BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

By JOHN ADOLPHUS, F.S.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

WILLIAM WINDHAM,

SECRETARY AT WAR, &c. &c.

SIR,

I FEEL the higheſt ſatisfaction in having the honour of dedicating theſe Biographical Memoirs to you, whoſe early diſcernment of the real tendency, and uniform oppoſition to the progreſs of French Principles, have entitled you to the gratitude of your Country, and to the admiration of Europe.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient, humble Servant,

JOHN ADOLPHUS.

WARREN-STREET,
Jan. 4, 1799.

PREFACE.

THE Plan of this Work is to ſketch the Lives of the principal actors in the French Revolution, and to trace the influence of individuals in producing events which have filled the world with aſtoniſhment, and for which hiſtorical parallels are ſought in vain. It is alſo no leſs the object of theſe Memoirs to ſhew the nature, ſpirit, and tendency of thoſe principles which contributed to the ſucceſs of ſanguine innovators, who, under a pretence of ameliorating the condition of mankind, meditated the ſubverſion of ſocial order.

I was firſt induced to undertake this Work from obſerving the general ſyſtem of miſrepreſentation which has prevailed in deſcribing the characters of thoſe who have acted conſpicuous parts in the French Revolution. Writers friendly to the cauſe have laboured to juſtify the promoters of it, not by demonſtrating the purity or propriety of their views, but by an unlimited cenſure of their opponents. Succeeding factions have adopted the ſame line of conduct towards their predeceſſors. Language and invention have been exhauſted in terms of abuſe and modes of crimination.

On the other hand, ſome have aſſumed the taſk of being their own Biographers; and, with a ſhameleſs diſregard of truth and decency, have laviſhed on themſelves and on their co-operators all the eulogies which could be claimed by wiſdom, virtue, diſintereſtedneſs, and pure patriotiſm.

From ſuch publications real information can rarely be derived; if the narrators have afforded means of tracing the progreſs of their own conduct from year to year, they have ſeldom preſented true motives of action, or faithfully diſplayed their ultimate views. The biographical works which have appeared in the courſe of the French Revolution are, therefore, not to be implicitly depended on, but can only obtain a partial credit, by a compariſon with cotemporary narratives and with the hiſtory of the times.

And yet it is from theſe ſources that moſt of the writers who have defended the Revolution have drawn their materials, implicitly crediting all the unjuſt aſperſions which the enemies of Monarchy have caſt on the King and Queen, and on their adherents, and relying on the intereſted and partial accounts which the Regicides have given of their own conduct and party. They have alſo frequently exaggerated what they found; and as they ſeldom preciſely quote their authorities, they have impoſed on many, whom want of leiſure or facility of diſpoſition have prevented from purſuing the proper means of detection.

I have made it my buſineſs faithfully and diligently to examine both ſides of the queſtion; to ſelect, combine, and compare the diſcordant accounts of the ſame tranſaction; to weigh the motives which various parties have aſſigned for their own conduct and that of their opponents; and to draw ſuch probable reſults as were warranted by circumſtances and authorities.

To avoid every imputation of intended error, I have made it an invariable rule to advance no aſſertion for which I have not produced my authorities. Without this precaution my work would have had no claim to a different eſtimation from thoſe political romances which are daily obtruded on the world under the names of hiſtory and biography.

It is a ſingularity in the times which have engaged my attention, that the lapſe of a few years has diſcloſed

cloſed ſo many latent ſprings of action, that what has uſually formed the reſearch of ſubſequent generations, and been ſlowly produced under the name of ſecret hiſtory, now ſtands unveiled, and the diligent inquirer may be gratified with a full diſcloſure of the private motives, as well as the public conduct of thoſe who, during a moſt intereſting period of the French Revolution, directed the helm of affairs, and engaged the attention of mankind.

The nature of the information thus to be obtained has formed, with reſpect to time, the limit of my preſent undertaking. During the early periods of the Revolution, and until the latter end of the year 1794, the aſperity of crimination and the zeal of defence produced innumerable publications, in which the authors, vindicating themſelves and ſtigmatizing their adverſaries, revealed thoſe important facts which, in times of more temperate diſcuſſion, would have been ſtudiouſly ſecreted from the public eye. After the fall of Robeſpierre, the French Government gradually loſt its appearance of open violence, to aſſume the characteriſtic of myſterious tyranny. Violent factions were no longer ſuffered to inſult and defy each other in the halls of legiſlature, in clubs, and in abuſive journals; but the prevailing party, by means of ſpies, military terror, and the ſuppreſſion of all publications that did not extol their conduct in every particular, ſucceeded in caſting a veil over their motives of action, which, while impunity can be ſecured, and till ſome, perhaps not far diſtant, Revolution ſhall expoſe the myſteries of their iniquity, will effectually baffle the reſearch of the biographer. To the hiſtorian, a taſk leſs difficult remains; he may, without deſcribing the preciſe line of conduct purſued by every individual, ſpeak in terms of appropriate abhorrence of the tyranny and hypocriſy of the Government: he may pourtray with the energy of indignant virtue, the fraud, rapacity,

city, cruelty, and general profligacy of that ſyſtem which expoſes a nation, eminent in the ſocial arts, in politeneſs, and in every branch of uſeful and elegant knowledge, to general deteſtation, and renders thoſe, whom ſituation and ſcience have qualified to enlighten and protect, the ſcourge and ſtigma of the human race.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

LOUIS XVI.—THE QUEEN—THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH—AND THE DAUPHIN.

THE experience and records of all ages have demonſtrated, that ſucceſs and proſperity are not invariably attached to merit and virtue; but it ſeldom occurs that the practice and purſuit of the moſt laudable principles are the cauſe of the moſt dreadful and unmerited calamities.

The life of Louis XVI. affords a remarkable inſtance of this unuſual fatality. It diſplays a monarch devoted to his people, animated by the pureſt patriotiſm and benevolence, enforcing every ſocial duty by his own example, yet purſued by the moſt barbarous calumnies, overwhelmed with the moſt unheard-of indignities, impriſoned, dethroned, murdered, denied the honours of ſepulture, his reputation ſtudiouſly ſullied, and his name malignantly ſtigmatiſed.

The ſyſtem of obloquy ſo invariably purſued againſt this unhappy and truly aimable ſovereign, has been attended with ſo much effect, that he is generally conſidered as confined in his intellects, limited in his education, frivolous in his purſuits, inſenſible to diſhonour, the ſlave of ſenſuality, without genius, courage, or veracity. From the pub-

lications of the beſt informed and moſt impartial hiſtorians, from the reluctant confeſſions of his adverſaries, and from the evidence of authentic facts, I ſhall endeavour to controvert this opinion, and to repreſent Louis the friend and model of virtue, the victim of intrigue and perſecution. Several well-informed hiſtorians have borne teſtimony to the virtues of this unfortunate monarch, and have diſplayed his motives in their proper light; but I have not relied entirely on their narratives; I have ſurveyed the contrary ſide, and, in order to eſtabliſh truth, have explored the ſource of calumny, and inveſtigated, as accurately as poſſible, the origin of every ſlander.

Parents of Louis XVI.

The father of Louis XVI.[a], who never came to the throne, was a prince remarkable for his virtue, knowledge, and conjugal fidelity. His life and manners were at once a reproof and counterpoiſe to the profligacy of the court of Louis XV. By his firſt wife, Maria Thereſa, Infanta of Spain, whom he tenderly loved, he had but one daughter, who died two years after her mother. By his ſecond wife, Marie Joſephe, daughter of Frederic Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, and king of Poland, he had two ſons before the birth of Louis; one of whom, the duke of Aquitaine, lived but five months, and the other, whoſe title was duke of Burgundy, died at a very early age.

23d Aug. 1754. Birth.

Shortly after the duke of Aquitaine's death, the court being at Choiſi, and the dauphineſs left almoſt alone at Verſailles, ſhe was unexpectedly ſeized with labour-pains, and delivered. The only witneſſes of the birth were the chancellor, the keeper

[a] This account of the early life of Louis XVI. is principally taken from "Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI." Paris 1791. —"Vie du Dauphin, Pere de Louis XVI.;" and "Eloge hiſtorique et funebre de Louis XVI. par M. Montjoye." To this laſt publication I have been much indebted, and in the courſe of this narrative, where no other authority is given, I have drawn my information from Montjoye.

of

of the ſeals, the comptroller-general, and the marquis de Puyſieux. None of the princes of the blood were preſent, and many of the officers of ſtate, who ought to atteſt the nativity of a royal infant, were not there; thus the birth, like the death of Louis, was premature, and deprived of its due honours and ceremonies.

Education. The young prince was baptized LOUIS-AUGUSTE, and received the title of duke of Berri. He was educated with the utmoſt care; his preceptor was the biſhop of Limoges, and his governor the duke de la Vauguyon. In theſe appointments his parents ſhewed no leſs judgment than affection, and were ſingularly aſſiduous in the inſtruction of the young princes, and ſtrict in the enforcement of proper diſcipline. Louis manifeſted, in his infancy, an excellent diſpoſition; he was fond of inſtruction, tractable, ſubmiſſive, reſpectful, and acute; but he evinced that backwardneſs in diſplaying his acquiſitions, by which he was always afterwards characterized. The death of the duke of Burgundy, which might have been expected to operate unfavourably, tended to the advancement of his education. His father and mother, now conſidering him heir-apparent of the crown, redoubled their care, and divided between them the taſk of inſtructing him. With theſe advantages of tuition, beſides thoſe derived from his maſters, the young prince could not fail to make conſiderable progreſs; he took great delight in ſtudy, and was heard to ſay, when a child, that the time which he employed in receiving inſtruction always appeared to him ſhorter than any other. He was ſo eager to gain information, that he ſaid one day to his tutors, "How "happy ſhould I be to learn ſomething my papa "does not know." Such was the prince whom malice and prejudice have repreſented as ignorant and incapable of application; yet the liſt of his acquirements would put to ſhame moſt of thoſe who

repeat ſuch reproaches with all the confidence of exulting ſuperiority. He underſtood Latin remarkably well, and Engliſh was familiar to him. He was well verſed in hiſtory, mathematics, the *Belles-Lettres*, and politics; and his knowledge of geography was ſo extenſive, that he is acknowledged by madame Roland, who, though her judgment may be queſtioned, cannot be ſuſpected of partiality, to have been the beſt geographer in his kingdom [b]. He had a ready and tenacious memory [c]; was extremely aſſiduous; read ſlowly and carefully, and conſtantly made notes or extracts of ſtriking or uſeful paſſages.

