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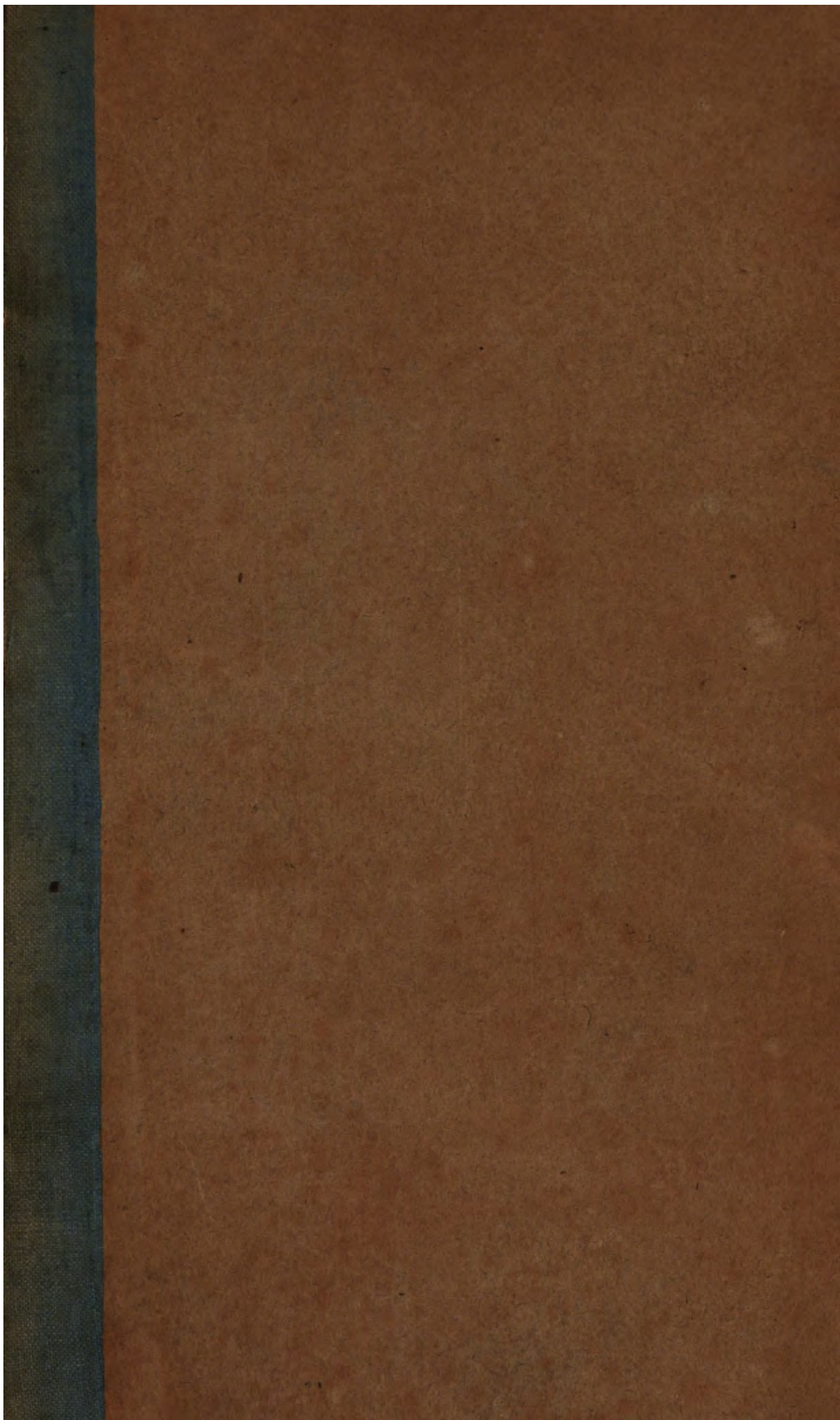
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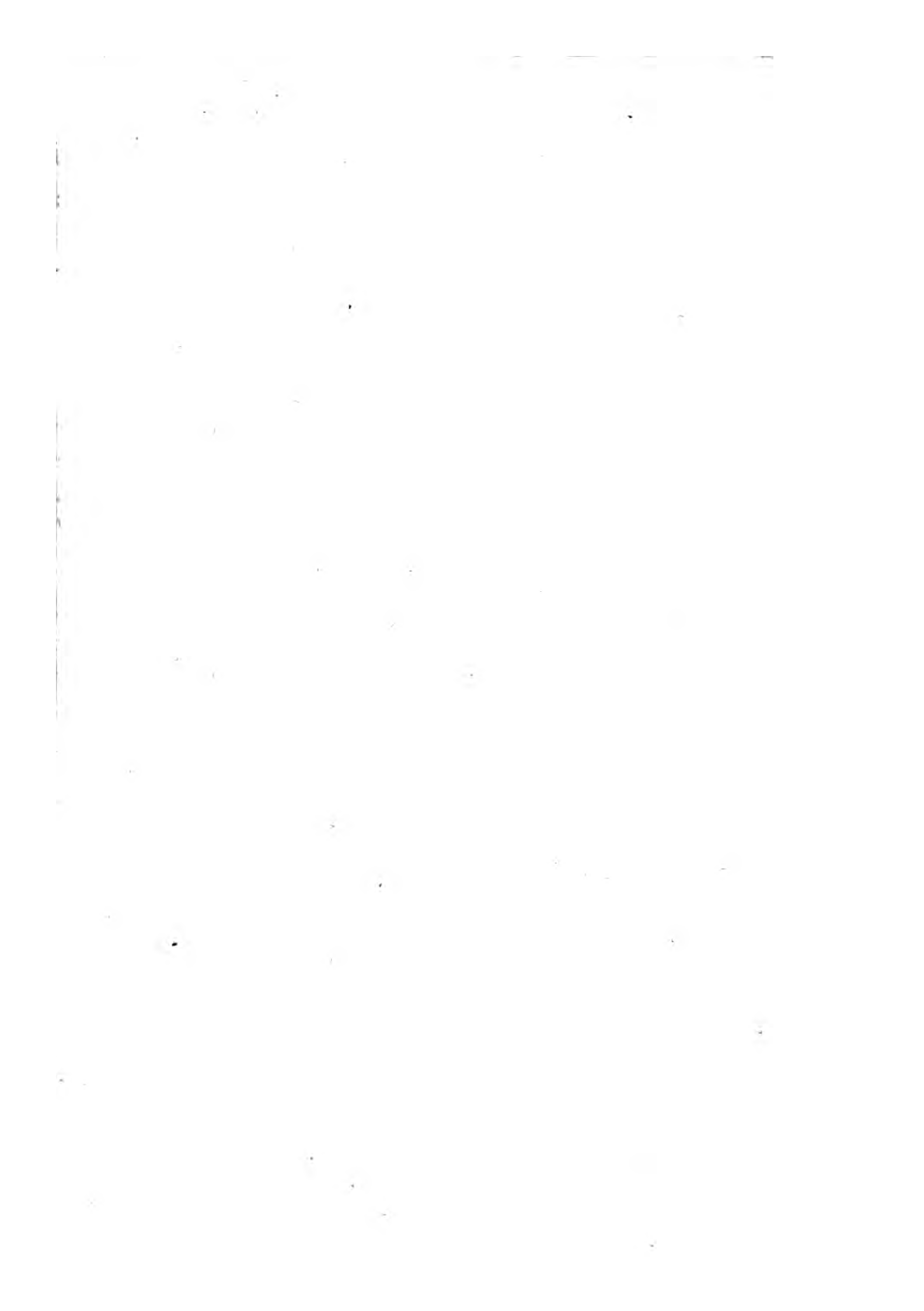


