his Majesty himself should go and meet the Parisians with the two hundred Chasseurs des Évêchés, and his eight hundred Body Guards. The thousand horse being drawn up in order of battle beyond the bridge of Sèvres, the King was to order the Parisian band to retire, and, in case they should disobey, was to make a few charges of cavalry to endeavour to disperse them. Then, if this should be unsuccessful, the King would have time to regain Versailles at the head of his troops, and march immediately to Rambouillet. My advice was approved by the Maréchal de Beauvau, M. de la Luzerne, and M. de la Tour-du-Pin; and warmly opposed by M. Necker, seconded by Comte de Montmorin, and the Archbishops of Vienne and Bordeaux. M. Necker insisted that there was no danger in suffering the multitude to come to Versailles, where its object was probably only to present some petition to the King; and, should the worst happen, if his Majesty should find it necessary to reside in Paris, he would be venerated and respected there by his people, who adored him.

I replied by opposing to this reasoning the origin and the features of this proceeding, which completely contradicted the alleged loyalty of the people of Paris.

The King did not declare the course he should pursue; he broke up the Council, and we knew that he went to consult the Queen. She declared that she would not, upon any consideration, separate herself from him and her children; which rendered the execution of the measure I had proposed impossible. Thus perplexed, we did nothing but wait. However, I sent an order to the Swiss barracks at Courbevoie, that all belonging to the regiment of guards who were then there should immediately repair to Versailles, which was promptly done.

The National Assembly was sitting when information of the march of the Parisians was given to it by one of the deputies who came from Paris. A certain number of the members were no strangers to this movement. It appears that Mirabeau wished

to avail himself of it to raise the Duc d'Orléans to the throne. Mounier, who presided over the National Assembly, rejected the idea with horror: "*My good man*," said Mirabeau to him, "*what difference will it make to you to have Louis XVII. for your King instead of Louis XVI.?*" [The Duc d'Orléans was baptized Louis.]

Mounier, seeing the urgency of the case, proposed that the Assembly should declare itself permanent and inseparable from his Majesty, which was decreed. Mirabeau then insisted that the deputation which should carry up this decree to the King should demand his sanction to some which had remained in arrear; among others that of the rights of man, in which some alterations were desired. But existing circumstances carried the King's sanction. A few female citizens then presented themselves to offer civic gifts; it seems they were sent to keep the Assembly employed until the arrival of the Parisians. They were admitted, and the scene was ridiculous enough.

The Comte d'Estaing had ordered the mounted Body Guards to horse, and stationed them in the Place d'Armes, in advance of the post of the French guard, which was occupied by a detachment of the national guard of Versailles, commanded by a man named Lecointre, a draper, and of very bad disposition. He was displeased that the Body Guards left his soldiers in the second line, and tried to raise some quarrel in order to dislodge them. For that purpose he sent persons who slipped between the ranks of the soldiers to annoy the horses. M. de Savonnières, an officer of the Body Guards, while giving chase to these wretches, received a musket shot from the national guard, of which he died. A short time afterwards M. d'Estaing, who had received a secret order from the King not to permit any violence, sent the Body Guard back to their hôtel. They were saluted as they went off by a few musket shots from the national guard of Versailles, by which some men and horses were wounded. When they reached their hôtel they found it pillaged by the populace of Versailles, which made them return to their former position.

The Flanders regiment was under arms at the end of the avenue of Versailles. Mirabeau and some other deputies mingled among the ranks of the soldiery; it is asserted that they distri-

buted money to them. The soldiers dispersed themselves in the public-houses of the town, and reassembled in the evening, when they were shut up in the King's stables.

As to the Body Guards, M. d'Estaing knew not what to do beyond bringing them into the courtyard of the ministers, and shutting the *grilles*. Thence they proceeded to the terrace of the Château, then to Trianon, and lastly to Rambouillet.

I could not refrain from expressing to M. d'Estaing when he came to the King my astonishment at not seeing him make any military disposition. "*Sir*," replied he, "*I await the orders of the King*" (who did not open his mouth). "*When the King gives no orders*," pursued I, "*a general should decide for himself in a soldier-like manner.*" This observation remained unanswered. About seven o'clock in the evening a kind of advanced guard from Paris, consisting of ill-armed men and women of the rabble, arrived at the gates of the minister's courtyard, which those within refused to open. The mob then demanded that a few women should be permitted to go and present a supplication to the King. His Majesty ordered that six should be let in, and desired me to go into the *œil-de-bœuf*, and there hear what they had to say. I accordingly went. One of these women told me that a famine existed in Paris, and that the people came to ask bread of his Majesty. I answered that the King had taken all the steps which could depend on him for preventing the injurious effects of the failure in the last harvest; and I added that calamities of this nature ought to be borne with patience, as drought was borne when there was a dearth of rain. I dismissed the women, telling them to return to Paris, and to assure their fellow-citizens of the King's affection for the people of his capital. It was then that the Marquis de Favras, whom I did not know at the time, proposed to me to mount a number of gentlemen on horses from the King's stables; and that they should meet the Parisians, and force them to retreat. I answered that the King's horses not being trained to the kind of service which he proposed would be but ill adapted to it, and would only endanger their riders without answering any purpose. I returned to the King to give him an account of my conversation with the women. Shortly afterwards the King assembled the Council; it was dark; we were scarcely seated when an aide de-camp of M.

de La Fayette, named Villars, brought me a letter written to me by that general from near Auteuil, half a league from Paris: he informed me that he was on his march with the national guard of Paris, both paid and unpaid, and a part of the people of Paris, who came to make remonstrances to the King. He begged me to assure his Majesty that he vouched for it that no disorder would take place. Notwithstanding this tone of confidence it is certain that La Fayette had been dragged to Versailles against his will at the moment when he endeavoured to stop the former French guards, who were already on their march upon the Pont Royal. It is not the less true that he had become familiar with the idea of marching to Versailles since the first time he had written to me about it. He had even spoken to me on the subject, believing it at that time preferable that the King should reside at Paris; but undoubtedly he would have preferred the adoption of some other method of taking his Majesty thither.

After I had read M. de La Fayette's letter to the Council I recapitulated my advice of the afternoon, observing, however, that it was now impossible to resort to the measures I had then proposed; but that it was of importance that the King, with his family and regular troops, should set off for Rambouillet. The contest between M. Necker and myself now grew warmer than upon the former occasion. I explained the risks which the King and his family would incur if they did not avoid them by departing. I dwelt upon the advantages that would be gained by quitting Versailles for Rambouillet, and I concluded by saying to the King, "*Sire, if you are taken to Paris to-morrow your crown is lost!*" The King was shaken, and he arose to go and speak to the Queen, who this time consented to the departure. M. Necker says in one of his works: "*He alone* [the King] *was to determine, and he determined to remain at Versailles. Out of a considerable number of persons, one alone, so far as I remember, was for the departure and without any modification.*"

It is probably to myself that M. Necker attributes this isolated opinion, but his memory has failed him, for it is a fact that M. de Beauvau, M. de la Luzerne, and M. de la Tour-du-Pin were always of my opinion.