Reſerve. The modeſty, or rather timidity, which marked his youth was contraſted, ſo unfavourably for him, by the frankneſs and good humoured gaiety of his brothers, the count de Provence (now Louis XVIII.) and the count d'Artois, that he was much leſs beloved by the courtiers than he had a right to expect; and from the manner in which they reported and commented on his words and actions, he was compelled to adopt a reſerve which even amounted to a heſitation in his delivery, that ſeemed to announce fear and ſuſpicion.

Amuſements. In his amuſements Louis diſplayed that love of the uſeful and agreeable, which in the eye of candour would appear among the brighteſt preſages of his youth. He was fond of agriculture, and had a reſpect even for thoſe who laboured manually in that uſeful occupation. He underſtood, and judiciouſly promoted the mechanic arts. He, in common with moſt other perſons of high rank in France, had a lathe, and amuſed himſelf in turning; he is ſaid to have excelled in making locks, and to have been ſingularly inquiſitive about every mechanical invention. Theſe, it muſt be re-

[b] Appel à l'Impartiale Poſtérité, vol. ii. p. 6.
[c] Bertrand's Private Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 21. Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 171. Appel, &c. vol. ii. p. 6.

collected,

collected, were his relaxations, and as ſuch, were not merely juſtifiable by compariſon with other purſuits in themſelves criminal or immoral, but were in the higheſt degree laudable. They ennobled, by example, thoſe employments which teach patience and perſeverance; they took off the contempt which haughty ignorance had applied to them; and they inſpired an honeſt pride and patriotic emulation in thoſe whom neceſſity compelled to follow thoſe valuable arts.

Death of the dauphin.

When Louis had attained his eleventh year, he was deprived, by death, of the benefit of his father's inſtructions. The brilliant proſpect opened by this event had no charms for the young prince; his filial affection rendered him inſenſible to the views of grandeur, and for ſome time he felt a renewal of his grief at being diſtinguiſhed by the title of dauphin.

The habits of Louis XV. correſponded ſo ill with the ſentiments inſpired by education in his ſucceſſor in expectancy, and the perſons who formed the court of the monarch were ſo little agreeable to the taſte of the prince, that he was content to veil his diſguſt under the ſemblance of apathy. He was willing to appear dull and ignorant to thoſe with whom vice was the only proof of wit, profligacy the only teſt of knowledge. This reſtraint, ſo early practiſed, and ſo rigidly adhered to, gave to its poſſeſſor an appearance of increaſed embarraſſment and ſuſpicion, and prevented his obtaining credit for that candour and integrity which were his real characteriſtics.

Perſon of Louis.

The perſon of Louis has been no leſs miſrepreſented than his mind. A female author, who began a pretended hiſtory of the revolution, has deſcribed the king as ſufficiently ugly to diſguſt his conſort, and almoſt excuſe thoſe exceſſes which ſhe ſo copiouſly and falſely attributes to the queen[4]. The

[4] Mrs. Wollſtonecraft's Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 133.

correctneſs of her report might be fairly queſtioned from the tenor of her whole performance, which is a mere rhapſody of libellous declamations, in which the facts are admitted without examination, and put together without conſiſtency; but a better refutation ariſes from the reports of thoſe who well knew the late king, and from the portraits of him publiſhed under the beſt authorities [e]. The following deſcription of him by M. Montjoye, I have every reaſon to think, is in general correct [f]: "Louis "was endowed with a good conſtitution, and with "an extraordinary ſhare of corporeal ſtrength. His "height was five feet five inches [g]. He carried his "head with dignity. His forehead was large, and his "features ſtrongly marked; he had rather a down-"caſt, though a ſteady look. His eyes were blue and "large; he had full cheeks, a well-proportioned "mouth, and regular teeth; his lips were ſomewhat "thick, like thoſe of moſt of the Bourbons, and his "ſkin remarkably white. In the latter years of his life "he grew rather corpulent; but this embonpoint be-"came him, and gave to his gait a degree of firm-"neſs equally remote from aukwardneſs and ne-"gligence. Though naturally lively, he ſeldom "laughed aloud, and thoſe who were not admitted "on a footing of familiarity, thought him ſerious "and reſerved. Even at the time when he ad-"dicted himſelf to violent exerciſe, which his con-"ſtitution rendered neceſſary, he was always ſober. "Till his acceſſion to the throne he drank nothing "but water; he afterwards mixed it, but never "drank wine alone, except now and then, after "meals, when he ſopped a bit of bread in foreign "wine." I have been more particular in ſtating

[e] See, particularly, one in Bertrand's Memoirs publiſhed from an original portrait.

[f] Eloge, p. 324.

[g] French meaſure—equal to upwards of five feet ten inches Engliſh.

theſe facts, becauſe amongſt the vices with which ſlander ſullied the name and memory of this unfortunate prince, gluttony and the love of drinking ſtand conſpicuous. Even Dumouriez, the pretended royaliſt, aſſerts that the corrupters of his youth, in order to degrade his character, "inſpired "him with *factitious vices*, ſuch as anger and the "love of wine [h]." On the former point Dumouriez, with his uſual diſregard of truth and conſiſtency, confutes himſelf in the very ſame volume, where he uſes the following expreſſions: "The "world is much deceived in reſpect to the charac"ter of this prince, who has been deſcribed as a "violent and choleric man, who ſwore frequently, "and was accuſtomed to treat his miniſters with "much roughneſs. Dumouriez, on the contrary, "ought to do him juſtice by obſerving, that during "the three months he was accuſtomed to ſee him, "and that too in very difficult ſituations, he always "found him polite, mild, affable, and very pa"tient [i]." With reſpect to the love of wine, which Dumouriez is not aſhamed to impute to him, without vouching a ſingle inſtance in ſupport of it, and which has been alleged againſt the king by ſo many ſhameleſs libellers, till a general belief of it has prevailed; it is ſo totally deſtitute of foundation, ſo abſolutely void of ſanction from thoſe authors who either knew the king or had any regard for veracity, that little heſitation is neceſſary in placing this among thoſe efforts of calumny, by which the paraſites of the *Palais Royal* endeavoured to aſſimilate the character of the virtuous monarch with that of the duke of Orleans [k].

1770. His marriage.

At the age of fifteen, Louis eſpouſed Marie Antoinette Joſephe Jeanne of Auſtria, a ſiſter of the emperor Joſeph II., of the queen of Naples, and the

[h] Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 8. [i] Ibid. p. 170.
[k] See Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 233.

ducheſs of Parma; daughter of the emperor Francis I. by the celebrated Maria Thereſa, queen of Hungary and Bohemia. This marriage was conſidered as the moſt prudent and auſpicious for France which could poſſibly have been contracted. It ſeemed the harbinger of peace and felicity. "It was ſcarcely "poſſible," ſays an elegant author, "that France "ever again ſhould be engaged in a continental "war. Beſides the dowry of her beauty and "virtues, ſhe brought to the kingdom the fair por-"tion of perpetual peace with that formidable and "hoſtile power, betwixt which and France an ani-"moſity, kindled centuries before, and frequently "maintained with bitterneſs and rancour, had drain-"ed the beſt blood of both countries, and deformed "the face of all Europe. This violence was now "to expire for ever upon the lips of beauty, and "this fortunate woman was to compoſe the tumult "of the nations with her ſmile [1]."

Perſon of the dauphineſs.

The beauty of the dauphineſs was indeed ſuch as to juſtify theſe prepoſſeſſions. Envy and mendacity have not dared to deny her charms, though they have made them the foundation of the groſſeſt calumnies. I forbear to quote thoſe ſublime efforts which deſcribe her perſon with all the glow of ſenſibility, and avail myſelf of the ſimple tribute of friendſhip to give a faint ſketch of the perſon and manners of this unfortunate princeſs. "Na-"ture had formed Marie Antoinette to ſit on a "throne. A majeſtic height, a dignified beauty, "a manner of holding her head, which is difficult "to deſcribe, combined to inſpire reſpect. On thoſe "days which were ſet apart to receive the homage "of the court, ſhe appeared queen of the univerſe. "Her features, without being regular, were full of "charms; they were embelliſhed by her com-"plexion, which ſpread over her face a dazzling

[1] Wilde's Addreſs to the Friends of the People, p. 9.

"brilliancy.

" brilliancy. The moſt engaging manners accom-
" panied theſe charms. Nobody knew the art of
" obliging like this princeſs. The moſt unimport-
" ant favour conferred by her, became doubly va-
" luable, and penetrated the mind with the moſt
" lively gratitude, from the winning graces with
" which it was accompanied [m]."

This nuptial celebration, ſo auſpicious in its political reſults, was attended with an accident which embittered enjoyment, and gave riſe, in the minds of the ſuperſtitious, to doleful preſages, which time too fatally verified. A ſuperb firework was prepared in the *Place de Louis XV.* and the concourſe of ſpectators was ſo prodigious, that, in one of the adjacent ſtreets, a great number of perſons were ſqueezed and trampled to death. The city was filled with conſternation, and mourning ſucceeded to the general joy. Accident in Paris.

On this occaſion, the ſympathy and benevolence of the innocent cauſe of theſe misfortunes, were advantageouſly diſplayed. He ſent to the lieutenant de police ſix thouſand livres (262 *l.* 10 *s.*), the ſum allotted for his private expences, accompanied with the following note: " I have heard of the misfortune
" which has ariſen from my marriage, and am pe-
" netrated with grief. I have juſt received from
" the king my monthly allowance of pocket mo-
" ney; no more is at my diſpoſal: I tranſmit it
" to you—diſtribute it among the moſt unfortu-
" nate." This intereſting action made charity faſhionable; a liberal ſubſcription was ſpeedily raiſed [n]. Benevolence of Louis.

[m] Memoires de la Ducheſſe de Polignac, par la Comteſſe Diane de Polignac, p. 7.

[n] A trifling circumſtance ſhews the diſpoſition of the French at the time. Much blame was imputed to the police of Paris; the *prévôt des marchands* was named Jerome Armand Bignon, and his neglect was ſtigmatiſed by the following anagram; *Ibi non rem damna gero.*

The

Popularity.