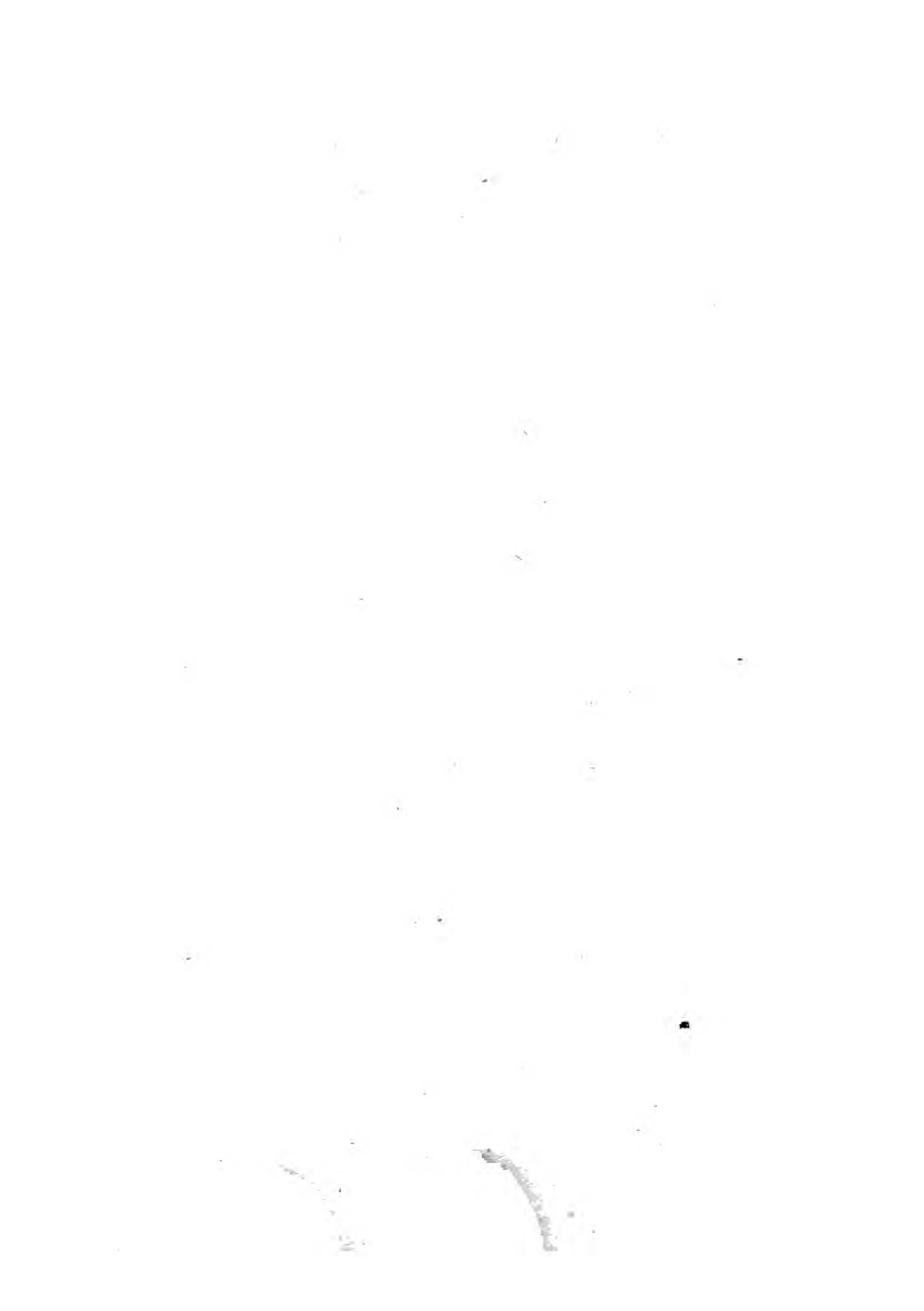


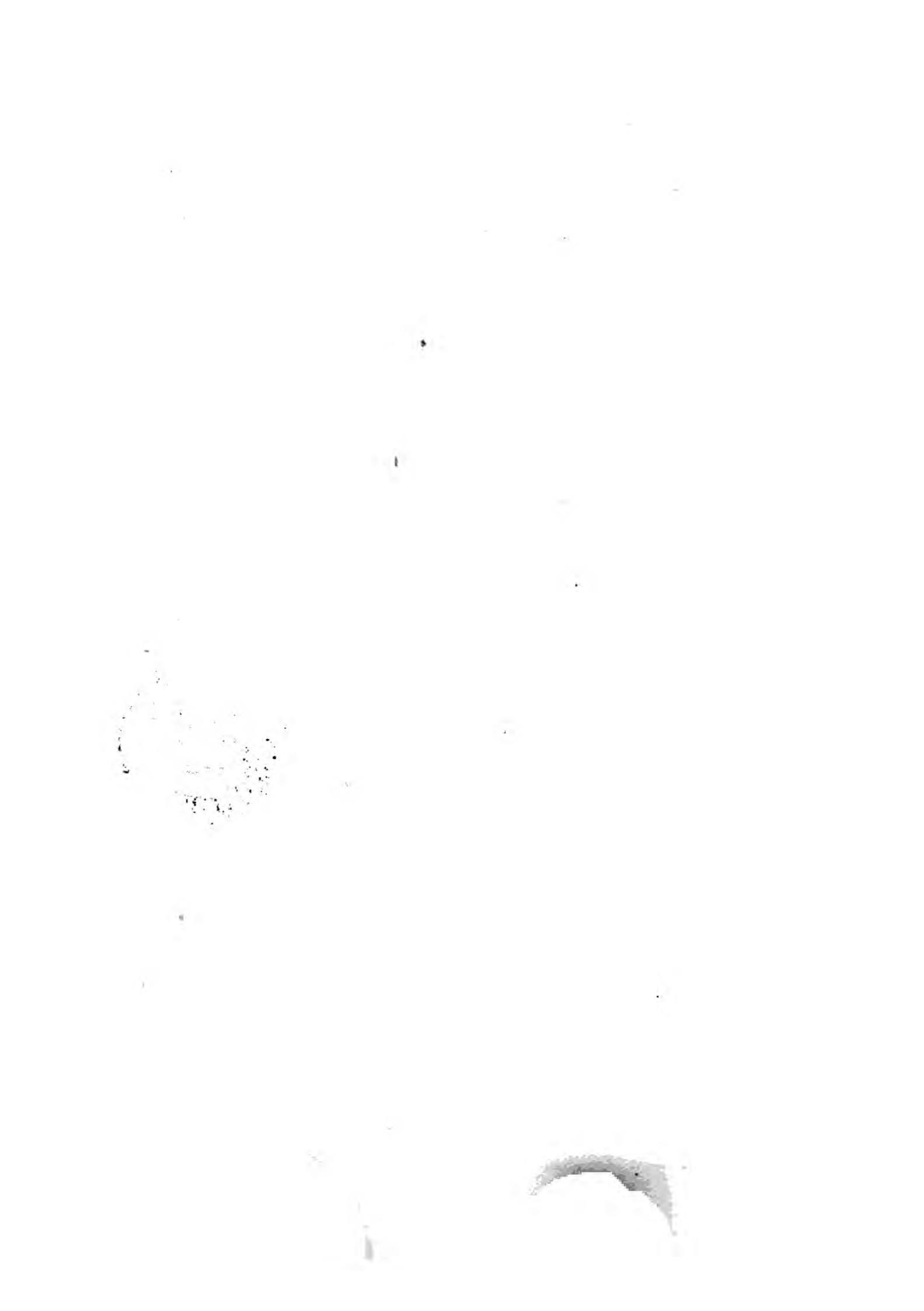
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S H. 1828.

JOURNAL
OF
WHAT TOOK PLACE
AT THE
TOWER OF THE TEMPLE
DURING THE CAPTIVITY
OF
LOUIS XVI.

KING OF FRANCE.

Animus meminisse horret.—VIRG.

By M. CLERY,

Valet de Chambre to the King.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,
By JOHN BENNETT.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
PATERNOSTER ROW;
AND DULAU AND CO., SOHO SQUARE.

1828.

673.