M. Necker passes over in silence the order which the King gave me on re-entering the Council chamber, to have his carriages

got ready, which broke up the Council. I told his Majesty that I would execute his orders, send off his wife and children to Rambouillet, and proceed thither myself, to be ready to receive him upon his arrival. I deputed the Chevalier de Cubières, equerry in charge of the stable, to carry the order for getting the carriages ready to the stables, and I went home to make my own arrangements. After regulating everything with Madame de Saint Priest for her departure, I got on horseback, wrapped up in my cloak that I might not be observed, and succeeded in keeping myself concealed. I had scarcely proceeded half a league when my wife's carriage overtook me. She informed me that M. de Montmorin had sent her word that the King was no longer willing to set out; "but," added she, "I would not countermand the arrangements you had made." I begged she would proceed on her journey, most happy in the reflection that she and my children would be far from the scene which I then anticipated would take place on the morrow. As for myself, I retraced my steps and re-entered by one of the park gates, where I dismissed my horses, and went through the gardens to the King's apartments. There I found M. de La Fayette, who had just arrived. He personally confirmed to his Majesty all the assurances which he had by letter desired me to give him, and went to bed extremely fatigued by the events of the day, without making any fresh arrangement for the safety of the Château. The King as he withdrew gave orders to the captain of his guards to prohibit his subalterns from any violence.

I never knew perfectly what made the King change his mind respecting his departure. I returned home in great anxiety, and threw myself, dressed as I was, upon my bed. It was impossible for me to close my eyes on account of the noise made by the mob from Paris, with which the streets of Versailles were filled. At daybreak I went into my closet, the windows of which commanded the courtyard of the ministers. At that very moment I saw the gates open, and a frenzied multitude, armed with pikes and bludgeons, and some of them with sabres and muskets, rush in and run with the utmost speed to the courtyard of the Princes, where the staircase leading to the apartments of their Majesties is situated. They all passed below my windows without seeing me. I waited about a quarter of an hour, and saw a considerable

number of them bringing back a dozen of the Body Guards, whom they had seized in the Queen's guard-room, and were going to massacre in the Place d'Armes. Fortunately for these unhappy men M. de La Fayette appeared with some soldiers of the guards, whom he employed to drive off the assailants. It is known that they immediately went up to the Queen's apartments; that the Body Guard suffered them to enter their guard-room without opposition, in pursuance of the King's orders; that, however, those who stood sentinels at the door of the Queen's antechamber made some resistance, and gave the footmen on duty inside time to awaken the Queen and barricade the door with trunks and chairs; and that her Majesty, alarmed by the noise, took refuge in the King's rooms through the communication between their apartments. The rioters then made their way in, and finding their prey escaped, committed no violence in the apartments. But they had assassinated two of the Body Guards, and wounded many others in the guard-room, which was the result of the King's order of the preceding day to make no resistance. M. de La Fayette went up to the King's rooms, and found the door of the antechamber, called the *œil-de-bœuf*, closed and barricaded. He parleyed with the Body Guards who had taken refuge there to preserve his Majesty's apartments. Upon M. de La Fayette's assurances the door was opened. He then stationed there some grenadiers, who, in conjunction with the Body Guards, kept that entry closed until the King's departure for Paris. The door by which the King generally went out to get into his carriage remained free; the people of Paris were not aware of its existence. I wrapped myself in a greatcoat to make my way through the crowd which filled the courtyard, and went up to the King's apartments. I found him with the Queen and the Dauphin in the balcony of his bedroom, protected by M. de La Fayette, who harangued the rabble from time to time; but all his speeches could not stop their shouts of "*To Paris, to Paris!*" There were even a few musket-shots fired from the courtyard, which fortunately struck nobody. The King occasionally withdrew into his room to sit down and rest himself; he was in a state of stupefaction, which it is difficult to describe, or even to imagine. I accosted him repeatedly, and represented to him that delay in yielding to the

wishes of the mob was useless and dangerous; that it was necessary he should promise to go to Paris; and that this was the only way of getting rid of these savages, who might the very next moment proceed to the utmost extremities, to which there were not wanting persons to excite them. To all this the King did not answer one single word. The Queen, who was present, said to me, "*Ah! Monsieur de Saint Priest, why did we not go away last night!*" I could not refrain from replying, "*It was no fault of mine.*"—"*I know that well,*" answered she.

These remarks proved to me that she had no share in his Majesty's change of determination. He made up his mind at last, about eleven o'clock, to promise to go to Paris. Some cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" were then heard, and the mob began to quit the courtyards and take the road to the capital. Care had been taken to send cart-loads of bread from Paris during the night to feed the multitude. I left the King in order to be at the Tuileries before him; and as I took the Saint Cloud road, I met with no obstacle. I dined with the Ambassador of the Two Sicilies, and proceeded to the Tuileries, ready for the arrival of their Majesties. I had not calculated that their unfortunate journey, which was a real martyrdom, would have occupied so much time. Their carriage was preceded by the heads of two murdered Body Guards, carried upon pikes. The carriage was surrounded by ill-looking fellows, who contemplated the royal personages with a brutal curiosity. A few of the Body Guards on foot and unarmed, protected by the former French guards, followed dejectedly; and to complete the climax, after six or seven hours spent in travelling from Versailles to Paris, their Majesties were led to the Hôtel de Ville, as if to make the *amende honorable*. I know not who ordered this. The King ascended the Hôtel de Ville, and said that he came freely to reside in his capital. As he spoke in a low tone of voice, "Tell them, then," said the Queen, "that the King comes freely to reside in his capital." "*You are more fortunate than if I had uttered it,*" said Bailly; "*since the Queen herself has given you this favourable assurance.*" This was a falsehood, in which his Majesty was obviously contradicted by facts; never had he acted less freely. It was near ten at night when the King reached the Tuileries. As he got out of his carriage I told him that if I had known he was going to the Hôtel de Ville I would have

waited for him there. "*I did not know it myself,*" replied the King in a tone of dejection.

On the morrow the Body Guards, who had passed the night upon benches in the Château of the Tuileries, were dismissed. M. de La Fayette filled up all the posts with the national guard of Paris, which was commanded by himself, and hence he became the keeper of the royal family.

When I reflect how many favourable consequences would have resulted from a more steadfast resolution to quit Versailles, I feel myself, even at this day, filled with regret. In the first place, M. de Villars, M. de La Fayette's aide-de-camp, who brought me the letter from the latter to Versailles on the 5th of October, told me that he had been sent by his general to the bridge of Sèvres to know whether it was defended; and that if it had been, he would have retreated. Secondly, Madame de Saint Priest, on her arrival at Rambouillet, saw there a deputation from the city of Chartres, which is in its neighbourhood; they came in the name of their fellow-citizens to entreat his Majesty to make their city his asylum; to assure him they abhorred the insolence of the Parisians, and that they would lay down their lives and property in support of his Majesty's authority—an example which would infallibly have been followed by the other towns, and in particular by Orleans, which was wholly devoted to the royal cause. The Mayor of Rambouillet has since assured me that the request of the deputation from Chartres was transcribed into the registers of the municipality of Rambouillet. Thirdly, the National Assembly, under the presidency of Mounier, a man of integrity, who had the welfare of the State at heart, had declared itself inseparable from his Majesty. It would therefore have followed him to Rambouillet and Chartres. It is probable, moreover, that the factious leaders would not have ventured there; that the National Assembly, purified by their absence, would have united itself to the King, whose intentions were pure; and that useful reforms would have resulted without an overthrow of the monarchy. Fourthly, and lastly, if it had been necessary to come to extremities for the reduction of Paris, what advantages would not the royal party have possessed over that city, which at that time subsisted only upon the corn carried up the Seine! By stopping the convoys at Pontoise,

Paris would have been starved. Besides, the King would easily have collected round him ten thousand men in four days, and forty thousand in five, secure of being able to concentrate still more considerable forces if circumstances should require it. The army under M. de Bouillé, in his district of Metz, would have been ready to march in a very short time; and, under such a general, the insurgents would speedily have been subdued.[1]

Such is the correct narrative which I determined to give as an eye-witness, and even as an actor, on the days of the 5th and 6th of October; it may one day contribute to the history of that remarkable period which, by its consequences, has perhaps decided the fate of the universe.