The beauty and benevolence of the young couple rendered them ſo extremely popular, that the enthuſiaſm of loyalty amounted almoſt to idolatry. On their firſt appearance in Paris, the garden of the Tuilleries was filled with an immenſe crowd, who beheld them with inſatiate eyes, who exhauſted themſelves in benedictions, and when wearineſs compelled the royal viſitants to retire, deplored their abſence as a privation of felicity. Their behaviour on this and every other occaſion of appearing in public, increaſed the popular predilection. Nor were the more ſolid virtues wanting to complete their title to admiration: Their charitable and benevolent diſpoſition diſplayed itſelf in numerous acts, which obtained general applauſe.

His conduct towards mad. Du Barry.

Yet, though open to every impreſſion of tenderneſs, his mind was not deficient in firmneſs, or incapable of ſtrenuous exertion in the cauſe of virtue and good morals. His conduct towards the counteſs du Barry, the miſtreſs of Louis XV., then all-powerful at court, is a ſtriking proof of this aſſertion. From her recommendation flowed all honours, dignities, and preferments; for her the eſtabliſhed rules of etiquette and ancient laws of honour were diſpenſed with; and to her the whole court bowed the knee with ſuch unconditional proſtration, that ſubmiſſion ſeemed natural, and dominion appeared her's by inalienable right. The young dauphin alone was exempt from this meanneſs. Strong in virtuous principles, and ſcorning to degrade his character by compliances which he juſtly eſteemed diſhonourable, he reſiſted every advance of the counteſs to obtain his notice, and was inflexible in his reſolution not to countenance her, or to permit any of her relations or creatures to be about his perſon, or that of his conſort. Her nephew had ſolicited the ſituation of principal equerry to the young prince, who, incenſed at his preſumption, informed the favourite,

in

in ſtrong terms of contempt and indignation, that if her relation obtained the place, he muſt not attempt to approach his perſon, on pain of corporeal chaſtiſement. At Compeigne, du Barry preſented one of her female relations at court. After having ſeen the king, they went to the apartments of the dauphin, who, at the moment they were announced, was talking to a gentleman near a window. Reſolved publicly to diſplay his diſguſt againſt vice, he hardly noticed the ladies on their entrance, did not ſalute them as was cuſtomary on ſimilar occaſions, but continued his diſcourſe till their departure, playing with his fingers on the panes of glaſs, like the keys of a harpſichord.

With reſpect to the dauphineſs.

The young prince gave another inſtance, equally ſtriking, of his inflexible adherence to the rules of propriety. The king having arranged a ſupper, at which the dauphineſs and his miſtreſs were to be preſent, the dauphin declared in perſon to the king, that, "though he was ready to ſhew every mark of "reſpect and ſubmiſſion to his ſovereign, yet his in-"reſt as well as his duty commanded him to preſerve "his wife from the approach of diſhonour." With theſe inſtances of juvenile virtue and courageous reſolution, is it poſſible to credit thoſe accounts which depict Louis XVI. as a paſſive witneſs of his wife's irregularities, oppoſing them only with temporary violence, or conniving at them with uxorious ſtupidity?

His caution.

This difference of ſentiment between the monarch and the heir-apparent being generally known, impoſed on the prince the neceſſity of more than uſual circumſpection. He was obliged, in order not to appear the head of a party, to affect an indifference to public affairs, to conceal his acquirements in literature and the arts, and to veil his intelligence and love of ſcience under an appearance of levity.

But

Hatred of flattery.

But notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, his benevolent and amiable qualities obtained general eſteem. The reſerve and even roughneſs of his manner were imputed by many to a virtuous ſource, and met with proportionate reſpect. Some courtiers, endeavouring to recommend themſelves by the uſual means of adulation, mentioning the different titles borne by his anceſtors, as *le grand*, *le bien aimé*, aſked what epithet he would wiſh to be added to his name; indignant at their flatteries, and ſenſible of the indelicacy of ſuch a queſtion, he anſwered, *le ſévere*.

10th May, 1774. His acceſſion.

The death of Louis XV. placed his grandſon on the throne before he had completed his twentieth year [o]. The public, diſguſted with the weakneſs, profligacy, and extravagance which had characteriſed the concluding years of the late reign, knew no bounds to their joy; they hailed his acceſſion as the golden moment of reviving happineſs, and the word *Reſurrexit* was placed on the pedeſtal of the ſtatue of their idoliſed monarch Henry IV.

Change of miniſtry.

The firſt meaſures of his reign were calculated to juſtify and increaſe this predilection. He recalled the parliaments whom his grandfather had baniſhed [p]. He removed from the miniſtry the duke d'Aiguillon, and the whole faction of the counteſs du Barry, and repoſed his confidence on the count de Maurepas, a man whoſe age pointed him out as a fit mentor for ſo young a monarch. But this mea-

[o] During the laſt illneſs of the old king, his ſucceſſor exhibited a remarkable inſtance of piety and charity. The following note, which he wrote to the abbé Terrai, explains and illuſtrates the tranſaction without a comment. "Mr. Comptroller-general, I beg you "will immediately diſtribute two hundred thouſand livres (8750 l.) "amongſt the poor of Paris, to pray to God for the king. If you "think this too large a ſum, deduct it from the allowance of the "dauphineſs and myſelf." Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 27.

[p] Impartial Hiſtory, p. 10, &c.

ſure,

ſure, though founded in the moſt laudable motives, was not well judged; it is diſapproved by writers of the beſt information [q], and the ſubſequent misfortunes of the monarch are aſcribed to this unfortunate choice [r]. Maurepas was above ſeventy; having been miniſter at the age of fifteen, he had been diſmiſſed and baniſhed in the prime and vigour of life, and was now, in his old age, to direct a young monarch, and govern a kingdom. He was entirely unfit for his ſituation, but at the ſame time mild, affable, and complying. He employed under him men by no means qualified for their office, remarkable rather for probity than talents; and ſome of them, particularly M. Turgot, extremely dangerous from a diſpoſition to favour new ſyſtems [s].

The king's economy.

In the firſt council which he aſſembled after his acceſſion, Louis XVI. uſed theſe words: "My "greateſt deſire is to render my people happy [t]." This expreſſion denoted his genuine ſentiments, and ſeems to have formed the grand principle of his conduct. He was early informed of the wretched ſtate in which the finances had been left by his predeceſſor, and made it his great buſineſs to reſtore them to order by eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of economy. He began, like a virtuous prince, by acts of ſelf denial and privation. He refuſed on his acceſſion the tribute called *Joyeux avenement* [u]; and ſhewed how much he preferred the proſperity of the people to the ſplendor of the throne, by ſuppreſſing the mouſquetaires, a guard ſelected from the beſt families in the country. In this meaſure the king liſtened to the dictates of benevolence, rather than thoſe of prudence. In ſuppreſſing this honourable guard,

[q] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 15.
[r] Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 6.
[s] Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 15. See alſo Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 6.
[t] Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 29.
[u] Id. p. 31.

he

he weakened the throne, and took from the nobility one motive of perſonal attachment [w]. He revoked penſions which were not given in reward of ſome actual ſervice, and laboured to reduce the profit of contracts. In the eſtabliſhed troops, beſides the mouſquetaires, he ſuppreſſed the *Gendarmes de la garde*, the light horſe, and the horſe grenadiers. He afterwards aboliſhed torture, the *droit d'Aubaine*, and the *corvées*, and gave freedom to the ſale of proviſions. He carried his economy to a very ſevere extent in his houſehold; he ſuppreſſed one hundred and ſix domeſtic officers. He reduced to one half the number of perſons employed in his chamber, diſcontinued the tables of all the great officers of the crown, aboliſhed the poſts of equerries, kept only one ſtable, and a ſmall number of pages, and ſuppreſſed the grand falconry, the *louveterie* and *vautrait* (wolf-hunt and boar-hunt). The queen entering into the views of her huſband, exerciſed a ſtrict economy in her own eſtabliſhment, ſuppreſſing places to the amount of nine hundred thouſand livres (39,375*l.*) a-year [x].

His munificence.

The progreſs of economy, however, did not extend to the excluſion of great national objects. The aim of the monarch was to eſtabliſh order in the finances, and to eaſe the burdens of the people; but he extended his patronage to all thoſe works which tended to aggrandize and give ſplendor to the nation, and to many individuals of merit. He encouraged every undertaking which conduced to the embelliſhment of the capital, and to the happineſs of its inhabitants. He built a new and beautiful bridge over the Seine, and had his reign been prolonged, inſtead of that unwholeſome hoſpital, where the dying and the dead are heaped together, four aſylums would have been built, where every proper aſſiſtance would have been afforded to indigent infirmity. Of his patron-

[w] Hiſtories. [x] Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 133.

age

age of men of letters many inſtances are given, favourable no leſs to his diſcernment than munificence[y]. His generoſity to Leonard Euler, diſplays at once his love of merit and zeal for his country. The formation of a powerful navy was ever a principal object of the king's ſolicitude; Euler had written a book on the conſtruction and manœuvring of ſhips, a copy of which was preſented to Louis. He read it with avidity, and declared that the author deſerved the gratitude of every governor of a nation. He immediately ordered him a gratuity, which he accompanied with the moſt gracious compliments.

Contemplating the ſpirit of economy and prudential munificence which directed the whole conduct of Louis; conſidering his voluntary ſacrifices of ſplendor to the good of his people, and the effects of his retrenchments, in what light are we to conſider the aſſertion of a pretended hiſtorian, that "the court of Louis XIV. and even thoſe of the "regent and Louis XV. were parſimonious com-"pared to that of Louis XVI.[z]?" Conſidering the facility

Calumnies refuted.

[y] Among innumerable inſtances of the king's benevolence to men of letters in every claſs, may be ſelected the penſion he beſtowed on Chamfort, his ſpontaneous kindneſs to de Belloi, author of the *Siege de Calais*, a tragedy, and his encouragement of the drama called *Eſope à la Cour*. Louis XV. had prohibited the repreſentation of this piece, becauſe the moraliſt reflected on a monarch addicted to the diſgraceful vice of drinking. Louis XVI. commanded the performance, approved its moral tendency, and ordered its frequent repetition; a plain proof of the falſehood of thoſe who accuſe him of being infected with a propenſity ſo degrading. See Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 24. 115.