COWELL, PRINTER, IPSWICH.



TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

—000—

In every condition of life, it is natural to mankind to sympathize with the misfortunes of the great, especially in the sufferings of fallen Majesty; and, amidst the mutations of human affairs, it is difficult to conceive any state more contrasted, than that of Louis—the hereditary monarch of a polite and chivalrous nation, and that of Louis—the captive and subject of men, once the vassals of his power and the willing slaves of his dominion, but now transformed into an infuriated and fiend-like mass of beings, intent only on his ruin and destruction.

But the fate of the unfortunate Louis XVI., when taken in connexion with other eventful occurrences arising out of the Revolution in France, and the overthrow of despotism in that distracted country, acquires a very extraordinary interest in the contemplative mind; and, so long as history upholds her page, will be reviewed in after times with pity and astonishment.

Nevertheless, the anarchy which, springing up simultaneously with the first seeds of liberty, soon overspread that devoted land during the prostration of its civil institutions, forms so unsightly a picture; and the atrocities that shortly afterwards, like noxious weeds, ran rank upon the soil, (some of which were perpetrated under the eye of the writer of this Narrative,) are so disgusting to humanity, and revolting to the purity of moral innocence; that every social feeling shudders at the recital, and would fain suggest the propriety of suppressing so hideous a detail, together with the memoirs of the illustrious sufferer with which it is interwoven.

When, however, it is considered, that nations, as well as individuals, derive wisdom only, either from their own experience or from that of others, every authentic record of the fearful agitations of the Revolution of 1789, will be thought worthy of preservation by the philosopher and the politician, although fraught with crimes of which mankind, living under happier circumstances, may well suppose man to be incapable. The interregnum of the French Revolution, or rather the successive conflicts of the factions which immediately followed that portentous event, each more furious and deeply dyed in the blood of patriots than its predecessor, until discord and dismay had reached the utmost verge of human suffering and endurance, present a melancholy and awful proof of the utter depravity to which human nature is liable to be sunk, when abandoned to the exacerbation of its own passions, unchecked by the controlments of law and the restraints of religion.

From these calamitous scenes we are naturally led to an attentive consideration of the remote as well as the approximate causes which produced this disastrous and chaotic state of things; and such reflections are of a nature to operate beneficially on the political opinions and conduct of men. Hence it is, that the fatal example of the French Revolution, together with its operative causes and baneful results—its errors and its enormities, will be regarded by future patriots, not as a cheering and benignant light of approach, but as a beacon-flame of avoidance,—as a lurid and sepulchral combustion, issuing from amidst despair and death, and encompassed with hidden dangers on which were wrecked the hopes and happiness of a great and gallant nation—of a nation too, which, in its mighty ruin, spread abroad the elements of disunion and strife, broke down the barriers and safeguards of international law, invaded the territories and subjugated the governments of

free and independent states, and extended the desolating effects of enmity and war to every quarter of the globe. Hereby peaceable and happy communities derive an additional and powerful motive of obedience and respect to existing laws and establishments, and are disposed patiently to await the advance of knowledge and the prevalence of virtuous principles, to effect those temperate and judicious reforms in the administration of affairs which time and the progress of civilization may seem to require, rather than commit the sword and scales of Justice into the recreant and sordid hands of factious demagogues and sanguinary ruffians: and hereby, too, another important lesson is afforded, whereby we are taught, that the happiness of sovereigns and subjects is reciprocal and substantially the same; that princes are not exempted from civil any more than from moral and religious obligations; that there are duties as well as dignities peculiar to their exalted station, among which political honour and public faith stand pre-eminent; that no domestic virtue nor graces of private character can compensate for the violation of those sanctions and solemn compacts by which society is bound together; and that, where confidence is mutually destroyed, there can be no just ground to expect either security to the throne or protection to the people.

It has been remarked that the virtues as well as the crimes incident to the dangers and horrors of revolutions are of the most noble and unsophisticated character. The "Journal" attests an instance of this truth, in the heroic and generous expression of elevated sentiment contained in the Letter of M. de Malesherbes to the President of the National Convention, offering his services as Counsel to defend his late Master on his approaching trial: amidst the darkness of the revolutionary tempest, such actions shine with distinguished lustre. This volume contains also the

Will of the French King, the Decrees of the National Convention, and several other documents and matters connected with the impetuosity of revolutionary movements, which, as indications of character and manners, appear to me to be of a very interesting nature, especially when combined with the extraordinary and momentous proceedings which occasioned them.

I will not presume to offer any comments of mine on the merits of the Work as a literary performance, or as an indication of the Author's attachment and fidelity towards his late King and Master and an appeal to his contemporaries and to posterity against the maltreatment of that ill-fated monarch: the chief value of such a book consists in its genuineness and authenticity, of which there can be no question, and in the veracity of its statements, which is also undisputed. In reference to the matter and style of the *Translation*, suffice it to say, that I have endeavoured to accommodate them to a clear expression of the Author's meaning, and, as far as the idiom of our language will admit of, to a close and faithful representation of the original.

JOURNAL,

&c.



I was in the service of the King and his august family, during the five months of his confinement in the Tower of the Temple; and, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Municipal Officers, who were the keepers of it, I found means, either by writing or otherwise, to take notes of the principal events which, during such period, took place in the interior of that prison.

In arranging these notes in the form of a *Journal*, my design is to furnish materials for those who may hereafter write the history of the unhappy end of the unfortunate Louis XVI., rather than to compose memoirs myself: I have neither talents nor pretensions for such an undertaking.

But, as I was the sole and constant witness of the injurious treatment to which the King and his family were subjected, I alone can verify it and attest the exact truth. I shall, therefore, confine myself to a minute and simple representation of facts, without reflections, and without partiality.

Although I had lived with the Royal Family ever since the year 1782, and, from the nature of my service, had witnessed, during the course of the Revolution, events in the highest degree disastrous; yet, were I to describe them, it would be a departure from my subject: they are, for the most part, already recorded in different works. I shall then commence this Journal at the epoch of the 10th of August, 1792; that dreadful day when a few factious individuals overthrew a throne which had existed during fourteen centuries, imprisoned their King, and precipitated France into an abyss of misfortunes.

On that memorable day, I was in the service of the Dauphin as Valet-de-chambre. From the morning of the ninth, the general ferment was extreme: groups of persons were assembled in every direction throughout Paris, and the plan of the conspirators was known with certainty at the Thuilleries. The *Tocsin*

was to sound at midnight throughout the city, and the people of Marseilles, in conjunction with the inhabitants of the suburb St. Antoine, were immediately to march to besiege the Castle. As my duty, having to attend on his person, necessarily confined me to the apartment of the young Prince, I knew but in part what passed out of doors: I shall, therefore, only present an account of the events that came within my own observation during that day of terror, when so many different scenes were exhibited, even in the Palace.

On the evening of the ninth, at half past eight, after the Dauphin had retired to rest, I went out of the Thuilleries to endeavour to learn the state of public opinion. The court of the Castle was filled with about 8000 National Guards, belonging to different parts (*sections*) of the city, disposed to defend the King. I went to the Palais-Royal, of which I found almost all the avenues closed: here were stationed a body of National Guards under arms, ready to march to the Thuilleries, to support the battalions which had preceded them; but the populace, agitated by factious men, filled the adjacent streets, and their clamours resounded from all parts.