[1] The Marquis de Bouillé writes of this period: "During these transactions I resided at Metz, hated by the people, but having the most perfect reliance on my army, between which and the inhabitants of the town I maintained a constant jealousy, inspiring it at the same time with contempt for the lower class of the people" (p. 98). It was only in July 1790 that the troops of De Bouillé became untrustworthy, see *Bouillé*, p. 167.

CHAPTER V.

Affair of Favras—His prosecution and death—His children are imprudently presented to the Queen—Plan laid for carrying off the royal family—Singular letter from the Empress Catherine to Louis XVI.—The Queen is unwilling to owe the re-establishment of the throne to the *émigrés*—Death of the Emperor Joseph II.—First negotiation between the Court and Mirabeau—Louis XVI. and his family inhabit Saint Cloud—New plans for escaping.

In February 1790 the affair of the unfortunate Favras gave the Court much uneasiness; this individual had conceived the scheme of carrying off the King, and effecting what was then called a counter-revolution. Monsieur, probably out of mere benevolence, gave him some money, and thence arose a report that he thereby wished to favour the execution of the enterprise. The step taken by Monsieur in going to the Hôtel de Ville to explain himself on this matter was unknown to the Queen; it is more than probable that the King was acquainted with it. When judgment was pronounced upon M. de Favras the Queen did not conceal from me her fears about the confessions of the unfortunate man in his last moments.

I sent a confidential person to the Hôtel de Ville; she came to inform the Queen that the con-

demned had demanded to be taken from Notre Dame to the Hôtel de Ville to make a final declaration, and give some particulars verifying it. These particulars compromised nobody; Favras corrected his last will after writing it, and went to the scaffold with heroic courage and coolness. The judge who read his condemnation to him told him that his life was a sacrifice which he owed to public tranquillity. It was asserted at the time that Favras was given up as a victim in order to satisfy the people and save the Baron de Besenval, who was a prisoner in the Abbaye.[1]

[1] Favras (Thomas Mahy, Marquis de), born at Blois in 1745, entered the service first in the corps of *mousquetaires*, and made the campaign in 1761 with them; he was afterwards captain and adjutant of Belsunce's regiment, and subsequently lieutenant of the Swiss guard of Monsieur, the King's brother; he resigned that commission in 1775 to go to Vienna, where his wife was acknowledged the only and legitimate daughter of the Prince d'Anhalt-Schauenbourg. He commanded a legion in Holland on the insurrection against the Stadtholder in 1787. Possessing a warm imagination and a head fertile in expedients, Favras always had something to propose. He presented a great number of plans on the subject of finance; and at the breaking out of the Revolution he tendered some upon political measures, which rendered him an object of suspicion to the revolutionary party. Favras was accused in the month of December 1789 of having conspired against the Revolution. Having been arrested by order of the committee of inquiry of the National Assembly, he was transferred to the Châtelet, where he defended himself with much coolness and presence of mind, repelling the accusations brought against him by Morel, Turcati, and Marquié, with considerable force. These witnesses declared he had imparted his plan to them; it was to be carried into execution by 12,000 Swiss and 12,000 Germans, who were to be assembled at Montargis, thence to march upon Paris, carry off the King, and assassinate Bailly, La Fayette, and Necker. The greater number of these charges he denied, and declared that the rest related only

On the morning of the Sunday following this execution M. de la Villeurnoy[1] came to my house to tell me that he was going that day to the public dinner of the King and Queen to present Madame de Favras and her son, both of them in mourning for the brave Frenchman who fell a sacrifice for his King; and that all the royalists expected to see the Queen load the unfortunate family with favours. I did all that lay in my power to prevent this proceeding: I foresaw the effect it would have upon the Queen's feeling heart, and the painful constraint she

to the levy of a troop intended to favour the revolution preparing in Brabant. The judge having refused to disclose who had denounced him, he complained to the Assembly, which passed to the order of the day. His death was obviously inevitable. During the whole time of the proceedings the populace never ceased threatening the judges and shouting, "*À la lanterne!*" It was even necessary to keep numerous troops and artillery constantly ready to act in the courtyard of the Châtelet. The judges, who had just acquitted M. de Besenval in an affair nearly similar, doubtless dreaded the effects of this fury. When they refused to hear Favras' witnesses in exculpation, he compared them to the tribunal of the Inquisition. The principal charge against him was founded on a letter from M. de Foucault, asking him, "Where are your troops? in which direction will they enter Paris? I should like to be employed among them." Favras was condemned to make the *amende honorable* in front of the cathedral, and to be hanged at the Place de Grève. He heard this sentence with wonderful calmness, and said to his judges, "I pity you much if the testimony of two men is sufficient to induce you to condemn." The judge having said to him, "I have no other consolation to hold out to you than that which religion affords," he replied nobly, "My greatest consolation is that which I derive from my innocence."—*Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne,* vol. xiv. p. 221.

[1] M. de la Villeurnoy, master of the requests, was deported to Sinamary on the 18th Fructidor, 4th September 1797—the *coup d'état* made by the Directory against the royalist party—and there died.—*Madame Campan.*

would experience, having the horrible Santerre, the commandant of a battalion of the Parisian guard, behind her chair during dinner-time. I could not make M. de la Villeurnoy comprehend my argument; the Queen was gone to mass, surrounded by her whole Court, and I had not even means of apprising her of his intention.

When dinner was over I heard a knocking at the door of my apartment, which opened into the corridor next that of the Queen; it was herself. She asked me whether there was anybody with me; I was alone; she threw herself into an arm-chair, and told me she came to weep with me over the foolish conduct of the ultras of the King's party. "We must fall," said she, "attacked as we are by men who possess every talent and shrink from no crime, while we are defended only by those who are no doubt very estimable, but have no adequate idea of our situation. They have exposed me to the animosity of both parties by presenting the widow and son of Favras to me. Were I free to act as I wish I should take the child of the man who has just sacrificed himself for us and place him at table between the King and myself; but surrounded by the assassins who have destroyed his father, I did not dare even to cast my eyes upon him. The royalists will blame me for not having appeared interested in this poor child; the revolutionists will be enraged at the idea that his presentation should have been thought agreeable to me." However, the Queen added that she knew Madame

de Favras was in want, and that she desired me to send her next day, through a person who could be relied on, a few rouleaus of fifty louis, and to direct that she should be assured her Majesty would always watch over the fortunes of herself and her son.