[z] Pages, vol. i. p. 69. It is curious to trace this abſurd aſſertion to its ſource. Rabaud, with that inattention to truth which diſtinguiſhes his hiſtory, ſays: "The pomp of the court of Louis XIV. was par-"ſimony, when compared to the prodigality of Louis XV. and his "ſucceſſor." (Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 31.) Thus he conceals a rancorous falſehood by advancing a ſpecious poſition, of which only one half is true. The expences of Louis XV. did perhaps exceed thoſe of Louis XIV. though even that is doubtful, conſidering the altered value of money. But the expences of Louis XVI. were ſo far from exceeding what was requiſite to ſupport the decent exterior of royalty, that even malice itſelf, furniſhed with all the means of proof, could never ſubſtantiate the charge. The author of the Impartial Hiſtory,

facility with which he reſigned all thoſe guards and officers, who formed a rampart round the throne, what credit is due to an author who advances, "that "Louis was tenacious of power, and never parted "with it but with extreme reluctance, and that the "misfortunes of his concluding years appear to "have been greatly aggravated, if not in a meaſure "created, by this circumſtance[a]?" That the king was not willing to give up, unconditionally, all the prerogatives inherited from his anceſtors, or to relinquiſh the pittance of authority reſerved by the conſtitution, can hardly be imputed as a crime; and if thoſe parts of the conduct of any individual, which are not criminal, are nevertheleſs attended with ſiniſter conſequences, it appears a daring effort of malignity to aſſert that he occaſioned thoſe misfortunes which obviouſly reſult from the perverſeneſs of others. But waving the incorrectneſs of the inference, the allegation is contrary to fact. A perſon, who had much better means of information, and poſſeſſed a greater fund of candour than the author I have quoted, ſpeaks thus of the king: "While "every body was buſied in acquiring, he paſſed in

Hiſtory, though obviouſly aware of the untruth of Rabaud's ſtatement, by his quoting only ſo much of it as applies to Louis XV. (ſee Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 10.) has not candour enough to inveſtigate and diſplay its falſity. On the contrary, in ſpite of conviction, he does not heſitate to advance, that "a rigid economy was not a cha-"racteriſtic of the court, even of Louis XVI" and that "the ex-"penſive pleaſures of the queen, and the *uncommon ſplendor of the court*, "ſerved *rather to* PROMOTE *than to* DIMINISH *the general diſtreſs*." (Ibid. p. 11.) Thus he tells his ſtory in the faint ſtyle of a man who will not give utterance to truth, yet is reſtrained by fear from advancing unqualified falſehood. He ſupports his ſtatement by an inapplicable quotation from that very author, of whoſe want of veracity he before ſeemed convinced, relating to taxes, patents, and monopolies. Laſt of all, the republican Pagès comes forward to ſhock truth, and outrage common ſenſe and decency, by an aſſertion ſo replete with falſehood, that it ſeems intended only as a burleſque parody on Rabaud, and is exactly parallel with the ſtatement in the next chapter, that Claudius was revived in the king, and Meſſalina in the queen. Pagès, vol. i. p. 73.

[a] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 8.

"review

" review thoſe prerogatives which he might re-
" nounce without weakening the authority neceſſary
" to government; and prepared himſelf, without
" pain, to make the ſacrifice [a]."

At the acceſſion of Louis XVI. the queen was extremely popular. The French nation, long indignant at the domination of the counteſs du Barry, hailed with joy the name of queen, which ſeemed to give them an importance and dignity, the want of which they had long regretted. The beauty of her perſon, the known attachment of the king, the endearing kindneſſes which youth and proſperity prompted [b], and the public heard with delight, appeared to add to the felicity and conſequence of every Frenchman, who, in the bliſs of his monarch, and the ſplendour of the royal family, ſeemed to find his own. The manners of the queen were calculated to increaſe this pre-poſſeſſion. Conſcious of internal dignity, and ſecure of her own ſuperiority, ſhe ſought no aid from extraneous reſources; never doubting of her power to command reſpect, ſhe diveſted majeſty of all its formalities, and ſolicited eſteem. To her it belonged to win the hearts of individuals without enſlaving their minds; to acquire, in private ſociety, that affection which rarely accompanies popular accla- Conduct of the queen.

[a] Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 99.

[b] One of the greateſt inſtances of this, was the manner in which the king beſtowed on his conſort the ſeat called Trianon. While dauphineſs, ſhe had often expreſſed a deſire to poſſeſs a country-ſeat of her own. After his acceſſion, the king recollecting the circumſtance, offered her the two ſeats called *le grand*, and *le petit Trianon*, ſaying, " That as thoſe beautiful receſſes had always been appropriated " to the *royal favourites*, they could now, with propriety, belong only " to her." She accepted *le petit Trianon*, with a condition made in laughter, that he ſhould only come there when invited. The firſt uſe ſhe made of her new acquiſition was to invite her huſband to an entertainment there; and ſhe afterwards ſhewed great taſte, and flattered him in the moſt ſenſible point, by laying out the gardens in the Engliſh ſtyle, and by building twelve cottages in the park, in which were eſtabliſhed as many poor families. Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 35. 275. See alſo Arthur Young's Travels, p. 69.

mation, by the uſe of that condeſcending expreſſion, "I am no longer queen, I am myſelf[c]." She was the patroneſs of mirth and gaiety; and if the pleaſures ſhe ſanctioned occaſionally tranſgreſſed the limits of ſtrict prudence, or violated the gravity of court decorum, by permitting deep play, and encouraging ſome ſlight indiſcretions, ſuch as the repreſentation of dramatic pieces, it muſt not be forgotten that theſe were the extreme bounds to which the cenſure of the moſt rigid can extend. I am aware that this opinion has many prejudices to encounter among thoſe whoſe minds have been poiſoned by malignant publications, which I forbear to ſpecify[d]; and among thoſe who rely indolently on a generally accredited report, and who do not calculate the force of ſlander confidently and audaciouſly repeated, but think that no opinion can become current without ſome foundation in truth. I ſhall not, in future, interrupt the courſe of narration to refute general calumnies, or to repel unfounded inſinuations; but I intreat the reader to diſcard from his mind the acrimonious accuſations of her enemies, and the feeble extenuations of pretended impartialiſts, and purſue attentively the courſe of the queen's conduct. Let him ſurvey her fulfilling, with zeal and exemplary propriety, the moſt arduous duties of wife and mother, in circumſtances the moſt trying; let him contemplate the unabated affection which conſtantly ſubſiſted between her and her huſband, which no ſufferings could enfeeble or alienate; let him conſider the reſolution with which ſhe bore up againſt inſult, the dignity with which ſhe ſubmitted to misfortune; let him then examine the ſource of theſe calumnies, ſee how they are deſtitute of proof;

[c] Memoirs de la Ducheſſe de Polignac, p. 17.

[d] Theſe infamous and obſcene pamphlets the reader of taſte or delicacy will have little inclination to peruſe. A complete ſummary of the accuſations conveyed in them will be found in Mrs. Wollſtonecraft's Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 33—132.

and

and then judge whether ſuch conduct can be produced in the ſame mind with ſuch atrocious guilt, and whether the cauſe of theſe ſlanders is not ſufficiently evident to prove that they are not entitled to the ſlighteſt belief.

1777. American war.

The progreſs of economy had been ſuch as to flatter the benevolent heart of the young monarch with the moſt encouraging hopes, when all his views were deranged, and all the good effects of his ſolicitude ſuperſeded by the part he was perſuaded to take in the war between England and America. Without expreſſing any opinion reſpecting the juſtice of this conteſt, it is eaſy to demonſtrate that every principle of ſound policy ſhould have united to deter the king of France from engaging in it. He himſelf was ſo ſenſible of this in his latter days, as to declare that advantage had been taken of his youth [e]. The queen avowed herſelf a decided partiſan of the Americans, and her influence rendered their cauſe faſhionable [f]. The young nobles of France conſidered America as the theatre of glory, and haſtened thither to learn the art of war [g]. They returned flushed with ſucceſs, and replete with new theories of government. The political writers and ſpeakers in France had already learned to reduce their arguments reſpecting America to a dilemma; either Louis was the patron of inſurrection, or the defender of right, on abſtract principle: if the patron of inſurrection, he was a mere tyrant, who ſacrificed his people to ſupport an unwarrantable undertaking; if the defender of right, how could he ſhed the blood and expend the treaſure of his people to ſupport thoſe rights in others, which they themſelves ineffectually claimed?

Cauſes of the French revolution.

It is not my intention to recite all the circumſtances which led to the French revolution, but

[e] Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 37.
[f] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 16. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobinism, p. 78.
[g] Impartial Hiſtory, ubi ſupra.

merely, in this place, to advert to ſuch as perſonally affected the monarch, and as he himſelf might have obviated or remedied. It is foreign to my purpoſe to review the ſtate of the country; to diſcuſs the rights and encroachments of the different orders of the ſtate; to fix the proportion which population held to induſtry and revenue; and to aſcertain whether the want of an active war, and the diſuſe of monaſtic vows, contributed or not to an exceſs of population which baniſhed content and facilitated inſurrection. I ſhall not purſue the labours of thoſe writers, called Economiſts, who gave riſe to deluſive hopes of plenty, and vented themſelves in exaggerated complaints, fears, and ſurmiſes, who baniſhed public ſpirit, and made the whole nation niggardly upon principle; nor ſhall I attack the labours of the Encyclopediſts, who temerariouſly broached new doctrines in religion and politics, who weakened the powers of faith, and looſened the bonds of allegiance: I ſhall not attempt to deſcribe the fluctuations of public opinion, and ſhew how far policy might have been combined with force to reſtore the ſplendour of authority, and give ſtability to the regal power. To unite ſo many views, and diſplay the preciſe operation of each ſpecific cauſe, would exceed the bounds and tranſgreſs the intentions of a work like this: it is the taſk of Hiſtory.

The reforms already ſtated which weakened the influence of the crown, and drove from the court many whom intereſt, if not duty, would otherwiſe have rendered vigilant about the monarch; the ſuppreſſion of pomp, the idol of the multitude; and moſt of all, the American war, which impoveriſhed the treaſury, and gave energy to factious ſpeculation, I conſider as the principal cauſes of the revolution. I ſay the principal, not the only cauſes; thoſe above mentioned certainly had their ſhare; and I have, in the courſe of this work, adverted to others which were no leſs efficient. I have diſplayed the exertions

and

and artifices of a ſecret confederacy, formed in the receſſes of darkneſs and guilt, and extending its baneful influence over the greater part of Europe [g]; I have deſcanted on the writings and ſiniſter efforts of an ambitious miniſter, who was content to inflame the people and diſorganize the government to favour his own private views [h]: and I have not omitted to notice the guilty ambition of a prince of the blood, who aſpired, without knowing the preciſe limits of his views, and became the tool and prey of intriguers, without having aſcertained to what exact point their projects tended [i].