About eleven o'clock, I returned to the

Castle, by the apartments of the King : there, the individuals of his Court and of his Household were assembled together, in a state of great alarm. I then went into the apartment of the Dauphin, where I soon afterwards heard the *Tocsin* sound, and the *General* beat to arms, in all quarters of Paris. I remained in the saloon until five o'clock in the morning, with Mdme. de St. Brice, Fille-de-chambre to the young Prince. At six o'clock, the King went down stairs into the Court of the Castle, and reviewed the National Guards and the Swiss troops, who all swore to defend him. The Queen and her family followed the King. Some seditious voices were heard in the ranks ; but these were soon stifled by the shouts, a thousand times repeated, of "*Vive le Roi ! Vive la Nation !*"

As yet, the attack of the Thuilleries did not appear to be near : I went out a second time, and passed along the quay, as far as the Pont-Neuf. Every where I met crowds of armed people, whose evil designs were by no means doubtful. They were armed with pikes, pitch-forks, hatchets, and bill-hooks. The battalion of the people of Marseilles marched in the greatest order, with their artillery and lighted matches : they invited the people to join, and

assist them (as they said) to dislodge the tyrant, and proclaim to the National Assembly his forfeiture of the Crown. I was too certain of what was about to take place; but, consulting only my duty, I got before this battalion, and made the best of my way back to the Thuilleries. A numerous body of National Guards were then leaving it in a disorderly manner, by the garden-gate, opposite the Pont-Royal. Grief was painted in the countenances of the greater part of them. Several exclaimed, "We have this very morning sworn to defend the King, and now, in the moment of his greatest peril, we desert him; but others again, who belonged to the party of the conspirators, abused and menaced their comrades, and forced them to depart. Thus it was that, even among the troops, the good suffered themselves to be governed by the seditious; and this culpable weakness, which up to that time had produced all the evils of the Revolution, was still the commencement of the misfortunes of that day.

After many ineffectual attempts to get into the Palace, I was recognized by the Swiss sentry at one of the gates, and succeeded in gaining admittance. I went immediately to the King's apartment, and entreated some of

his Household to inform His Majesty of every thing that I had seen and heard.

At seven o'clock the agitation increased, in consequence of the cowardice of several battalions, who successively quitted the Tuileries. Such of the National Guards as remained at their post, who might amount to four or five hundred, gave proofs both of fidelity and courage: these, and the Swiss guards were stationed indiscriminately in the interior of the Palace, at the different staircases, and at all the avenues. These troops had passed the night without taking any food; I hastened, therefore, with other servants of the King, to supply them with bread and wine, and took that opportunity of encouraging them not to abandon the Royal Family. About this time the King gave the command of the interior of the Palace to the Marshal de Mailly, the Duke du Châtelet, the Count de Puységur, the Baron de Vioménil, the Count d'Hervilly, the Marquis du Pujet, &c. The courtiers and domestics were distributed in different saloons, after having sworn to defend, even with the sacrifice of their lives, the person of the King. We were about three or four hundred, but without any other arms than swords and pistols.

At eight o'clock the danger became more pressing. The Legislative Assembly held its sittings in the Riding-School, which overlooked the garden of the Thuilleries. The King had sent to them several written messages to apprise them of his situation, and to invite them to appoint a deputation to assist him with its counsels ; but the Assembly, although the preparation for the attack of the Castle was going on before their own eyes, had yet not returned any answer to these solicitations.

But now, the Department of Paris and several Municipal Officers, headed by Rœderer, *Procureur General* to the *Commune*, arrived at the Castle. This man, who doubtless had an understanding with the conspirators, earnestly persuaded His Majesty to surrender himself, together with his family, to the Assembly. He maintained that the King could no longer depend on the National Guard ; and that, if he remained in his Palace, neither the Department nor the Municipality (*Commune*) of Paris could answer for his safety. The King heard him with composure : he returned to his chamber with the Queen, the Ministers, and a few other persons ; and soon afterwards, he and his family departed,

and placed themselves under the protection of the Legislative Assembly, accordingly. On quitting the Thuilleries, the King was surrounded by a detachment of Swiss and National Guards. Of the Household, the Princess de Lamballe and the Marchioness de Tourzel, Governess of the Royal children, were the only persons who were permitted to accompany the Royal Family. As Madame de Tourzel had to attend the young Prince, she was obliged to leave her daughter, then only seventeen years of age, in the Thuilleries, and in the midst of the soldiers. It was then near nine o'clock.

As I was obliged to remain in the apartments, I awaited with terror the result of this proceeding of the King. The Royal Family had now been half an hour at the Hall of the Assembly, when, as I was at one of the windows which look into the garden, I saw upon the Terrace des Feuillans, four heads stuck upon pikes, which were carried near the place where the Legislative body held their sittings. This horrible display was, I believe, the signal for the assault of the Castle, for a terrible fire of cannon and musquetry was immediately opened upon us. The balls and bullets battered the Palace. The King being no longer

present, every one was intent only on his own personal safety; but all the avenues were closed, and certain death seemed to await us. Seeking to escape from so dreadful a situation, I ran about in every direction; but the apartments and staircases were already strewed with dead. I at length came to a determination to jump down on the Terrace, from one of the windows of the Queen's apartment. I then rapidly crossed the parterre to gain the Pont-Tournant. A great body of Swiss Guards, who had preceded me, rallied under the trees. Being thus placed between two fires, I retraced my steps, and gained the new stairs of the Terrace, at the water's side: I would have jumped upon the quay, but the continual fire which was kept up at the Pont-Royal prevented me. I advanced as far as the gate of the Dauphin's garden: there, the Marseillaise were plundering several Swiss Guards, whom they had just massacred. One of them came to me, having in his hand a sword that was smeared with blood:—"What! citizen," said he, "are you without arms? Take this sword and aid us in killing." Another Marseillaise, however, snatched the weapon from me. I was indeed unarmed, and habited in a plain frock; and to this I owed

my safety: had any thing indicated that I belonged to the Castle, I should not have escaped.

Some of the Swiss who were pursued, sought refuge in a stable, a short distance from this place, where I also concealed myself; these Swiss were soon massacred by my side. At the cries of these unfortunate victims, the master of the house (M. le Dreux) ran to the spot: I took advantage of the moment to go into his house, and, although I was unknown to them, M. le Dreux and his wife desired me to remain there until the danger was over. I had in my pocket some letters, and also some newspapers addressed to the Prince Royal, and a card of admission to the Thuilleries upon which was written my name and the nature of my employment: these papers might have betrayed me, and I had scarcely had time to throw them away, when an armed troop came to the house, to see if any of the Swiss were concealed in it. The better to elude observation, M. le Dreux told me to seem to be working at some drawings which were placed upon a great table; and so I escaped their fury. After a fruitless search, these men, whose hands were stained with blood, for a while discontinued their pursuit

and coolly related their assassinations. I remained in this asylum from ten in the morning until four in the afternoon, an eye witness of the horrors which were committed upon the Place de Louis XV. Some wretches were there busied in the work of assassination, others were cutting off the heads of the slain : women, lost to all sense of shame, were mutilating the dead bodies, and tearing off their tattered garments, which they carried about in triumph.

While these deeds were perpetrating, Mdme. de Rambaut, Fille-de-chambre to the Dauphin, who had narrowly escaped the massacre at the Thuilleries, also came to seek refuge in this house ; but, fearing a disclosure of our situation, we made signs to each other to keep silence. The son of our host, who had attended the sitting of the National Assembly, came in about this time and informed us, that the King was suspended from his functions, and that a close watch (*garde a vue*) was set over him and all the Royal Family, in the office* of the editor of the *Logographe* ; so that it was impossible to approach his person.

* A small room or box contiguous to the Hall of the National Assembly, and usually occupied by reporters, whose business it was to note and verify the speeches of the Members. (*Trans.*)

Matters having come to this pass, I had some thoughts of going to my wife and children, who were at a country-house that I had occupied for two years, and which was at the distance of five leagues from Paris; but the barriers were shut, and, had it been otherwise, I should have thought it improper to leave Mdme. de Rambaut unprotected. We, therefore, agreed to take the Road to Versailles, where she resided; and thither the sons of our host bore us company. We crossed the Pont Louis XVI., which was covered with naked corpses that were already putrified by the great heat; and, after being exposed to many dangers, we succeeded in getting out of Paris by a narrow passage which happened not to be guarded.