In the month of March following I had an opportunity of ascertaining the King's sentiments respecting the schemes which were continually proposed to him for making his escape. One night about ten o'clock Comte d'Inisdal, who was deputed by the nobility, came to request that I would see him in private, as he had an important matter to communicate to me. He told me that on that very night the King was to be carried off; that the section of the national guard, that day commanded by M. d'Aumont,[1] was gained over, and that sets of horses, furnished by some good royalists, were placed in relays at suitable distances; that he had just left a party of nobles assembled for the execution of this scheme, and that he had been sent to me that I might, through the medium of the Queen, obtain the King's positive consent to it before midnight; that the King was aware of their plan, but that his Majesty never would speak decidedly, and that it was necessary he should consent to the undertaking. I greatly displeased Comte d'Inisdal by expressing

[1] A brother of the Duc de Villequier, who had joined the revolutionary party; a man of no weight or respectability, who desired he might be called *Jacques Aumont;* a far different man from his brave brother, who always proved himself entirely devoted to the cause of his King.—*Madame Campan.*

my astonishment that the nobility at the moment of the execution of so important a project should send to me, the Queen's first woman, to obtain a consent which ought to have been the basis of any well-concerted scheme. I told him, also, that it would be impossible for me to go at that time to the Queen's apartments without exciting the attention of the people in the antechambers; that the King was at cards with the Queen and his family, and that I never broke in upon their privacy unless I was called for. I added, however, that M. Campan could enter without being called; and if the Count chose to give him his confidence he might rely upon him. My father-in-law, to whom Comte d'Inisdal repeated what he had said to me, took the commission upon himself, and went to the Queen's apartments. The King was playing at whist with the Queen, Monsieur, and Madame; Madame Elizabeth was kneeling on a stool near the table. M. Campan informed the Queen of what had been communicated to me; nobody uttered a word. The Queen broke silence and said to the King, "Do you hear, Sire, what Campan says to us?"—"Yes, I hear," said the King, and continued his game. Monsieur, who was in the habit of introducing passages from plays into his conversation, said to my father-in-law, "M. Campan, *that pretty little couplet again*, if you please;" and pressed the King to reply. At length the Queen said, "But something must be said to Campan." The King then spoke to my father-in-law in these words: "*Tell*

M. d'Inisdal that I cannot consent to be carried off!" The Queen enjoined M. Campan to take care and report this answer faithfully. "*You understand*," added she, "*the King cannot consent to be carried off.*" Comte d'Inisdal was very much dissatisfied with the King's answer, and went out, saying, "I understand; he wishes to throw all the blame, beforehand, upon those who are to devote themselves for him." He went away, and I thought the enterprise would be abandoned. However, the Queen remained alone with me till midnight, preparing her cases of valuables, and ordered me not to go to bed. She imagined the King's answer would be understood as a tacit consent, and merely a refusal to participate in the design. I do not know what passed in the King's apartments during the night; but I occasionally looked out at the windows: I saw the garden clear; I heard no noise in the Palace, and day at length confirmed my opinion that the project had been given up. "*We must, however, fly*," said the Queen to me shortly afterwards: "*who knows how far the factious may go? The danger increases every day.*"[1] This Princess received advice and memorials

[1] The disturbances of the 13th of April 1790, occasioned by the warmth of the discussions upon Dom Gerle's imprudent motion in the National Assembly, having afforded room for apprehension that the enemies of the country would endeavour to carry off the King from the capital, M. de La Fayette promised to keep watch, and told Louis XVI. that if he saw any alarming movement among the disaffected he would give him notice of it by the discharge of a cannon from Henri IV.'s battery on the Pont Neuf. On the same night a few casual discharges of musketry were heard from the terrace of the Tuileries. The King,

from all quarters. Rivarol addressed several to her, which I read to her. They were full of ingenious observations; but the Queen did not find that they contained anything of essential service under the circumstances in which the royal family was placed. Comte du Moustier also sent memorials and plans of conduct. I remember that in one of his writings he said to the King, "Read *Telemachus* again, Sire; in that book which delighted your Majesty in infancy you will find the first seeds of those principles which, erroneously followed up by men of ardent imaginations, are bringing on the explosion we expect every moment." I read so many of these memorials that I could hardly give a faithful account of them, and I am determined to note in this work no other events than such as I witnessed; no other words than such as (notwithstanding the lapse of time) still in some measure vibrate in my ears.

Comte de Ségur,[1] on his return from Russia, was employed some time by the Queen, and had a certain degree of influence over her; but that did not last long. Comte Augustus de la Marck likewise endeavoured to negotiate for the King's advantage with the leaders of the factious. M. de Fontanges, Arch-

deceived by the noise, flew to the Queen's apartments; he did not find her; he ran to the Dauphin's room, where he found the Queen holding her son in her arms. "Madame," said the King to her, "I have been seeking you; and you have made me uneasy." The Queen, showing her son, said to him, "I was at my post."—*Anecdotes of the Reign of Louis XVI.*

[1] Louis Philippe, Comte de Ségur (1753-1830), son of the Maréchal and Minister of War, Philippe Henri, Marquis de Ségur.

bishop of Toulouse, possessed also the Queen's confidence; but none of the endeavours which were made at home produced any beneficial result. The Empress Catherine II. also conveyed her opinion upon the situation of Louis XVI. to the Queen, and her Majesty made me read a few lines in the Empress's own handwriting, which concluded with these words: "Kings ought to proceed in their career undisturbed by the cries of the people, as the moon pursues her course unimpeded by the howling of dogs." This maxim of the despotic sovereign of Russia was very inapplicable to the situation of a captive King.

Meanwhile the revolutionary party followed up its audacious enterprise in a determined manner, without meeting any opposition. The advice from without, as well from Coblentz as from Vienna, made various impressions upon the members of the royal family, and those cabinets were not in accordance with each other. I often had reason to infer from what the Queen said to me that she thought the King, by leaving all the honour of restoring order to the Coblentz party,[1] would, on the return of the emigrants, be put under a kind of guardianship which would increase his own misfortunes. She frequently said to me, "If the emigrants succeed, they will give the law for a long time; it will be impossible to refuse them anything; to owe the

[1] The Princes and the chief of the emigrant nobility assembled at Coblentz, and the name was used to designate the reactionary party.

crown to them would be contracting too great an obligation." It always appeared to me that she wished her own family to counterbalance the claims of the emigrants by disinterested services. She was fearful of M. de Calonne, and with good reason. She had proof that this minister was her bitterest enemy, and that he made use of the most criminal means in order to blacken her reputation. I can testify that I have seen in the hands of the Queen a manuscript copy of the infamous memoirs of the woman De Lamotte, which had been brought to her from London, and in which all those passages where a total ignorance of the customs of Courts had occasioned that wretched woman to make blunders which would have been too palpable were corrected in M. de Calonne's own handwriting.

The two King's Guards who were wounded at her Majesty's door on the 6th of October were M. du Repaire and M. de Miomandre de Sainte Marie; on the dreadful night of the 6th of October the latter took the post of the former the moment he became incapable of maintaining it.