To the character of the duke of Orleans are principally to be aſcribed the violence and malignity which diſtinguiſhed the revolution. That prince, ſunk in contempt, and immerſed in ſenſuality, was not inſenſible to the voice of ambition; but while the queen exhibited no ſign of pregnancy, he awaited, without emotion, thoſe events which might raiſe himſelf or his deſcendants to the throne, and realiſe thoſe hopes in which his anceſtors had been diſappointed [k]. The ſelfiſh views which he affected to render illuſtrious by miſcalling them ambition, were, by this event, expoſed to almoſt certain diſappointment. It deſtroyed all thoſe hopes which had been ſo fondly cheriſhed, and left no reſource but ſecret calumny and open violence.

1778. The queen's pregnancy.

The pregnancy of the queen did not take place till ſhe had been married eight years and a half; it was then announced to the inhabitants of Paris by an act of beneficence truly pious and royal, and which Marie Antoinette often repeated in the courſe of her reign. She ſent to the director of the office for wet-nurſes a ſum of three thouſand livres (131 *l.* 5 *s.*) to be employed in procuring the liberty of unfortunate parents, impriſoned for non-payment of the

[g] See MIRABEAU. [h] See NECKER. [i] See ORLEANS.
[k] Reſidence in France, edited by John Gifford, vol. i. p. 384.

debts contracted for their children[l]. Prayers for the queen were offered up in all parts of the kingdom; and ſeveral companies, military, religious, and municipal, diſplayed their loyalty in acts of devotion and benevolence[m].

19th Dec. 1778. Birth of madame royale.

At length the queen was delivered of a daughter, who was immediately baptized by the name of Marie Thereſe Charlotte, and received the title of *Madame, fille du Roi*, though the prevailing cuſtom has been to call her *Madame Royale*[n]. The municipal officers of Paris imitated their ſovereign, by delivering from priſon a great many fathers of families; and the queen herſelf diſplayed her charity in a manner no leſs intereſting than engaging. She cauſed to be ſelected a hundred young women, poor, and of good character, from the different pariſhes in Paris, to each of whom ſhe gave five hundred livres (21 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.*) as a marriage portion; two hundred livres (8 *l.* 15 *s.*) to purchaſe a ſuit of clothes for their huſbands; and twelve livres (10 *s.* 6 *d.*) for a wedding dinner[o].

22d Oct. 1781. Birth of the dauphin.

But while the queen was thus diſplaying the goodneſs of her diſpoſition, the engines of calumny were already employed in undermining her reputation, in damping the public joy, and in depreciating the acts of benevolence which charmed the people. Theſe efforts were more deſperately renewed when the wiſhes of the royal family were crowned by the birth of a prince. On that occaſion the public feſtivity was unbounded, and the royal munificence no leſs conſpicuous than on the former occaſion. The king granted an exemption from the capitation or

[l] It may be neceſſary to inform the reader, that in Paris there was an office, where women from the country came to offer their ſervice as nurſes; they were retained by the Bourgeoiſes, and if the ſtipulated wages were not duly paid, the nurſes had a remedy againſt the huſbands of their employers, by impriſonment in a ſummary way, and without the delays incident to ordinary proceſſes.

[m] Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 287. 296.

[n] Id. p. 303. [o] Id. p. 314.

poll-

poll-tax for a year to the poorer claſs of his ſubjects reſiding in the capital; liberated great numbers of priſoners for debt in the provinces; reſtored to their parents all thoſe legitimate children whom diſtreſs had compelled them to leave at the foundling-hoſpital; paid the debts of priſoners in Paris to the amount of four hundred and ſixty-four thouſand livres, (20,300 *l.*) and diſcharged many who were impriſoned for crimes. The queen propoſed an act of charity of the moſt extenſive and beneficent deſcription, but the treaſury would not authoriſe its being carried into execution. Her project was to redeem and reſtore to the owners all clothes and neceſſaries which the poor had been obliged to pawn at the *Mont de Piété*[p]. The prince, who was the ſubject of theſe rejoicings and charities, fortunately died at an early period of the revolution. His ſiſter and younger brother were reſerved to participate the diſaſters of their family.

Calumnies againſt the queen.

The progreſs of the war, the freedom of political diſcuſſion, the exertions of the economiſts, and the arts of a reſolute faction, had now produced a ſtate of anxiety and turbulence in the public mind, which promiſed to forward thoſe views which a more rigid government, and a more proſperous ſtate of finances would have reſtrained. The tongue of ſlander now moved without reſtraint againſt the queen, who before had been the theme of applauſe and admiration. Her honour was aſſailed by the moſt virulent and unfounded defamations; the national animoſity, which her union with France was ſuppoſed to have extinguiſhed for ever, was revived in order to load her with imaginary crimes. She was accuſed of plundering the treaſury of France to make remittances to her brother; as an additional inſult, ſhe was often mentioned by the odious title of *l'Autrichienne*, and her ſeat, Trianon, was nick-named *Le petit*

[p] Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 334.

Vienne [9]. The expences to which ſhe ſubjected the nation, and the liberality of her preſents to her favourites, were topics of unbounded reprobation; in a word, every want felt by the people was imputed to her aſcendancy, while the king was repreſented as a man immerſed in ſenſuality, indolent, and little better than an idiot. The falſity of theſe accuſations is obvious. The queen never did, and never could ſquander the public money in the manner alleged. Her expences were by no means enormous, they were far inferior to thoſe of madame du Barry; and her whole donations did not equal what Louis XIV. allowed to one of his ſeveral miſtreſſes, mademoiſelle Fontanges, who had three hundred thouſand livres (13,125 *l.*) a month. It was impoſſible that ſhe ſhould have drawn money from the treaſury to remit to her brother, as ſuch a tranſaction muſt neceſſarily have been known to a great number of perſons, and entries muſt have been made in various forms which would have aſcertained the fact. Yet when the moſt ſtrict ſcrutinies were afterwards made, when wealth, honour, and applauſe would have been the meed of diſcovery, no ſuch tranſaction was diſcloſed; nor could the hardineſs of thoſe who, by the aid of forgery, affected to ſupply ſuch documents as truth did not afford, ever venture to bring forward the ſlighteſt written proof on the ſubject.

Adminiſtration of Calonne.

The public mind was in this ſtate when peace was made with England. Necker ſays, that, "in "1781, he had left the finances in perfect equili- "brium, but the impoſts were conſiderable. The "king had prevented their increaſe, by providing "from his ſavings an intereſt for loans, become in- "diſpenſable to meet the extraordinary expences "of the war." Perhaps ſo much of this obſervation as relates to Necker himſelf is queſtionable.

[9] Anecdotes, vol. i. p. 276.

He

He continues thus: "The approaching return of "peace would have opened a new career to hope, "had not the king entruſted the auſtere functions "of adminiſtration to a man more worthy of being "the hero of courtiers, than the miniſter of a king. "The reputation of M. de Calonne was in con-"traſt with the morals of Louis XVI.; and I know "not by what reaſonings, or by what aſcendant, "this prince was engaged to give a place in his "council to an avowed magiſtrate, diſtinguiſhed as "an amiable man in the moſt elegant ſocieties of "Paris, but whoſe levity and principles were "dreaded by all France. How often muſt ſuch a "determination have been repented of? Money "was laviſhed, largeſſes multiplied, no inſtance of "facility and complaiſance was refuſed, economy "was even made a ſubject of deriſion; and to "give a ſyſtematic air to this inconſiderate con-"duct, for the firſt time, the aſſertion was hazard-"ed, that the immenſity of expence, by animating "circulation, was the true principle of credit; a "maxim applauded by all thoſe who found them-"ſelves fitted to ſecond the miniſter in this mode of "ſerving the ſtate[r]."

It is to be recollected, that this character of M. de Calonne is given by his avowed opponent; many other authors have concurred in decrying his adminiſtration[s], but it is praiſed by others of equal judgment and veracity[t].

The grand plan of a port at Cherbourg, which was proſecuted at a vaſt expence during his admi-

[r] On the Revolution, vol. i. p. 14. I am apprehenſive, that ſome phraſes in this quotation are not correctly tranſlated, particularly *an avowed magiſtrate*; but not having a copy of the work in French I cannot correct them.

[s] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 21. Pagès, vol. i. p. 60. Rabaud, p. 36. Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 33. Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 12. Chriſtie's Letters, p. 67. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 72.

[t] See Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 42. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 47. Wilde's Addreſs, p. 319.

niſtration,

niſtration, would have given little umbrage to the people, but the general ſpirit of falſe economy rendered every expence a matter of complaint. The purchaſe of St. Cloud, and payment of the count d'Artois's debts, excited conſiderable clamour, and diſcontent was hourly increaſing.

21ſt June 1786. The king's journey to Cherbourg.

The conſtruction of a port in the channel was a national object of the firſt importance. If ſucceſsful, it would have done more towards the eſtabliſhment of the French navy, than any other project in which the public money could have been expended. The king had ever had its completion at heart, and was ſo ſtruck with the utility of the ſcheme, that for ſeveral years his cloſet was hung with drawings on the ſubject [u]. The cones firſt ſunk had been deſtroyed by tempeſts, ten new cones were prepared, and the king reſolved to pay a viſit to Cherbourg to ſee one of them navigated and ſunk. His journey was a progreſs of benevolence [x], every thing which could endear a monarch to his people marked his conduct. He ſpent four days at Cherbourg, not like a man who leaves home to gratify an idle curioſity, but examining, inveſtigating, and comparing the objects preſented to his notice. The people, yet uncorrupted by the efforts of ſedition, received him with acclamations and benedictions. He diſtributed ſome favours, and had intended more, but was prevented by the ſelfiſhneſs of the marſhal de Caſtries, miniſter of marine, who had left at Paris his port-folio of intended promotions [y]. On his return he was hailed with tranſports of joy; triumphal arches were erected, ſolemn ſervices were

[u] Life of Dumouriez, vol. i. p. 480.

[x] One inſtance of his tenderneſs muſt not be omitted: a woman, wife to the jailor at Havre, threw herſelf at his feet, and craved pardon for three deſerters then in cuſtody. The king raiſed her up, ſaying, "With all my heart, good woman; I wiſh you had interceded for "four." Anecdotes, vol. i. p. 156.