In the plain of Grenelle we were met by some country people mounted on horseback, who, as they approached brandishing their weapons, cried out with vehemence, "Stop for your life. (*Arrete ou la mort.*)" One of them, taking me for one of the King's guard, levelled his piece at me and was going to fire, when another proposed to take us to the *Commune* of Vaugirard. "There we have already a score of them," said he; "the havoc amongst them will be the greater." When

we arrived at the *Commune*, our hosts were recognized. The Mayor immediately proceeded to interrogate me in the following terms:—"How is it that, at such a time as this, when the country is in danger, you are not at your post? What is it that induces you to quit Paris? Your leaving it at this crisis betrays your evil intentions." "Yes, yes," cried the populace "to prison with them! to prison with the Aristocrats!" "It is for that very reason," replied I, "because I wanted to be at my post, that you met me on the road to Versailles, where I live: that is my post, as this is yours." Mdme. de Rambaut was also interrogated. Our hosts assured the officers that we spoke the truth, and finally, passports were delivered to us. I ought to return thanks to Divine Providence for not having been sent to the prison of Vaugirard: in that place, they had just incarcerated twenty-two of the King's Guards: these men were afterwards taken to the Ab-bage prison, where they were massacred on the second of the following September.

From Vaugirard to Versailles, patrols of armed people stopped us at every turn, to verify our passports. I conducted Mdme. de Rambaut to her relations, and immediately

set out to throw myself into the bosom of my family. A fall that I had in jumping out of the window at the Thuilleries, the fatigue of a journey of twelve leagues, together with my mournful reflections upon the deplorable events which had just taken place, overwhelmed me to such a degree, that I was attacked with a very high fever. I kept my bed for three days ; but, being impatient of knowing the fate of the King, I surmounted my disorder, and returned to Paris.

On the thirteenth of this eventful month, in the evening, I learnt, on my arrival at Paris, that the Royal Family, who had been removed to the Feuillans on the tenth, had just been conducted to the Temple ; that the King had made choice of M. de Chamilly, his first valet de chambre, to attend him ; and M. Huë, Door-keeper of the King's chamber, was to attend upon the Dauphin, in the capacity of first valet de chambre. The Princess de Lamballe, the Marchioness de Tourzel, and Mdle. Paulina de Tourzel, had accompanied the Queen : Mdmes. Thibaut, Bazire, Navarre, and St. Brice, filles de chambre, had followed the three Princesses and the young Prince.

I now lost all hope of continuing in my em-

ployment about the person of the Dauphin, and was thinking of returning into the country; when, on the sixth day of the King's detention, I was informed, that all the persons in the Tower attached to the Royal Family had been taken away in the night; and after having been interrogated at the Council of the *Commune* of Paris, had been taken to the prison of La Force; except M. Huë, who was brought back to the Temple to attend on the King. I was also informed that Petion, then Mayor of Paris, was directed to nominate two other persons to attend on the Royal Family. I therefore resolved to attempt every means to resume my situation with the young Prince. Accordingly, I presented myself to Petion:—he told me that, as I belonged to the King's household, I should not be able to obtain the consent of the General Council of the *Commune*. I cited the case of M. Huë, who had been recently appointed by the same Council to attend on the King's person: on this representation, he promised to support a memorial which I put into his hands; but I observed to him, that it was necessary, in the first instance, that he should acquaint the King with my procedure. Two days afterwards, he wrote to His Majesty in these terms:—

“Sire, The valet de chambre who has been attached to the Prince Royal from his infancy, is desirous of continuing his services in that capacity; and, as I think this proposal will be agreeable to you, I accede to his wish,” &c.

His Majesty having written an answer, that he accepted of my offer of continuing in his son's service, I was taken to the Temple. Here I underwent a search, and received instructions as to the manner in which, as they said, it would be proper for me to conduct myself; and, on the same day, the twenty-sixth of August, at eight o'clock in the evening, I entered the Tower.

It would be difficult to describe the impression, which the sight of this august and unfortunate family made upon me. The Queen addressed me, and, after some expressions replete with kindness, she added—“You will attend my son; and you and M. Huë will concert together as to what regards us.” I was oppressed to such a degree by the emotions produced by this interview, that I could scarcely reply.

At supper-time, the Queen and Princesses, who for eight days had been without their women, asked me if I could comb their hair :

I replied that I would do every thing they might please to require: on this, a municipal officer, who had been observing my demeanour, came up to me, and, in a pretty loud tone, directed me to be more circumspect in my answers. I was terrified with this *début*.

The first eight days that I spent at the Temple, I had no communication with the exterior. M. Huë alone was charged with applying for and receiving necessaries for the use of the Royal Family: I waited on them on the same footing and conjointly with him. My business with the King was confined to dressing his hair in the morning, and curling it in the evening. I perceived that I was incessantly observed by the municipal officers: the least thing excited their suspicion. I kept a guard upon myself, that I might avoid any imprudence, which would infallibly have been my ruin.

On the second of September there was a great ferment around the Temple. The King and his family went down stairs as usual, to take an airing in the garden: a municipal officer, who followed the King, said to one of his colleagues, "We have done wrong in suffering them to go out this afternoon." All the morning I had remarked the uneasiness

of the commissaries. They made the Royal Family return to the Tower in great haste; but they were scarcely reassembled in the Queen's chamber, when two municipal officers who were not on duty at the Tower, entered. One of them, an ex-capuchin, named Matthieu, said to the King, "You are unacquainted, Sir, with what is going forward: the country is in the greatest danger:—the enemy has entered Champagne;—the King of Prussia is marching upon Chalons. But you shall answer for the consequences.—We know that we—our wives—our children will be destroyed; but the people will be avenged! Your life shall pay the forfeit before ours! However, there is still time for you to avert this great calamity, and you may" "I have done every thing in my power for the people," replied the King, "I have nothing whereof to reproach myself." This same Matthieu said to M. Huë, "the Council of the *Commune* has charged me to put you under an arrest." "Who?" said the King. "Your valet de chambre" was the reply. The King was desirous of knowing what crime he was accused of, but could learn nothing about it, which alarmed him very much for the fate of

his servant; and he commended him earnestly to the protection of the two municipal officers. They put seals, in presence of M. Huë, on the little chamber which he occupied; and he was taken away at six o'clock in the evening, after having been twenty days in the Temple. As he was going out, Matthieu said to me, "Take care how you conduct yourself, otherwise you will be treated in the same manner."

Immediately afterwards, the King called me, and put into my hands some papers containing accounts of expences, that M. Huë had rendered in to him. The troubled air of the municipal officers and the clamours of the people in the environs of the Tower agitated him extremely. After he was in bed, the King told me to pass the night near him; which I did, placing my bed by the side of that of His Majesty.

On the third of September, while I was dressing the King, His Majesty asked me if I had heard any thing about M. Huë, and whether I knew any thing that was going on in Paris. I replied, that during the night, I had heard a municipal officer say, that the people were going to the prisons; and that I had sought to procure some further intelligence.

“Take care that you do not commit yourself,” said the King “for then we shall be left quite alone : I am afraid it is their intention to put strangers about us.”

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when the King was with his family in the Queen's chamber, a municipal officer told me to go up into that of the King, where I found Manuel and some other members of the *Commune*. Manuel asked me, what the King said about their taking away M. Huë. I answered that the King was uneasy about it. “He will come to no harm,” said he, “but I am charged to inform the King, that he will not see him any more, and that the Council will fill up his place : you may acquaint him with these matters.” I begged he would excuse me, observing, that the King was desirous of seeing him, relative to several things of which the Royal Family were in the greatest need. Scarcely could Manuel be prevailed upon to go down into the chamber where His Majesty was : he apprised him, however, of the order of the Council of the *Commune* concerning M. Huë, and acquainted him that another person would be sent in his stead. “I thank you,” said the King, “but I had rather be attended by my son's valet de chambre ; and

if the Council refuse to let me have his services, I will wait on myself: to this I have made up my mind." The King then spoke to him of the necessities of his family, who were in want of linen and other articles of clothing. Manuel said he would go and give in an account of the matter to the Council; and retired. While I was attending him back, I asked him whether the ferment continued: his answers led me to fear that the people would come to the Temple. "You have engaged in a difficult service," added he, "I exhort you to have courage."