M. de Miomandre was at Paris, living on terms of friendship with another of the Guards, who, on the same day, received a gunshot wound from the brigands in another part of the Château. These two officers, who were attended and cured together at the infirmary of Versailles,[1] were almost constant

[1] A considerable number of the Body Guards, who were wounded on the 6th of October betook themselves to the infirmary at Versailles. The brigands wanted to make their way into

companions; they were recognised at the Palais Royal, and insulted. The Queen thought it necessary for them to quit Paris. She desired me to write to M. de Miomandre de Sainte Marie, and tell him to come to me at eight o'clock in the evening; and then to communicate to him her wish to hear of his being in safety; and ordered me, when he had made up his mind to go, to tell him in her name that gold could not repay such a service as he had rendered; that she hoped some day to be in sufficiently happy circumstances to recompense him as she ought; but that for the present her offer of money was only that of a sister to a brother situated as he then was, and that she requested he would take whatever might be necessary to discharge his debts at Paris and defray the expenses of his journey. She told me also to desire he would bring his friend Bertrand with him, and to make him the same offer.

The two Guards came at the appointed hour, and accepted, I think, each one or two hundred louis. A moment afterwards the Queen opened my door;

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the infirmary in order to massacre them. M. Voisin, head surgeon of that infirmary, ran to the entrance hall, invited the assailants to refresh themselves, ordered wine to be brought, and found means to direct the Sister Superior to remove the Guards into a ward appropriated to the poor, and dress them in the caps and greatcoats furnished by the institution. The good sisters executed this order so promptly that the Guards were removed, dressed as paupers, and their beds made, while the assassins were drinking. They searched all the wards, and fancied they saw no persons there but the sick poor; thus the Guards were saved.—*Madame Campan.*

she was accompanied by the King and Madame Elizabeth; the King stood with his back against the fireplace; the Queen sat down upon a sofa and Madame Elizabeth sat near her; I placed myself behind the Queen, and the two Guards stood facing the King. The Queen told them that the King wished to see before they went away two of the brave men who had afforded him the strongest proofs of courage and attachment. Miomandre said all that the Queen's affecting observations were calculated to inspire. Madame Elizabeth spoke of the King's gratitude; the Queen resumed the subject of their speedy departure, urging the necessity of it; the King was silent; but his emotion was evident, and his eyes were suffused with tears. The Queen rose, the King went out, and Madame Elizabeth followed him; the Queen stopped and said to me, in the recess of a window, "I am sorry I brought the King here! I am sure Elizabeth thinks with me; if the King had but given utterance to a fourth part of what he thinks of those brave men they would have been in ecstasies; but he cannot overcome his diffidence."

The Emperor Joseph died about this time. The Queen's grief was not excessive; that brother of whom she had been so proud, and whom she had loved so tenderly, had probably suffered greatly in her opinion; she reproached him sometimes, though with moderation, for having adopted several of the principles of the new philosophy, and perhaps she knew that he looked upon our troubles with the

eye of the sovereign of Germany rather than that of the brother of the Queen of France.[1]

Mirabeau had not lost the hope of becoming the last resource of the oppressed Court; and at this time some communications passed between the Queen and him. The question was about an office to be conferred upon him. This transpired, and it must have been about this period that the Assembly decreed that no deputy could hold an office as a minister of the King until the expiration of two years after the cessation of his legislative functions. I know that the Queen was much hurt at this decision, and considered that the Court had lost a promising opening.[2]

The palace of the Tuileries was a very disagreeable residence during the summer, which made the Queen wish to go to Saint Cloud. The removal was decided on without any opposition; the national guard of Paris followed the Court thither. At this period new plans of escape were presented; nothing would have been more easy than to execute them. The King had obtained leave (!) to go out without guards, and to be accompanied only by an aide-de-camp of M. de La Fayette. The Queen also had

[1] The Emperor Joseph sent the Queen an engraving which represented unfrocked nuns and monks. The first were trying on fashionable dresses, the latter were having their hair arranged; this engraving was always left in a closet, and never hung up. The Queen told me to have it taken away; for she was hurt to see how much influence the philosophers had over her brother's mind and actions.—*Madame Campan.*

[2] See Thiers' *Révolution Française*, tome i. p. 89.

one on duty with her, and so had the Dauphin. The King and Queen often went out at four in the afternoon, and did not return until eight or nine.

I will relate one of the plans of emigration which the Queen communicated to me, the success of which seemed infallible. The royal family were to meet in a wood four leagues from Saint Cloud; some persons who could be fully relied on were to accompany the King, who was always followed by his equerries and pages; the Queen was to join him with her daughter and Madame Elizabeth: these Princesses, as well as the Queen, had equerries and pages, of whose fidelity no doubt could be entertained. The Dauphin likewise was to be at the place of rendezvous with Madame de Tourzel;[1] a large berlin and a chaise for the attendants were sufficient for the whole family; the aides-de-camp were to have been gained over or mastered. The King was to leave a letter for the president of the National Assembly on his bureau at Saint Cloud. The people in the service of the King and Queen would have waited until nine in the evening without anxiety, because the family sometimes did not return until that hour. The letter could not be forwarded to Paris until ten o'clock at the earliest. The Assembly would not then be sitting; the president must have been sought for at his own house or elsewhere; it would have been midnight before the Assembly could have been summoned and couriers

[1] The *Memoirs* of Madame de Tourzel have since been published (Paris, 1883), edited by the Duc des Cars.

sent off to have the royal family stopped; but the latter would have been six or seven hours in advance, as they would have started at six leagues' distance from Paris; and at this period travelling was not yet impeded in France. The Queen approved of this plan; but I did not venture to interrogate her, and I even thought if it was put in execution she would leave me in ignorance of it. One evening in the month of June the people of the Château, finding the King did not return by nine o'clock, were walking about the courtyards in a state of great anxiety. I thought the family was gone, and I could scarcely breathe amidst the confusion of my good wishes, when I heard the sound of the carriages.[1] I confessed to the Queen that I thought

[1] On his return from one of the visits to Saint Cloud the King wrote to the Duchesse de Polignac:—"I have returned from the country; the air has been of service to us; but how changed did the place appear! How desolate was the breakfast-room! Neither of you were there. I do not give up the hope of our meeting there again; but when? I know not. How many things we shall have to say to one another! The health of your friend keeps up in spite of all the misfortunes which press upon her. Adieu, Duchess! speak of me to your husband and all around you; and understand that I shall not be happy until the day I find myself with my old friends again."

"The farther the first National Assembly advanced in its labours," adds Montjoie (*History of Marie Antoinette*, page 262), "the more unhappy the Queen found herself. We have a proof of this in these few words from another note from Louis XVI. to the Duchesse de Polignac: 'For the last eighteen months we have seen and heard nothing but what was disagreeable; we do not lose our temper, but we are hurt and rendered melancholy at being thwarted in everything, and particularly at being misrepresented.'"

In a former letter from the King to the Duchess the follow-

she had set off; she told me she must wait until Mesdames the King's aunts had quitted France, and afterwards see whether the plan agreed with those formed abroad.

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ing passage occurs: "Your friend is unhappy and exceedingly misrepresented; but I flatter myself that justice will one day be done to her. Still, the wicked are very active; they are more readily believed than the good; you are a striking proof of it."—*Note by the Editor.*

CHAPTER VI.