[y] Life of Dumouriez, vol. i. p. 488.

performed

performed in the churches, and the keys of towns, brought by the citizens in proceſſion, were ſurrendered to the ſovereign. The king was ſo delighted with theſe demonſtrations of loyalty, that he declared, next to his conſecration at Rheims, the day of his arrival at Cherbourg was the happieſt of his life. The people were no leſs pleaſed, and gloried in repeating the words of their ſovereign, who to their repeated acclamations of *Vive le Roi!* conſtantly replied, *Vive mon Peuple! Vive mon bon Peuple*[z]*!* Yet this journey, ſo laudable in its object, ſo ſatisfactory in its reſult, did not eſcape ſevere animadverſion. Mirabeau mentions it in diſreſpectful terms of cenſure: "A king oppreſſes his "ſubjects with taxes badly organiſed; the day of "his acceſſion is conſecrated to feſtivity; he makes "an uſeleſs and expenſive journey; on his return "he paſſes under triumphal arches[a]."

Attacks on the queen.

The virtue, the religion, the benevolence, and morals of the king, preſented ſo few vulnerable points, that ſlander was at a loſs on what part of his character to make an attack. The queen, equally upright in her ſentiments, was leſs guarded in her conduct. In her calumny found an eaſy prey; and afterwards, being united with ſedition, made a joint attack, with a view not only to injure her, but to debaſe the king, and vilify royalty itſelf[b]. One principal engine of this projected degradation, was *the affair of the necklace*, in which the cardinal de Rohan was made the dupe of two intriguing adventurers, and the queen implicated, though ſhe had not the ſlighteſt participation in the tranſaction. Had ſhe wanted ſuch a necklace, ſhe would have bought and worn it publicly; had ſhe required money, there was no need to recur to a ſecret and diſgrace-

The necklace.

[z] For a very minute and intereſting account of this journey, ſee Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 153.

[a] Eſſai ſur la Secte des Illuminés. Introd. p. 16.

[b] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 34.

ful

ful negociation, the court bankers would have gladly ſupplied her. But, at all events, ſhe would never have applied to the cardinal, whom ſhe was known to hate; or have aſſociated with a worthleſs adventurer, and a woman of low birth and education, and diſguſting manners[c]. Although thoſe parts of this ſtory, which tended to inculpate the queen, were never currently believed, yet they had the effect of making her conduct the topic of public examination, an event always degrading, generally dangerous. The people received, with increaſing avidity, every account of her profuſion, and having been led to believe, that they were miſerable beyond all former example, were eaſily induced to impute that miſery to her. That I may not return to this ſubject, let me once for all expoſe the extreme malice and futility of ſuch complaints. The taſte and elegance which accompanied every act of the queen excited much admiration; and as ſhe had a ſingular grace in giving, her predilection was a ſource of envy, her bounty of admiration, though the one was conferred without reproach, the other without profuſion. In the courſe of a reign of eighteen years, her expences amounted in the whole to about ten millions of livres (437,500 *l.*); of this about half a million (21,875 *l.*) was expended in buildings and decorations at Trianon, and in the purchaſe of St. Cloud. If from this ſum we deduct ſix millions, (262,500 *l.*) produced by the ſale of Chateau Trompette, an eſtate belonging to the crown, which the king made over to her uſe[d]; the remainder, four mil-

Her expences.

[c] Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 358 to 418. It is further obſerved on this ſubject, that the Memoirs of the Counteſs de la Motte are a mere web of fables, totally deſtitute of all proof, written or oral. What is worſe, the woman is continually contradicting herſelf. The romance of the ſecond *Memoire* is totally different from that of the firſt; and the romance of the third having no reſemblance to either firſt or ſecond. This is the obſervation of M. Montjove, which I can neither corroborate nor controvert, having read the *Memoires* in queſtion long ago, and without much attention. See Eloge, &c. p. 113. *n.*

[d] Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 34.

lions

lions (175,000*l.*) is too inconſiderable to deſerve notice. In fact, the leaders of faction had eſtabliſhed many falſe points which led to endleſs inconſiſtencies; they made a trifling *deficit* an evil of the firſt magnitude; they charged it all to the account of the royal family, whoſe expences were ſo moderate as to defy cenſure, and at laſt were reduced to the pitiful neceſſity of publiſhing the red-book, to make good by clamour againſt individuals what was wanting in proof of criminality, ſufficiently important to intereſt the public.

While the public mind was agitated by panic fears and inflamed by calumny, an oppoſition was commenced in the parliament of Paris to the grant of ſupplies. Calonne was obliged to acknowledge a deficit of one hundred and twenty millions (5,250,000*l.*); the king, unacquainted with the ſtate of public opinion, and actuated only by his deſire to relieve the diſtreſſes of his people, declared that he would have no more loans or new taxes[e]. The miniſter was obliged to convene the Notables, for whom he had prepared a plan at once dignified, conſtitutional, and expedient[f]; but the death of Vergennes occaſioned delay, and weakened the influence of Calonne; an oppoſition againſt him was formed in the cloſet, where advantage was taken of the queen's diſlike, and in the Notables, where an oppoſition to his meaſures promiſed both popularity and favour. His plans were rejected; he was obliged to quit the helm, and retire from France, after having been deprived of the order *du Saint Eſprit*. Calonne diſmiſſed.

De Brienne, archbiſhop of Thouloufe, who ſucceeded Calonne, after trying in vain to break the phalanx formed by faction, and to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies, after encountering oppoſition from all quarters, and embarraſſing government with almoſt inſurmountable difficulties, abandoned a ſituation he was no Adminiſtration of de Brienne.

[e] Rabaud's Hiſtory, p. 38. [f] Bouillé's Memoirs.

longer

longer able to hold, recommending the convocation of the three eſtates, and the recal of Necker, the popular idol[ε]. This miniſter, with a raſhneſs, preſumption, and ambitious ſelfiſhneſs which eclipſe his merits in other reſpects, convoked the Notables only to reject their deciſions, courted the populace and the Orleans faction by the moſt ſiniſter and diſhoneſt means, organiſed the convocation of the three eſtates at a time and place which rendered an open war between the three orders inevitable, and by allowing the *tiers-etat* a double repreſentation, inſured their conqueſt, and prepared for the ſuperior orders an abject degradation and inevitable extinction.

Recal of Necker.

Meeting of the ſtates-general.

At the meeting of the three eſtates the king was placed in a ſituation entirely new, and more embarraſſing than that of any monarch before him. He had, in compliance with the wiſh of his people, called the States-General, yet the credit was attributed to a miniſter who had been obtruded on him in contradiction to his own will. He was alarmed by reports of a deficit which, though unimportant in itſelf, was magnified into an unlimited evil, and which he could acquire no popularity by annihilating, as its exiſtence was falſely imputed to him. The turbulence of the *tiers-etat*, their factious proceedings againſt the other ſtates, and their unremitting endeavours to embarraſs government and uſurp all authority; the rebellious diſpoſitions of the Pariſians; and the famine, which though in part occaſioned by artful and unprincipled conſpiracy, was converted into an article of accuſation againſt the king, added to his diſtreſs, and rendered his ſituation ſtill more critical. His authority was not diminiſhed by any act formally announced, yet every exertion of it was attended with difficulty and danger. If the declaration of his will announced a popular

[ε] See the various hiſtories, the Lives of de BRIENNE and NECKER, and the authorities there quoted.

act,

act, the monarch acquired but a momentary applauſe; he was deprived of the affection which ought to have reſulted from it, by a reſolute band of detractors, who attributed it to the ſuggeſtion of Necker, to unavoidable neceſſity, or to hypocriſy: but if the act announced happened to be unpopular, which the party in oppoſition could at any time occaſion, it was opprobriouſly reviled and contumaciouſly reſiſted.

Turbulence of the tiers-etat.

The *tiers-etat* comported themſelves with all the vulgar licentiouſneſs of men unuſed to power, who were reſolved to maintain their poſts by inſolence, and to extend their authorities by tyranny. They were, unhappily, but too much encouraged by the perverted populace of the capital, who, guided by a gang of daring conſpirators, ſanctioned every effort of uſurpation, every ebullition of petulance. By them they were ſupported in thoſe inſolent attacks on the king, which not only retrenched his authority in the adminiſtration of affairs, but purſued him in the hour of dejection, and to the receſſes of paternal ſenſibility, with clamorous defiance and brutal pertinacity. Thus was applauſe, inſtead of contempt, enſured to the treacherous pantomime of the Tennis-court; thus were the benevolent intentions of the monarch reſiſted with undiſguiſed contumely, and ſtigmatized with unqualified rancour. The miniſter, who had adviſed the meaſure which brought the conteſt to its firſt criſis, and deſerted his maſter when his ſervices were moſt neceſſary, was idolized, while the confiding monarch became a victim to his ſuggeſtions, and devoted to popular odium. This ſtate of conſtraint extorted from him that pathetic expreſſion, "*Je n'ai eu, depuis quelques années, que "des inſtans de bonheur,*"—"For ſome years paſt "I have only felt a few moments of happineſs [b]."

21ſt June.

23d June.

[b] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 159. For details of the other facts above ſtated, ſee the Lives of NECKER, MIRABEAU, ORLEANS, and BAILLY, and the authorities there quoted.

The

Union of the orders.

The moſt material point to the *tiers-etat* was the verification of powers and tranſaction of buſineſs in a common aſſembly. This the other two orders reſiſted with the reſolution of men who were conſcious that their exiſtence depended on the reſult of the conteſt. The tide of popularity ran violently againſt them, and ſome treacherous individuals exhibited intentions of defection. The king, ever anxious to comply with what he conſidered the wiſh of his people, favoured the union of the orders, which he was now brought to conſider as the only means of giving peace and reſtoring tranquillity. Some of the nobility who were moſt in his confidence, particularly the duc de Luxembourg, remonſtrated againſt the meaſure, as pregnant with the moſt fatal conſequences. The king, however, perſevered in his determination, and diſclaimed every project of reſiſtance with that truly patriotic exclamation, "I will "not ſuffer a ſingle life to be loſt in my cauſe[j]." Accordingly a meſſage was ſent to the nobility, requiring them to join the *tiers-etat*, which, notwithſtanding a very vigorous oppoſition from the viſcount de Mirabeau, was complied with[k]. Before we blame the king's conduct in this particular, it is neceſſary not only to appreciate the virtues by which it was actuated, but duly to weigh the difficulties of his ſituation, and the uncertain reſult, under all circumſtances, of a contrary mode of proceeding. It is neceſſary to conſider the total impoſſibility of reſtoring propriety and decorum to a legiſlature, one

[j] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 363. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 264, &c. &c. This ſingular clemency and averſion to bloodſhed was the king's ſtriking characteriſtic, and doubtleſs the cauſe of moſt of his misfortunes. The reſolute detractors of Louis, fearful of the impreſſion this fact muſt make to the prejudice of their cauſe, have advanced ridiculous ſtories about his cruelty to animals. One gives an account of his ſhooting a cat; to which another has added ſome vague aſſertions about torturing reptiles, and killing an aſs! See Pages, vol. i. p. 151. Mrs. Wollſtonecraft's Hiſtory, p. 137.