At one o'clock, the King signified a wish that he and his family should take the air, but his request was refused. During dinner, the noise of drums was heard, and soon afterwards the cries of the populace. The Royal Family being much alarmed, left the table, and retired to the Queen's chamber. I then went down stairs to dine with Tison and his wife, who were both employed in the Tower.

We were scarcely seated, when a head affixed to the end of a pike was presented at the window! Tison's wife immediately gave a loud shriek: the assassins thinking they recognized in this expression of terror, the voice of the Queen, our ears were immediately

assailed with the savage laughter of these barbarians. Under the idea that Her Majesty was still at table, they had placed the victim in such a way, that, had she been there, it could not have escaped her sight : it was the head of the Princess de Lamballe ! Although bloody, it was not disfigured : her flaxen hair, which was still braided, waved around the pike.

I immediately ran to the King. Terror had so altered my countenance, that the Queen took notice of it. I thought it necessary to conceal from her the cause of my emotion : I wished only to apprise the King or Madame Elizabeth of what I had seen ; but the two municipal officers were present. " Why do you not go to your dinner ?" said the Queen to me. " Madam," said I, " I am indisposed." At this moment a municipal officer entered the Tower, and, with an air of mystery, said something to his colleagues. The King asked them if the safety of his family was endangered. " There is a report abroad," answered they, " that you and your family are no longer in the Tower ; and the people insist upon it that you should appear at the window ; but we will not suffer it : the people ought to shew more confidence in their magistrates.

However, the cries from without increased, and insults addressed to the Queen, were very distinctly heard. Another municipal officer came unexpectedly into the apartment, followed by four men, who were deputed by the people to ascertain whether the Royal Family were in the Tower. One of them, who was dressed in the costume of a National Guard, having two epaulets, and armed with a great sabre, insisted that the prisoners should shew themselves at the window; but this the municipal officers opposed. This man said to the Queen, in the rudest tone imaginable, "There are some persons in this Tower who are desirous of concealing from you the head of Lamballe, which is brought here to let you see how the people revenge themselves on their tyrants: I advise you to shew yourself; if you refuse, the people shall come up here." At this menace the Queen fainted away. I flew to her relief; and Madame Elizabeth assisted me in placing her on a sofa: her children burst into tears, and sought, by their caresses to bring her to herself. Still, however, this man did not go away. The King said to him with firmness, "We expect the worst, Sir; but you might have dispensed with informing the Queen of this terrible calamity." He

afterwards departed together with his comrades: the object of their mission was fulfilled.

When the Queen recovered her senses, she mingled her tears with those of her children; and retired with the Royal Family into the chamber of Madame Elizabeth, where the clamours of the people were less heard. I remained awhile in the Queen's chamber, and, looking through the blinds, I saw a second time the head of the Princess de Lamballe. The man who carried it, was mounted upon the rubbish of the houses that had been pulled down in order to isolate the Tower: another, by the side of him, held, upon the point of a sabre, the heart, all bloody, of this unfortunate Princess. The populace wanted to force the door of the Tower: a municipal officer, named D'Aujon, harangued them; and I very distinctly heard him say, "The head of Antoinette does not belong to you; the Departments have a right in it:—France has confided the custody of these great malefactors to the City of Paris:—it is your business to assist us in guarding them, until the national justice shall avenge the people." It was not until after an hour of resistance, that he succeeded in getting them away.

On the evening of the same day, one of the commissaries told me, that the populace had attempted to get in with the deputation, and to carry into the Tower the body of the Princess de Lamballe, naked and bloody, which had been dragged from the prison of la Force to the Temple ;—that the municipal officers, after having forcibly resisted them, had opposed, as a barrier to their entry, a tricolored riband, tied across the principal door of entrance ;—that they had in vain implored assistance of the *commune* of Paris, of general Santerre, and of the National Assembly, to arrest their murderous designs, which they took no pains to dissemble ;—and that, during six hours, it was uncertain whether the Royal Family would not be massacred. But, it seems, the faction was not as yet omnipotent: the chiefs of it, although they were agreed as to their design of perpetrating the regicide, were not so as to the means of executing it ; and the Assembly were desirous, perhaps, that other hands than theirs should be the instrument of the conspirators. One circumstance, rather remarkable, is, that, after this recital, the municipal officer made me pay forty-five *sous*, that being the cost of the tricolored riband.

At eight o'clock in the evening, all was quiet in the environs of the Tower; but the same tranquillity was far from reigning in Paris, where the massacres continued during four or five days. I had an opportunity, while I was undressing the King, to impart to him the movements that I had seen, and the details that I had heard. He asked me who were those municipal officers who had shewn most firmness in defending the lives of his family: I mentioned D'Aujon, who had arrested the impetuosity of the people, although his animation proceeded from any thing rather than good will towards His Majesty: although this officer did not return to the Tower until four months afterwards, the King, remembering his conduct, thanked him.

These scenes of horror having been succeeded by some degree of tranquillity, the Royal Family continued the uniform course of life which they had adopted on first coming to the Temple. That the details may be better understood, I shall here present a description of the little Tower, in which the King was then shut up.

Its back was against the great Tower, with which, however, it did not communicate; and it formed an oblong square, flanked by two

Turrets. In one of these **Turrets** was a little staircase, leading from the first story to a gallery upon the platform: in the other were closets on each floor of the **Tower**.

This building contained four stories. The first consisted of an anti-chamber and a dining-room in the body of it; and of a closet in the **Turret**, where there was a library of from twelve to fifteen hundred volumes.

The second story was divided nearly in the same manner. The largest room served as a bed-chamber for the **Queen** and the **Dauphin**: the second room, which was separated from the first by a small and very dark anti-chamber, was occupied by **Madame Royale** and **Madame Elizabeth**. It was necessary to cross this chamber to go to the closet in the **Turret**; and this closet, which served as a *garderobe* to the whole building, was common to the **Royal Family**, the municipal officers, and the soldiers.

The **King** lodged in the third story, and slept in the great room: the closet in the **Turret** served him for a study. By the side of the **King's** chamber, and separated from it by a little dark room, there was a kitchen, which **Messrs. de Chamilly** and **Huë** had inhabited, and upon which were the seals of

office. The fourth story was shut up. On the ground-floor there were kitchens of which no use was made.

The King generally rose at six in the morning. He shaved himself : I dressed his hair, and assisted in putting on his clothes. He then went to his study. This room being very small, the municipal officer remained in the bed-chamber, the door being kept half open so that he might always have his eyes upon the King. His Majesty went to prayers upon his knees for five or six minutes, and afterwards used to read till nine o'clock. While the King was thus engaged, after having put his chamber to rights and prepared the breakfast-table, I went down to the Queen : she did not open her door till I came, to prevent the municipal officer from going into the room. I dressed the young Prince, and dressed the Queen's hair, and then went into the chamber of Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth, to perform the like service. While I was at their toilette, I had one of those few opportunities which offered themselves, when I could inform the Queen and Princesses of such intelligence as I might have obtained. A sign indicated that I had something to tell them ; on which, one of them entered into

conversation with the municipal officer, and thus withdrew his attention from us.

At nine o'clock, the Queen, her children, and Madame Elizabeth went up into the King's chamber to breakfast. After having attended on them, I adjusted the chambers of the Queen and Princesses. Tison and his wife assisted me only in occupations of this kind. It was not solely for the service of the Royal Family that they were placed in the Tower; a more important part was assigned to them: namely, to observe every thing relating to those personages which might escape the eyes of the municipal officers, and even, if the case required it, to denounce the officers themselves. Their instrumentality in crimes which were already contemplated, entered also, without doubt, into the plan of those who had chosen them; for Tison's wife, who then appeared to be of rather a mild character, and was much afraid of her husband, afterwards made herself known by an infamous denunciation of the Queen, in the course of which she fell into violent fits of rage, which were marked with all the fury and inconsistency of madness; and Tison, who had been formerly Clerk of the Barriers, was a hard-hearted and wicked old man, incapable of any

emotion of pity, and a stranger to every sentiment of humanity. By the side of whatever was most virtuous on earth, the conspirators had thought proper to place whatever was most vile among human beings!