First Federation—Attempts to assassinate the Queen—Affecting scene—Account of the affair of Nancy, written by Madame Campan, at night, in the council chamber, by the King's dictation—Madame Campan becomes the subject of calumnious denunciation—Marks of confidence bestowed upon her by the Queen—Interview between the Queen and Mirabeau in the gardens of Saint Cloud—He treats with the Court—Ridicule of the revolutionary party—Stones of the Bastille offered to the Dauphin—The Queen feels her aversion to M. de La Fayette increase—Plan formed by the Princess for re-entering France through Lyons—Imprudence of persons attached to the Queen—Anecdote relative to M. de La Fayette—Departure of the King's aunts—Death of Mirabeau.

THERE was a meeting at Paris for the first federation on the 14th of July 1790, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. What an astonishing assemblage of four hundred thousand men, of whom there were not perhaps two hundred who did not believe that the King found happiness and glory in the order of things then being established. The love which was borne him by all, with the exception of those who meditated his ruin, still reigned in the hearts of the French in the departments; but if I may judge from those whom I had an opportunity of seeing, it was totally impossible to enlighten them; they were as much attached to the King as to the constitution,

and to the constitution as to the King; and it was impossible to separate the one from the other in their hearts and minds.[1]

The Court returned to Saint Cloud after the federation. A wretch, named Rotondo, made his way into the palace with the intention of assassinating the Queen. It is known that he penetrated to the inner gardens: the rain prevented her Majesty from going out on that day. M. de La Fayette, who was aware of this plot, gave all the sentinels the strictest orders, and a description of the monster

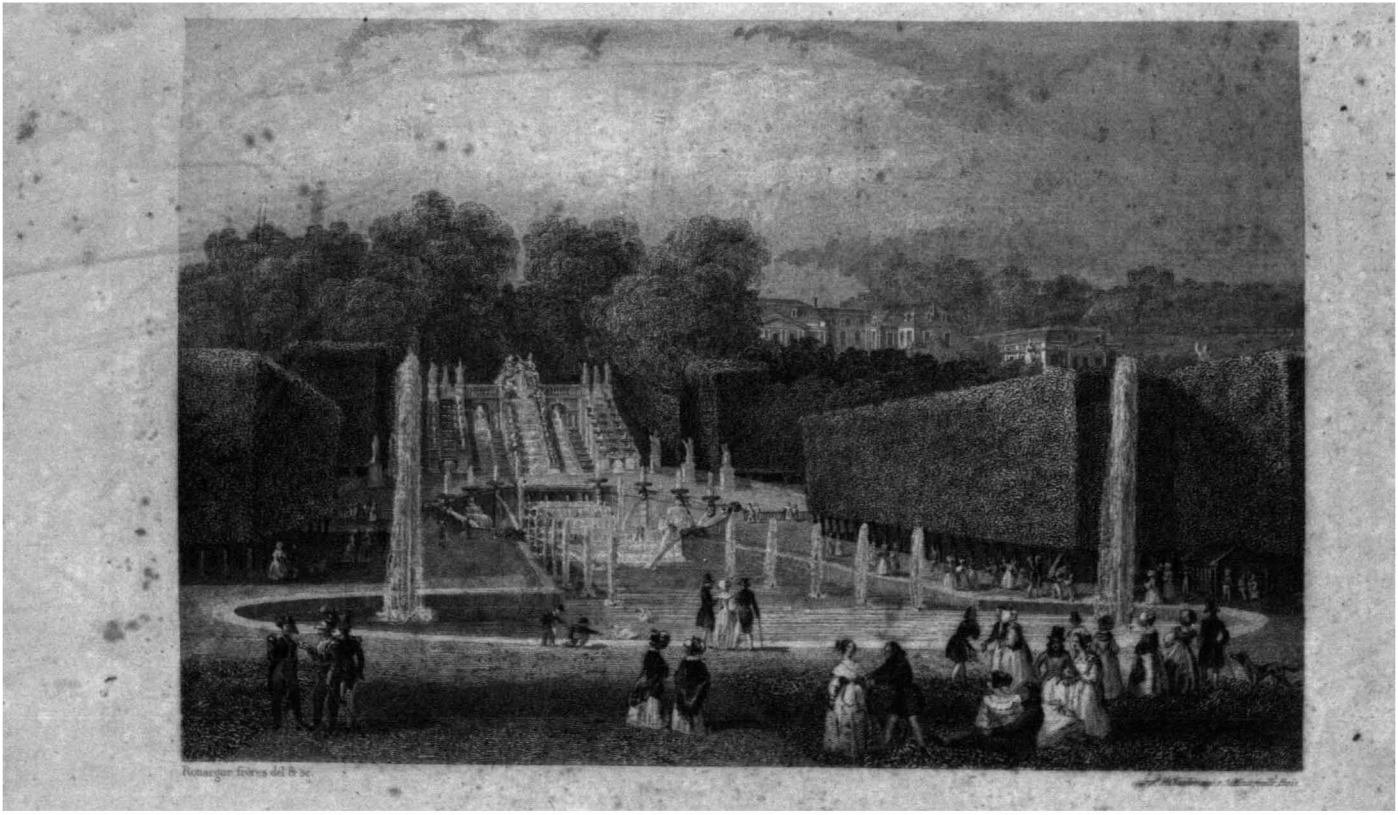
[1] Two deputies from Nantes, sent to England to cement the fraternal union between the London revolutionary club and all the friends of the French constitution, wrote the following letter:—

"From all that we have seen and known, we can assure you that the people of London are at least as enthusiastic on the subject of the French revolution as the people of France. We went yesterday to see the opera of *The Confederation of the French at the Champ de Mars.* This piece has been played daily for six weeks. The house is filled by five o'clock, though the performance does not begin till seven. When we arrived there was no room; but as soon as they heard us speak French they hastened to place us in the front of the boxes; they paid us every possible attention, and forced refreshments upon us. The first act of this opera represents the arrival of several people at Paris for the federation. The second, the works of the Champ de Mars. The third, the Confederation itself. In the second act Capuchins are seen in grenadier caps, girls are caressing abbés, the King comes in, and chops with a hatchet; everybody is at work, and singing: '*Ça ira, ça ira.*' In the third act you see the municipal officers in scarfs, the National Assembly, the national guard, officiating ministers in pontifical dresses, and priests singing. A regiment of children sing, '*Moi je suis soldat pour la patrie!*' in French and English. All this appears to us something new upon the banks of the Thames, and every verse is encored and applauded to delirium."—*Anecdotes of the Reign of Louis XVI.*, vol. iv. pp. 93, 94.

was distributed throughout the Palace by order of the general. I do not know how he was saved from punishment. The police belonging to the King discovered that there was likewise a scheme on foot for poisoning the Queen. She spoke to me, as well as to her head physician, M. Vicq-d'Azyr, about it, without the slightest emotion, but both he and I considered what precautions it would be proper to take. He relied much upon the Queen's temperance; yet he recommended me always to have a bottle of oil of sweet almonds within reach, and to renew it occasionally, that oil and milk being, as is known, the most certain antidotes to the divellications of corrosive poisons. The Queen had a habit which rendered M. Vicq-d'Azyr particularly uneasy: there was always some pounded sugar upon the table in her Majesty's bed-chamber; and she frequently, without calling anybody, put spoonfuls of it into a glass of water when she wished to drink. It was agreed that I should get a considerable quantity of sugar powdered; that I should always have some papers of it in my bag, and that three or four times a day, when alone in the Queen's room, I should substitute it for that in her sugar-basin. We knew that the Queen would have prevented all such precautions, but we were not aware of her reason. One day she caught me alone making this exchange, and told me she supposed it was agreed on between myself and M. Vicq-d'Azyr, but that I gave myself very unnecessary trouble. "Remember," added she, "that not a grain of poison will be put in use

against me. The Brinvilliers do not belong to this century: this age possesses calumny, which is a much more convenient instrument of death; and it is by that I shall perish."