[k] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 266. &c. &c.

of

of the members of which afterwards declared, "that "had Henry IV. or Louis XII. reigned at the be- "ginning of the Revolution, it would not have "diminiſhed the neceſſity of throwing off the royal "yoke[l].

Exertions of the factious.

While the king was thus labouring, by conceſſion, to conciliate eſteem, the prevailing faction, whom every acquiſition of power rendered more eager in the purſuit of their ultimate object, exerted their efforts to undermine and deſtroy the ſmall ſhare of popularity and power yet remaining to the royal family. The ſoldiers were ſeduced from their duty, and the populace inflamed and encouraged to repeated acts of violence and rebellion[m]. The moſt atrocious calumnies and abſurd reports were raiſed againſt the king and queen, and circulated, not only in Paris, but throughout the kingdom. The moſt audacious libels were openly vended, and every means reſorted to which could complete the perverſion of the public mind. In the ſeditious groups at the Palais Royal, proſcriptions were iſſued againſt every one who was reputed a court favourite, particularly the count d'Artois, the prince de Condé and his family, and the ducheſs de Polignac. This lady incurred the diſpleaſure of the faction, not only as a favourite of the king and queen, but from a generally believed aſſertion that anti-patriotic aſſociations were formed, and that her houſe was their place of rendezvous. This is poſitively denied by the biographer of the ducheſs, who ſays, that the houſe of her relation was open to all the deputies[n]. Thoſe of a particular deſcription would, of courſe, abſent themſelves; they had their meetings elſewhere, but none were excluded. In the provinces as well as in Paris, the

[l] Defenſeur de la Conſtitution par Maximilien Robeſpierre, p. 185.
[m] See ORLEANS.
[n] Memoires de la Ducheſſe de Polignac, par la Comteſſe Diane de Polignac, p. 28.

queen was charged with the moſt atrocious acts and ſanguinary intentions. The chain of communication between the conſpirators in the capital, and the diſaffected in the country, was ſo regularly maintained, that the moſt inconſiderable villages in the kingdom were poiſoned with the ſlanders and agitated by the fears which had been communicated to them from the junto in the *Palais Royal*°.

Meaſures of the king.

Meanwhile the king diſcovered that every meaſure he adopted, far from conciliating, tended to alienate his ſubjects. He ſaw the rage of his enemies increaſe with their power, found himſelf open to every calumny, expoſed to the moſt virulent attacks, feebly defended, and threatened with a total deſertion of his troops. Under theſe circumſtances, he determined to change his mode of proceeding, to repreſs licentiouſneſs ere it acquired too great an aſcendancy, and to ſecure the ſafety of the kingdom by timely exertion. He reſolved to remove from Paris thoſe troops who were diſpoſed to relinquiſh all obedience, and to replace them with others who might at once protect the city, and reſtrain the turbulent. For this purpoſe an army was collected in the neighbourhood of Paris under the command of marſhal Broglio. The violent members of the aſſembly exerted themſelves in the moſt ſtrenuous manner againſt this act of prerogative, and endeavoured to miſrepreſent the king's whole conduct and intentions by the moſt ſlanderous reports; but theſe were ſo unfounded in truth, and afterwards denied ſo poſitively and ſpontaneouſly by the king himſelf, that impartial judgment rejects the groſs

Army round Paris.

° See Arthur Young's Travels, p. 119. 151. 162. 168. And for a remarkable ſpecimen of theſe ſlanders, ſee Lettre d'un Français ſur les Moyens qui ont opéré la Revolution, p. 11, 12. where an account is given of a pretended letter written by the queen to Delaunay, governor of the Baſtille, and intercepted, in which were theſe words: "The moſt glorious day of my life will be that when I ſhall waſh my "hands in the blood of Frenchmen."

and

and improbable fallacy [p]. Whatever might be the views of the monarch, they were completely defeated by the indiſcretion of marſhal Broglio. He crouded his infantry into three or four little camps in the vicinity of Paris, expoſed to the ſeduction of women of the town, to the temptation of good cheer, and the blandiſhments of the *Palais Royal*. His cavalry and large artillery were diſpoſed in a manner equally injudicious; and his whole poſition was calculated to defeat the purpoſes of his encampment [q]. The court, however, unacquainted with theſe diſadvantages, announced a change of miniſters, which accelerated the plans of the inſurgents, and occaſioned the capture of the Baſtille, and the other events which are generally conſidered as the commencement of the revolution [r].

Change of miniſtry.

Revolution.

When the king was informed of theſe fatal tranſactions, he took, without delay, ſuch meaſures as he conſidered moſt judicious for allaying the popular ferment. He delivered himſelf, without heſitation, to the protection of that aſſembly which had yet only exiſted to degrade, brave, and inſult him. He appeared among them without ceremony or attendance, addreſſed them in terms of conciliation and tenderneſs; he convinced them how innocent he was of any hoſtile deſigns, and immediately ordered the troops to be withdrawn. The next day he conſented to the recal of Necker; and the triumph of the factious was complete [s]. Say, detractors of this unfortunate monarch, was it fear, was it the baſe deſire of preſerving a degraded and precarious exiſtence, or was it that dread of occaſioning the blood-ſhed of his ungrateful ſubjects, from which all his ſufferings proceeded, that now actuated his conduct? That it

Conduct of the king.

[p] Memoire de Lally Tollendal, p. 75. quoted in Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution, p. 183.
[q] Life of Dumouriez, vol. ii. p. 41.
[r] See ORLEANS.
[s] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 135, &c. &c.

was not fear is manifeſt from the reſolution he adopted, in deſpite of every remonſtrance, to viſit the capital, the very den of his ferocious enemies, in perſon; and to expoſe, without defence, a life which he could never be induced to ſecure by endangering the life of another[t]. But that fear which he was incapable of feeling for himſelf, he expreſſed in the moſt benignant manner for his friends whoſe lives were threatened. He preferred diveſting himſelf of the aſſiſtance and ſociety of his moſt affectionate adherents, to the act of retaining them at the riſk of thoſe horrible events which had already ſtained Paris with blood, and to which the proſcriptions of the *Palais Royal* obviouſly pointed. He inſiſted on the departure of the count d'Artois, the duke and ducheſs of Polignac, and ſeveral other perſons whoſe ſervices and fidelity had endeared them to him and the queen. He added his commands to her entreaties, and finally prevailed on them to abandon a country which they conſidered only under the influence of a temporary phrenzy, and to which they hoped ſpeedily to return in ſafety and peace[u].

Emigrations.

17th July. King's viſit to Paris.

Cheerleſs and dreary was the king's progreſs from Verſailles to Paris; uncomfortable the aſpect of every object on his approach. The journey was undertaken in contradiction to the ſuggeſtions of prudential advice, and the pleadings of connubial tenderneſs. The recent events, the confirmed domination of a party who wiſhed his deſtruction, the abſence of his friends, and the triumph of his enemies, ſhed over the mind of the king that dejection which diſplayed itſelf in ſpite of every effort. Paleneſs altered his countenance, ſorrow caſt a ſhade over his features, melancholy marked the brow of ſuffering majeſty. He ſurveyed the ſpectators with an eager gaze, and ſmiled at thoſe he recollected; but

[t] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 142, &c. &c. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 76.

[u] Memoires de la Ducheſſe de Polignac, p. 32, 33.

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with a ſmile which ill concealed the anguiſh of his ſoul[x]. The unuſual cry of *vive la nation!* while that of *vive le roi!* was ſuppreſſed by order of la Fayette; the refuſal to permit the *gardes-du-corps* to enter the city, and the delivery of the king to the national guard, who formed a triple row on each ſide his carriage, were inauſpicious circumſtances. His paſſage to the *hotel de ville*, under a long arch of pikes and naked ſwords[y], the inſolent ſpeech of Bailly, and the compelled aſſumption of the national cockade, were mortifications equally new and degrading[z]. Yet the ſincere patriotiſm of the king, his love for the people, and the genuine candour and goodneſs of his diſpoſition, at length vanquiſhed enmity, and melted ſullenneſs. The pathetic emotion with which he pronounced the words, "My people may always rely upon my "affection," and his appearance at the window of the *hotel de ville*, adorned with the newly adopted badge of patriotiſm, diffuſed general joy; the cry of *vive le roi!* could be no longer reſtrained. The returning love and confidence of his people, reſtored tranquillity and joy to the monarch, and ſent him to Verſailles with every appearance of content and ſatisfaction[a].

Conduct of the aſſembly.

The aſſembly, now freed from all reſtraint, and influenced by a faction which had views the moſt hoſtile to the perſon and dignity of the monarch, no longer preſerved any decency or reſpect in their proceedings. They made the moſt wanton attacks on property of every kind; and while they were inceſſantly clamorous about the miſeries of the kingdom, and the inſubordination of the people, took no ſtep to repreſs licentiouſneſs or ſtrengthen the

[x] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 143, &c. &c. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 81.
[y] Pages, vol. i. p. 167.
[z] See BAILLY and ORLEANS.
[a] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 145. Rabaud's Hiſtory, p. 114, &c.

hands of government. On the contrary, they re-ſcinded the propoſed advantages of loans till they failed for want of ſubſcribers; they ſhewed, in all their debates, a marked diſtruſt and contempt for the king[b]; and when complaints were made of the murders committed, a popular member, Barnave, aſked, with a ſneer, "If the blood which had been "ſhed was ſo remarkably pure[c]?"

Treatment of the king.

Yet theſe violences, while unreſiſted, failed of producing the effects expected by the conſpirators; they felt the neceſſity of creating an oppoſition real or fictitious, and uſing it to aid their calumnies and

4th Aug.

treaſonable machinations. For this purpoſe they paſſed, without deliberation, a ſeries of decrees by which all the property in the kingdom, eccleſiaſtical and civil, was invaded, and preſſed the king to ſanction them without delay; which, after ſome remonſtrance, he did; and thus their firſt attack was parried[d]. After this, the aſſembly paſſed a declaration of the rights of man, and ſome few articles of a new conſtitution, which the king, conſidering them only as parts of a larger work, declined ſanctioning, till he ſaw their application to ſome conſiſtent, uniform whole, and retained them in his poſſeſſion, without expreſſing his decided approbation or diſapprobation. This was immediately converted into a ground of oppoſition and virulent abuſe. Myſterious reports were circulated of the moſt alarming tendency, of a project to carry off the king, diſſolve the aſſembly, and enſlave the nation. Such ſchemes are demonſtrated to have been impoſſible, from the invin-

[b] See particularly the debates on the declaration of the rights of man, on the *veto*, on the king's inviolability, and on the ſucceſſion to the crown.