At ten o'clock, the King went down with his family into the Queen's chamber, and there passed the day. He employed himself in the education of his son: he generally made him recite some passages of Corneille and Racine, gave him lessons in geography, and exercised him in cleaning maps. The early understanding of the young Prince perfectly corresponded to the tender cares of the King: his memory was so happy, that, upon a map covered with a sheet of paper, he could point out the departments, the districts, the cities, and the course of the rivers: it was the new geography of France that the King shewed him. The Queen, on her part, occupied herself in the education of her daughter, and the various lessons which she gave her, lasted till eleven o'clock. After these were finished, they spent an hour in sewing, knitting, or tapestry-work. At noon, the three Princesses went into the chamber of Madame Elizabeth to change their morning dress: on these occasions no municipal officer went in with them.

From one to two o'clock, when the weather was fine, the Royal Family were permitted to take a little recreation in the garden, where they were accompanied by four municipal officers and a colonel of the National Guards. As there were a great many workmen in the Temple, employed in taking down houses and building new walls, only a part of the walk of chesnut trees was allotted for the promenade. I also had permission to join in these walks, during which I engaged the young Prince to play, either at ball, coits, running, or some other diverting exercise.

At two o'clock the Royal Family returned to the Tower, when I served up dinner; and every day, at the same hour, Santerre, brewer of beer, and commander-in-chief of the National Guard of Paris, came to the Temple, accompanied by two aides-de-camp, and minutely inspected the different apartments: sometimes the King spoke to him, the Queen never. After dinner, the Royal Family went into the Queen's chamber, when Their Majesties usually made up a party at piquet or ticktack. It was during this time that I dined.

At four o'clock the King took a little repose, the Princesses being all seated around him,

and each of them occupied with a book. The most profound silence reigned during this slumber. What an affecting sight! It was that of a King, pursued by hatred and calumny, and fallen from a throne to a prison, but still supported by his conscience, and sleeping peacefully in the calmness of innocence; while his wife, his children, and his sister contemplated with veneration his august features, to which, misfortune seemed to impart a further increase of serenity, and upon which, one might read by anticipation, the happiness of which he already possessed a foretaste. This affecting spectacle can never be effaced from my memory.

When the King awoke the conversation was renewed; and, at these times, the Prince made me sit down by him. Under his own immediate inspection I gave lessons of penmanship to his son; and, according to his instructions, the words composing the copies were selected from the works of Montesquieu and other celebrated authors. After this lesson, I accompanied the young Prince to the chamber of Madame Elizabeth, where I set him to play at ball, and at battledore and shuttlecock.

In the evening, the Royal Family sat round

a table, while the Queen read aloud from historical works, or some other well-chosen books proper to instruct and amuse her children, but in which an unexpected application to their unhappy situation often presented itself, and gave rise to very painful ideas. Madame Elizabeth also took a part in these readings, which lasted till eight o'clock. After this I served up the young Prince's supper in Madame Elizabeth's chamber, at which the Royal Family assisted. During this repast, the King took a pleasure in diverting his children, by making them guess at riddles, taken from an old French Mercury* which he had found in the library.

After the Dauphin had supped, I undressed him, and the Queen made him say his prayers : he had one in particular for the Princess de Lamballe ; and, in another, he implored God to protect the life of the Marchioness de Tourzel, his governess. When the municipal officers were too near, the young Prince of his own accord had the precaution to say these two last prayers in a low voice. I then made him go to the closet, and, if I had any thing to communicate to the Queen, I seized this opportunity of speaking to her. I acquainted her with the contents of the newspapers :

* A newspaper so called.

none were suffered to be brought to the Tower ; but a crier, who was sent expressly for the purpose, came every evening at seven o'clock, near the wall of the rotunda in the enclosure of the Temple, and cried several times the particulars of every thing that took place at the National Assembly, at the *Maison-de-ville*, and at the armies. It was in the King's reading-room that I placed myself to hear him, and there, in silence, it was easy for me to hear and recollect every thing he said.

At nine o'clock the King supped. The Queen and Madame Elizabeth remained alternately with the Dauphin during this repast: I carried them what they chose for supper; and this was another of those moments when I could speak to them without witness.

After supper, the King went up for a moment into the Queen's chamber, and gave her his hand in token of adieu, and also his sister, and received the embraces of his children ; he then went up into his own chamber, and retired to his study, where he read till midnight. The Queen and the Princesses shut themselves up in their apartments. One of the municipal officers remained in the small room which

separated their chambers, and there passed the night: the other followed His Majesty.

I then placed my bed near that of the King; but, before His Majesty went to bed, he waited till the new municipal officer came up stairs, that he might know who he was; and, if he had not seen him before, he desired me to ask his name. The municipal officers were relieved at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, at five in the evening, and at midnight. This sort of life continued all the time the King remained in the little Tower, which was till the thirtieth of September.

I return to the order of facts. On the fourth of September Petion's secretary came to the Tower, to remit the King the sum of two thousand livres in *assignats*: he required of the King an acquittance. His Majesty desired him to pay M. Huë the sum of five hundred and twenty-six livres, which he had advanced for his use: this he promised to do. This sum of two thousand livres is the only one which has been paid, although the National Assembly had assigned five hundred thousand livres for the expences of His Majesty in the Tower of the Temple; but, without doubt, before they discovered the true projects of their chiefs, or before they had dared to join in them.

Two days afterwards, Madame Elizabeth made me collect some little effects belonging to the Princess de Lamballe, which she had left in the Tower at the time she was taken away. I made them up into a parcel, which, accompanied with a letter, I addressed to her first fille de chambre. I afterwards learned that neither the packet nor the letter ever reached her.

The character of the generality of the municipal officers who were chosen to attend at the Temple about this period, indicated what sort of men were employed for the Revolution of the tenth of August, and for the massacres of the second of September. A few facts may serve to shew the disposition of these commissaries, individually.—

A municipal officer named *Jacques*, (James,) who was a teacher of the English language, chose one day to follow the King into his reading room, and seated himself by his side. The King told him mildly, that his colleagues always left him to himself; that, as the door was always open, he could not be out of his sight; and that the room was too small for two. *Jacques*, however, in a harsh and rude manner, persisted in his purpose, and the King was obliged to yield the point: he gave

up his reading, therefore, for that day, and returned to his chamber, where this municipal officer continued to beset him with the most tyrannical *surveillance*.

One morning, at his rising, the King, taking the commissary on guard for him who had been on duty the preceding evening, and observing, in a feeling manner, that he was sorry they had forgotten to relieve him; the municipal officer answered this mark of sensibility on the part of the King only by insult. "I am come here," said he, "to look after your conduct, not that you should attend to mine:" and then advancing near His Majesty, with his hat upon his head, he continued: "no one whatever, and least of all you, has any right to meddle with it." This man was insolent all the rest of the day. I afterwards learned that his name was Meunier.

Another commissary, named Le Clerc, a physician by profession, got into the Queen's chamber, at the time I was giving a lesson of writing to the young Prince: he affected to interrupt this business, in order to descant upon the republican education which it was necessary to give to the Dauphin: he was desirous of substituting for his instruction, works of the most revolutionary description.

A fourth was present at a recitation which the Queen was giving to her children: she was reading a volume of the History of France, at the period when the Constable of Bourbon took up arms against France. He pretended that, by this example, the Queen was desirous of inspiring her son with sentiments of vengeance against his country; and he made a formal denunciation of it to the Council. I acquainted the Queen with this circumstance, who afterwards so managed it in regard to the choice of subjects, that they could not calumniate her motives.