Even while melancholy presentiments afflicted this unfortunate Princess, manifestations of attachment to her person, and to the King's cause, would frequently raise agreeable illusions in her mind, or present to her the affecting spectacle of tears shed for her sorrows. I was one day, during this same visit to Saint Cloud, witness of a very touching scene, which we took great care to keep secret. It was four in the afternoon; the guard was not set; there was scarcely anybody at Saint Cloud that day, and I was reading to the Queen, who was at work in a room, the balcony of which hung over the courtyard. The windows were closed, yet we heard a sort of inarticulate murmur from a great number of voices. The Queen desired me to go and see what it was; I raised the muslin curtain, and perceived more than fifty persons beneath the balcony: this group consisted of women, young and old, perfectly well dressed in the country costume, old chevaliers of Saint Louis, young knights of Malta, and a few ecclesiastics. I told the Queen it was probably an assemblage of persons residing in the neighbourhood who wished to see her. She rose, opened the window, and appeared in the balcony; immediately all these worthy people said to her, in an undertone: "Courage, Madame; good Frenchmen suffer for you, and with you; they pray for you;



Heaven will hear their prayers: we love you, we respect you, we will continue to venerate our virtuous King." The Queen burst into tears, and held her handkerchief to her eyes. "Poor Queen! she weeps!" said the women and young girls; but the dread of exposing her Majesty, and even the persons who showed so much affection for her, to observation, prompted me to take her hand, and prevail upon her to retire into her room; and, raising my eyes, I gave the excellent people to understand that my conduct was dictated by prudence. They comprehended me, for I heard, "*That lady is right;*" and afterwards, "*Farewell, Madame!*" from several of them; and all this in accents of feeling so true and so mournful, that I am affected at the recollection of them even after a lapse of twenty years.

A few days afterwards the insurrection of Nancy took place.[1] Only the ostensible cause is known; there was another, of which I might have been in full possession, if the great confusion I was in upon the subject had not deprived me of the power of paying attention to it: I will endeavour to make myself understood. In the early part of September the Queen, as she was going to bed, desired me to let all her people go, and to remain with her myself: when we were alone she said to me, "The King will come here at midnight. You know that he has always shown you marks of distinction; he now

[1] The insurrection of the troops at Nancy broke out in August 1790, and was put down by Maréchal de Bouillé on the last day of that month. See *Bouillé*, p. 195.

proves his confidence in you by selecting you to write down the whole affair of Nancy from his dictation. He must have several copies of it." At midnight the King came to the Queen's apartments, and said to me, smiling, "You did not expect to become my secretary, and that, too, during the night." I followed the King into the council chamber. I found there sheets of paper, an inkstand, and pens all ready prepared. He sat down by my side and dictated to me the report of the Marquis de Bouillé, which he himself copied at the same time. My hand trembled; I wrote with difficulty; my reflections scarcely left me sufficient power of attention to listen to the King. The large table, the velvet cloth, seats which ought to have been filled by none but the King's chief counsellors; what that chamber had been, and what it was at that moment, when the King was employing a woman in an office which had so little affinity with her ordinary functions; the misfortunes which had brought him to the necessity of doing so—all these ideas made such an impression upon me that when I had returned to the Queen's apartments I could not sleep for the remainder of the night, nor could I remember what I had written.

The more I saw that I had the happiness to be of some use to my employers, the more scrupulously careful was I to live entirely with my family; and I never indulged in any conversation which could betray the intimacy to which I was admitted; but nothing at Court remains long concealed, and I soon

saw I had numerous enemies. The means of injuring others in the minds of sovereigns are but too easily obtained, and they had become still more so, since the mere suspicion of communication with partizans of the Revolution was sufficient to forfeit the esteem and confidence of the King and Queen: happily my conduct protected me, with them, against calumny. I had left Saint Cloud two days, when I received at Paris a note from the Queen, containing these words: "Come to Saint Cloud immediately: I have something concerning you to communicate." I set off without loss of time. Her Majesty told me she had a sacrifice to request of me: I answered that it was made. She said it went so far as the renunciation of a friend's society; that such a renunciation was always painful, but that it must be particularly so to me; that, for her own part, it might have been very useful that a deputy, a man of talent, should be constantly received at my house; but at this moment she thought only of my welfare. The Queen then informed me that the ladies of the bedchamber had, the preceding evening, assured her that M. de Beaumetz, deputy from the nobility of Artois, who had taken his seat on the left of the Assembly, spent his whole time at my house. Perceiving on what false grounds the attempt to injure me was based, I replied respectfully, but at the same time smiling, that it was impossible for me to make the sacrifice exacted by her Majesty; that M. de Beaumetz, a man of great judgment, had not determined to cross over to the left of the Assembly

with the intention of afterwards making himself unpopular by spending his time with the Queen's first woman; and that, ever since the 1st of October 1789, I had seen him nowhere but at the play, or in the public walks, and even then without his ever coming to speak to me; that this line of conduct had appeared to me perfectly consistent: for whether he was desirous to please the popular party, or to be sought after by the Court, he could not act in any other way towards me. The Queen closed this explanation by saying, "Oh! it is clear, as clear as the day! this opportunity for trying to do you an injury is very ill chosen; but be cautious in your slightest actions; you perceive that the confidence placed in you by the King and myself raises you up powerful enemies."

The private communications which were still kept up between the Court and Mirabeau at length procured him an interview with the Queen, in the gardens of Saint Cloud.[1] He left Paris on horseback, on pretence of going into the country, to M. de Clavières, one of his friends; but he stopped at one of the gates of the gardens of Saint Cloud, and was led to a spot situated in the highest part of the private garden, where the Queen was waiting for him. She told me she accosted him by saying, "With a common enemy, with a man who had sworn to destroy monarchy without appreciating

[1] It was not in her apartments, as is asserted by M. de Lacretelle, that the Queen received Mirabeau; his person was too generally known.—*Madame Campan.*

its utility among a great people, I should at this moment be guilty of a most ill-advised step; but in speaking to a Mirabeau," etc. The poor Queen was delighted at having discovered this method of exalting him above all others of his principles; and in imparting the particulars of this interview to me she said, "Do you know that those words, 'a Mirabeau,' appeared to flatter him exceedingly." On leaving the Queen he said to her with warmth, "Madame, the monarchy is saved!"[1] It must have been soon afterwards that Mirabeau received considerable sums of money. He showed it too plainly by the increase of his expenditure. Already did some of his remarks upon the necessity of arresting the progress of the democrats circulate in society. Being once invited to meet a person at dinner who was very much attached to the Queen, he learned that that person withdrew on hearing that he was one of the guests; the party who invited him told him this with some degree of satisfaction; but all were very much astonished when they heard Mirabeau eulogise the absent guest, and declare that in his place he would have done the same; but, he added, they had only to invite that person again in a few months, and he would then dine with the restorer of the monarchy. Mirabeau forgot that it was more easy to do harm than good, and thought himself the political Atlas of the whole world.