[c] Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Ambition and Conqueſts of France, p. 252. where the fate of this incendiary is thus deſcribed: "BARNAVE was "perſecuted for a long time, driven from place to place, and at laſt "ſeized and executed. Thus he expiated with his own blood that "cruel anſwer he had made to Lally, when exclaiming againſt the "murders of Berthier and Foulon."

[d] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 217. Debates.

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cible obſtacles which would have oppoſed the king's flight from Verſailles, and from his total want of money, which he could only have drawn from Paris [e]. To theſe ſuggeſtions were added the untrue reports of the *orgies* of the *gardes-du-corps*, and the threats of immediate famine, in order to raiſe the mob of Paris, and atchieve the conqueſt and debaſement of the king.

5th Oct. Conduct of the king;

Such were, in general, the cauſes which led to the horrible outrages of the fifth and ſixth of October, which are deſcribed under another head [f]. It is only neceſſary here to mention the conduct and ſituation of the royal family. The king, totally ignorant of what was paſſing at Paris, which undoubtedly was not the caſe with the leading conſpirators in the aſſembly, had been preſſed to ſanction thoſe decrees which he had before reſerved for conſideration; and, on that day, returned an anſwer expreſſed in the moſt prudent and moderate terms [g]. It produced a great emotion; and the impartial public, if its voice had not been forcibly ſuppreſſed, would have approved it [h]. The aſſembly, however, received it with inſolence and diſdain, and inſiſted on the immediate and unqualified ſanction. The king, in the mean time, went to Meudon, to enjoy the diverſion of hunting, in which he was engaged, when an expreſs came to inform him of the arrival of the mob from Paris to demand bread. "Alas!" he exclaimed, "if I had it I ſhould not wait to be aſked." He reſolved immediately to return; when a chevalier de St. Louis, aware of the danger of his ſituation, exhorted him not to fear. "I never was afraid in "my life," was the monarch's reply. Though there is little reaſon to doubt that the inſtigators of this horrible ſcene had in contemplation the murder of

[e] Sur l'Adminiſtration de M. Necker, par lui même, p. 196.
[f] See ORLEANS.
[g] APPENDIX, No. I.
[h] Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 255.

the king, ſtill the ſpirit of loyalty was not yet ſo entirely extinct that they durſt openly profeſs it. But the arts of calumny had been ſo ſucceſsful that they were under no ſuch reſtraint with reſpect to the queen. Her they reviled with the moſt opprobrious appellations, and ſtigmatized with the moſt odious crimes. Againſt her they vented threats which would make the heart of humanity ſhudder, in terms which to repeat would inſult the ear of modeſty. When the king returned to Verſailles, he found the poſition of affairs much more alarming than he had been taught to expect. He found the city inundated with a clamorous and ſanguinary mob, the court under the agitation of terror, and the council partaking in the general alarm. It was propoſed, in council, that the royal family ſhould be removed; but that propoſition being over-ruled[1], the queen

of the queen;

[1] Much has been ſaid by thoſe writers who inſiſt on the king's inſincerity reſpecting his carriages being brought out, from which an intended eſcape is ſtrongly inferred. In explanation of this tranſaction, I ſhall cite the words of an intelligent cabinet miniſter and eye-witneſs: "The king's private opinion was to await the ſtorm; and "if it had been intended to conceal this truth, the officers on duty "with the king ought to have been forbidden repeatedly to aſſert, that "they heard him pacing acroſs his apartment, and ſeveral times ex-"claiming, with a ſentiment of repugnance and indignation, A fugi-"tive king! A fugitive king!—He determined, however, to order his "carriages; but the traces having been cut or taken away by the "people of Verſailles, who wiſhed at all hazards to oppoſe the de-"parture of the court, freſh doubts aroſe, and a ſecond conſultation "was reſolved upon. Within the palace there was a general agitation; "and the queen, in the ſpace of a few hours, held two directly con-"trary opinions. The king, ſurrounded and preceded by his guards, "would, I think, have overcome any reſiſtance from the people; but "the excellent diſpoſition of the prince would not allow him to be "the occaſion and witneſs of a tumult where the effuſion of blood "would probably be inevitable. However, at a time and in circum-"ſtances where even the king's perſon might be expoſed, it is evident "that he muſt neceſſarily decide for himſelf, and he reſolved to remain "at Verſailles." Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 261. From this narrative it appears, that though the king would not impede the departure of his family, and would even have departed himſelf, had the prevailing opinion of the cabinet directed the meaſure; yet he conſidered the propoſal with horror, and was ſo firm in his diſpoſition to mercy, that not even the advice of his miniſters could have induced him to adopt a mode of conduct which might have occaſioned the effuſion of blood.

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was informed, that as the fury and malice of the inſurgents were peculiarly pointed againſt her, it would be highly proper to withdraw, for ſome time at leaſt, from Verſailles. Her anſwer was truly conſiſtent with the magnanimity ſhe had always diſplayed. "I am determined never to forſake my "huſband: if the Pariſians are bent on murdering "me, I will die at the feet of the king."

Meanwhile the aſſembly were inſulted leſs by the licentious proceedings of the mob, who diſclaimed every appearance of reſpect, than by the open triumph of thoſe members of their own body who were known to inſtigate ſuch proceedings. From them the inſurgents received a new impulſe, and from clamouring for bread, and venting execrations againſt the *gardes-du-corps*, began to demand a ſimple and unconditional aſſent to the decrees preſented to the king; and twelve of them inſiſted on accompanying Mounier, the preſident, and the reſt of the deputation into his preſence. The king received them with ſo much dignity and graciouſneſs as inſtantly overcame all their prejudices; he convinced them that no effort of his was wanting, or ſhould ever be wanting, to procure them ſupplies of proviſions, complied with their requeſt of a written order, though he knew it muſt be ineffectual, and ſent them from his preſence mollified, weeping, and even fainting. Mounier and his ſix colleagues, however, did not abandon their purſuit; they perſevered in preſſing his acceptance of the preliminary articles of the conſtitution, pretending that public tranquillity would reſult from the conceſſion. Againſt this argument the king was never obdurate: he yielded, after a ſtruggle protracted till eleven o'clock at night, which demonſtrates that what fear for himſelf or ſolicitude for his family could not effect, was inſtantaneouſly produced by a ſuggeſtion of ſparing the blood of his people. Such was the conduct of the king; "but poſterity will never forget the mo-

of the aſſembly.

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" ment choſen by the aſſembly to conſecrate 'the " theory of the rights of man, and to lay the corner " ſtone of the temple of liberty [k]."

Magnanimity of the queen.

I paſs over intermediate tranſactions, till la Fayette, having arrived and had an interview with the king, took the reſponſibility of all further events on himſelf, and adviſed Mounier to adjourn the aſſembly. The king appears to have been tranquillized by the promiſes of the general, and to have confided in the effect of his exertions; but the queen informed of the inveteracy of the Pariſian mob againſt her, acquainted with the criminal views of the Orleans faction, and perhaps, perſonally ſuſpicious of la Fayette, retired to her cloſet, prepared to expect ſome dreadful event. Yet ſhe did not give way to apprehenſion, or exhibit ſymptoms of fear. She replied to thoſe who ſuggeſted their thoughts on her danger, " I know that the people come to de- " mand my life; I have learned from my mother " not to fear death, and I will await it with courage." It is aſſerted, that at a late hour of the night, ſhe received a letter from one of the miniſtry, informing her, that at ſix o'clock in the morning ſhe would be murdered; that ſhe read it without emotion, diſmiſſed her attendants without imparting its contents, retired to bed and enjoyed a few hours repoſe, which enabled her to undergo the fatigues and horrors of the enſuing day [l].

6th Oct. Further tranſactions.

At ſix o'clock in the morning, an immenſe multitude preſented themſelves at the gates of the palace, which were feebly defended or rather baſely betrayed by the *gardes Françaiſes*, to whoſe care la Fayette had intruſted them. They ran through the various apartments, breathing blood, and ſhouting obloquies, which to repeat would cauſe a bluſh on the cheek of impudicity. The *gardes-du-corps*, ſome of whom

[k] Sur l'Adminiſtration de M. Necker, p. 308. See alſo the quotation from Lally Tollendal, in the Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 218.
[l] Montjoye. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 232.

had

had remained in the palace, and who had not gone to bed; though not immediately on duty, hearing this dreadful uproar, reſolved to devote their utmoſt efforts to ſave their unfortunate ſovereigns. Twelve of them, headed by Luillier, commander of the Scotch company, oppoſed the mob on the ſtair caſe. "Wretches," cried the brave commander, "reſpect the retreat of your king." The populace, however, ruſhed on, and the guards reſolved to favor the retreat of the intended victims, diſputed the paſſage with the aſſailants foot by foot. They barricaded the queen's anti-chamber, and ſome of them ran to the door of her room, entreating her to fly. The mob forced the entrance, and ruſhed with redoubled fury and a quickened deſire of blood towards her majeſty's bed chamber. She, ever preſerving that dignified preſence of mind which was her characteriſtic, had retired by a private paſſage under the room called the *œil de bœuf*, into the king's chamber, attended only by the marquiſe de Tourzel, holding the princeſs royal by the hand, and the count de St. Aulaire carrying the dauphin. When ſhe arrived the king was not there; he, no leſs alarmed for the ſafety of the partner of his heart and crown, had gone to her room by another paſſage. What muſt have been the agonizing ſenſations of theſe perſecuted perſonages at the moment! Hiſtory or fiction can hardly preſent a ſituation equally critical and affecting. The king regaining his own apartment, rejoined his conſort and children.

Meanwhile the aſſaſſins proceeded in their work of blood; they had overpowered the *gardes-du-corps*, and after murdering two of them in the anti-chamber, and ſeveral more in the *œil de bœuf*; had taken as many more as they could find priſoners, reſerving them for the ſame fate. The Pariſian guards, not equally inveterate againſt them with thoſe of Verſailles, finding that it was not true that they wore the black cockade, as had been ſaid, began to feel emotions