[1] See an anecdote in Weber's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., on the subject of this interview.—*Note by the Editor.*

Outrages and mockery were incessantly mingled with the audacious proceedings of the revolutionists. It was customary to give serenades under the King's windows on New-Year's Day. The band of the national guard repaired thither on that festival in 1791; in allusion to the liquidation of the debts of the state, decreed by the Assembly, they played solely, and repeatedly, that air from the comic opera of the *Debts*, the burthen of which is, "*But our creditors are paid, and that makes us easy.*"

On the same day some *conquerors of the Bastille*, grenadiers of the Parisian guard, preceded by military music, came to present to the young Dauphin, as a New-Year's gift, a box of dominoes, made of some of the stone and marble of which that state prison was built. The Queen gave me this inauspicious curiosity, desiring me to preserve it, as it would be a curious illustration of the history of the Revolution. Upon the lid were engraved some bad verses, the purport of which was as follows, "*Stones from those walls, which enclosed the innocent victims of arbitrary power, have been converted into a toy, to be presented to you, Monseigneur, as a mark of the people's love: and to teach you their power.*"

The Queen said that M. de La Fayette's thirst for popularity induced him to lend himself, without discrimination, to all popular follies. Her distrust of the General increased daily, and grew so powerful that when, towards the end of the Revolution,

he seemed willing to support the tottering throne, she could never bring herself to incur so great an obligation to him.

M. de J——, a colonel attached to the staff of the army, was fortunate enough to render several services to the Queen, and acquitted himself with discretion and dignity of various important missions.[1] Their Majesties had the highest confidence in him, although it frequently happened that his prudence, when inconsiderate projects were under discussion, brought upon him the charge of adopting the principles of the constitutionals. Being sent to Turin, he had some difficulty in dissuading the Princes from a scheme they had formed at that period of re-entering France, with a very weak army, by way of Lyons; and when, in a council which lasted till three o'clock in the morning, he showed his instructions, and demonstrated that the measure would endanger the King, the Comte d'Artois alone declared against the plan, which emanated from the Prince de Condé.

Among the persons employed in subordinate situations, whom the critical circumstances of the times involved in affairs of importance, was M. de Goguelat, a geographical engineer at Versailles, and an excellent draughtsman. He made plans of Saint Cloud and Trianon for the Queen; she was very much pleased with them, and had the engineer

[1] During the Queen's detention in the Temple he introduced himself into that prison in the dress of a lamplighter, and there discharged his duty unrecognised.—*Madame Campan.*

admitted into the staff of the army. At the commencement of the Revolution he was sent to Count Esterhazy, at Valenciennes, in the capacity of aide-de-camp. The latter rank was given him solely to get him away from Versailles, where his rashness endangered the Queen during the earlier months of the Assembly of the States-General. Making a parade of his devotion to the King's interests, he went repeatedly to the tribunes of the Assembly, and there openly railed at all the motions of the deputies, and then returned to the Queen's antechamber, where he repeated all that he had just heard, or had had the imprudence to say. Unfortunately at the same time that the Queen sent away M. de Goguelat she still believed that, in a dangerous predicament, requiring great self-devotion, the man might be employed advantageously. In 1791 he was commissioned to act in concert with the Marquis de Bouillé in furtherance of the King's intended escape.[1]

Projectors in great numbers endeavoured to introduce themselves not only to the Queen, but to Madame Elizabeth, who had communications with many individuals who took upon themselves to make plans for the conduct of the Court. The Baron de Gilliers and M. de Vanoise were of this description; they went to the Baroness de Mackau's, where the Princess spent almost all her

[1] See the *Memoirs* of M. de Bouillé, those of the Duc de Choiseul, and the account of the journey to Varennes, by M. de Fontanges, in Weber's *Memoirs*.—*Note by the Editor.*

evenings. The Queen did not like these meetings, where Madame Elizabeth might adopt views in opposition to the King's intentions or her own.

The Queen gave frequent audiences to M. de La Fayette. One day, when he was in her inner closet, his aides-de-camp, who waited for him, were walking up and down the great room where the persons in attendance remained. Some imprudent young women were thoughtless enough to say, with the intention of being overheard by those officers, that it was very alarming to see the Queen alone with a rebel and a brigand. I was annoyed at their indiscretion, and imposed silence on them. One of them persisted in the appellation "brigand." I told her that M. de La Fayette well deserved the name of rebel, but that the title of leader of a party was given by history to every man commanding forty thousand men, a capital, and forty leagues of country; that kings had frequently treated with such leaders, and if it was convenient to the Queen to do the same, it remained for us only to be silent and respect her actions. On the morrow the Queen, with a serious air, but with the greatest kindness, asked what I had said respecting M. de La Fayette on the preceding day; adding that she had been assured I had enjoined her women silence, because they did not like him, and that I had taken his part. I repeated what had passed to the Queen, word for word. She condescended to tell me that I had done perfectly right.

Whenever any false reports respecting me were

conveyed to her she was kind enough to inform me of them; and they had no effect on the confidence with which she continued to honour me, and which I am happy to think I have justified even at the risk of my life.

Mesdames, the King's aunts, set out from Bellevue in the beginning of the year 1791.[1] I went to take leave of Madame Victoire.[2] I little thought

[1] Alexandre Berthier, Prince de Neufchâtel, then a colonel on the staff of the army, and commandant of the national guard of Versailles, favoured the departure of Mesdames. The Jacobins of that town procured his dismissal, and he ran the greatest risk, on account of having rendered this service to these Princesses.—*Madame Campan.*

[2] The departure of Mesdames was an important event. It was an actual experiment made by the Court of the means to be taken to quit Paris. We will here relate from the memoirs of these Princesses what concerns General Berthier, and the part he took in their departure.

"A crowd of women collected at Bellevue to oppose the setting out of Mesdames. On their arrival at the Château they were told that Mesdames were no longer there, that they had gone with a suite of twenty persons. The intelligence of this departure caused a great ferment at the Palais Royal. All the clubs who were apprised of it gave orders to the leaders to put the light troops in motion. The Department of Seine and Oise came to a resolution that there were no grounds for retaining the property of Mesdames. The municipality of Versailles was charged to require the commandant of the national guard and the troops of the line to aid and assist. It was to have an understanding with the municipalities of Sèvres and Meudon to put down all obstacles. General Berthier justified the monarch's confidence by a firm and prudent line of conduct which entitled him to the highest military honours, and to the esteem of the warrior whose fortune, dangers, and glory he afterwards shared. He went to Bellevue at midnight of the day on which the order was made. As soon as the municipalities of Sèvres and Meudon were informed of his arrival at the Château they both came to a resolution by which they left the General full liberty to act for the department; but in order to leave no doubt as to their own