A man of the name of Simon, a shoe-maker and municipal officer, was one of six commissaries, charged with the superintendance of the works and expences of the Temple; and he was the only one who, under pretence of properly acquitting himself, did not quit the Tower. This man never appeared before the Royal Family without affecting the vilest insolence. He often said to me, in the King's hearing, "Cléry, ask Capet if he wants any thing, that I may not have the trouble of coming up a second time." I was obliged to reply, "He does not want any thing." This is the same Simon who afterwards had the custody of the young *Louis*, and who, by a

studied barbarity of conduct, rendered this interesting child so unhappy; and there is even reason to believe, that he was the instrument of those who cut short his days.

As a means of teaching this young Prince the use of figures, I had, by order of the Queen, made a multiplication table: this gave occasion for one of the municipal officers to pretend, that she was shewing her son how to speak in cypher; so that it was necessary to give up the lessons of arithmetic.

A similar thing happened, in respect to the tapestry-work, at which the Queen and Princesses employed themselves in the first days of their detention. Some coverings of chairs being finished, the Queen ordered me to send them to the Duchess de Serent; but, the municipal officers, of whom I asked permission to forward them, thought the designs were hieroglyphic representations, intended as a means of carrying on a secret correspondence with the exterior; in consequence of which they took out an order, whereby they were forbidden to permit any of the needle-work belonging to the Princesses to go out of the Tower.

Many were the indignities and insults to which the Royal Family were subjected.

Some of the commissaries never spoke to the King, the young Prince, or the Princesses, without associating with their names the most offensive epithets. A municipal officer, named Turlot, said one day, in my presence. "If the executioner does not guillotine this s— family, I will do it myself."

The King and his family, when they went out to the promenade, had to pass before a great number of sentinels, of whom, at this period, many were posted even in the interior of the little Tower: the sentries presented arms to the municipal officers and colonels, but when the King came near them, they, in an affected manner, either grounded their pieces, or reversed them.

One of these sentries of the interior one day wrote on the inside of the King's chamber, "The guillotine is permanent, and awaits the tyrant *Louis XVI.*" The King read these words: I was going to efface them, but His Majesty prevented me.

One of the porters of the Tower, named Recher, who was of a horrible figure, and wore a sapper's dress, with long mustachios, a leathern cap upon his head, a broad-sword, and a girdle, from which was suspended a bunch of great keys, used to plant himself at

the door, when the King wished to go out, and he did not open it until the moment that His Majesty was close to him ; and then, under pretence of seeking for that which he wanted amongst this great number of keys, he shook them with a frightful noise ; and having thus affectedly detained the Royal Family, he drew the bolts in a clattering manner : after this he went hastily down stairs, placed himself by the side of the last door with a long pipe in his mouth, and on every one of the Royal Family, as they went out, especially the Princesses, he whiffed the smoke of tobacco. Some of the National Guards diverted themselves with these insolent jests, and, assembled in a body near this fellow, laughed aloud at every puff of smoke, and accompanied their merriment with language of the most gross description ; while others, again, in order to enjoy this sight more at their ease, even brought chairs belonging to the *corps de garde*, remained seated, and obstructed the passage, though it was already too narrow.

During the promenade, the *cannoniers* assembled together, dancing, and singing songs that were always revolutionary and sometimes obscene.

When the Royal Family returned again to the Tower they underwent the same insults: the walls were often covered with the most indecent inscriptions, written in pretty large characters that they might not escape their notice. Here they might read; “*Madame Veto* will dance it.—We shall find a way of feeding the great hog.—Down with the red riband.—We must strangle the little wolves,” &c. Sometimes a gibbet was drawn, on which was suspended a figure, under the feet of which was written, “*Louis* taking a bath of air;” sometimes a guillotine, with these words, “*Louis crachant dans le sac*,”* &c.

* In this age and nation, most of these allusions appear to be too odious and despicable for insertion in any decent and well-intentioned publication; but, at the same time, it should be remembered, that they are real exhibitions of the otherwise inconceivable turpitude of unprincipled men, when under strong excitement and abandoned to the dominion of their malignant passions; for these expressions were not confined to the individuals who had access to the Tower, but present true specimens of that brutality and revolutionary furor, which at that time pervaded the streets of Paris and other parts of France, and eventually deluged the nation in blood: such demonstrations, therefore, must have appeared to the *Journalist* in the highest degree menacing and execrable. However this may be, fidelity to the original requires, that the entire text should be retained in this place. (*Trans.*)

Thus was converted into punishment the short walk which the Royal Family was allowed to take: the King and Queen might have avoided it by remaining in the Tower, but their children, the objects of their sensibility, had need of this recreation; and it was for their sakes, that Their Majesties every day endured without murmuring, these numerous outrages.

Some indications, however, either of fidelity or compassion, sometimes occurred to assuage the horror of these persecutions, and were the more remarkable because they were rare. The following are of this description.—

One day the behavior of a sentinel who was posted at the door of the Queen's apartment attracted my notice: he was an inhabitant of the suburbs, and though habited as a countryman, was in his person decent and clean. I was alone in the anti-chamber, reading; he fixed his eyes upon me, and seemed to be greatly moved: I then passed before him, he presented arms, and said to me in a tremulous voice, "You cannot go out." "Why?" "My orders are to keep you in sight." "You are mistaken," said I. "What, Sir, are you not the King?" "Then you do not know him." "I have never seen him, Sir, and I

“ would rather see him in any other place than
 “ this.” “ Speak low : I am going into this
 “ chamber ; I will leave the door half open,
 “ and you shall see the King : he is seated
 “ near the window, with a book in his hand.”
 I intimated to the Queen the wish of this sen-
 tinel, and the King, whom she informed of it,
 had the goodness to walk backwards and for-
 wards from one chamber to the other, in order
 to pass before him. I went up to the sentinel
 a second time : “ Ah ! Sir,” said he, “ how
 good the King is ; how he loves his children !”
 He was so much affected that it was with
 difficulty he could speak. “ No,” continued
 he, striking his breast, “ I cannot believe that
 he has done us so much ill.” I began to be
 afraid, that the extreme agitation of this man
 would expose him to danger, and therefore
 left him.

Another time a sentinel of an engaging
 figure, and still very young, who was placed
 at the end of the walk which served as a pro-
 menade, expressed by his looks a wish to give
 some intimations to the Royal Family. Ma-
 dame Elizabeth, in the second turn of the
 walk, passed near him, to see if he would
 speak to her : either through fear or respect
 he did not venture to address her ; but the

tears glistened in his eyes, and he signified by his gestures, that he had hidden a paper in the rubbish near him: I set about finding it in feigning to choose coits for the young Prince; but the municipal officers ordered me to retire, and forbad me thenceforth to approach the sentinels. I have never been able to discover the intentions of this young man.

This hour of walking, moreover, presented to the Royal Family a species of exhibition which racked their sensibility. A great number of faithful subjects, daily took advantage of these fleeting opportunities of seeing their Queen and King, by placing themselves at the windows of the houses situated around the garden of the Temple: and it was impossible to deceive oneself as to their true sentiments and wishes. Among these kind-hearted individuals, I once thought I recognized the Marchioness de Tourzel; and I was led to this opinion, principally, in consequence of her extreme watchfulness, in following with her eyes the movements of the young Prince, when he happened to stray from his august parents. I communicated this observation to Madame Elizabeth: at the name of Madame de Tourzel, this Princess, who thought she had been one of the victims of the second of

September, could not refrain from tears. "What!" said she, "Who could have thought that she should be still living!"

The next day, I found means to gain intelligence that the Marchioness de Tourzel was at one of her estates. I learnt also, that the Princess de Tarente and the Marchioness de la Roche-Aimont, who, on the tenth of August, at the time of the attack, were in the Castle of the Thuilleries, had escaped the assassins. The safety of these persons, whose devotion had manifested itself on so many occasions, gave some moments of consolation to the Royal Family; but, on the other hand, they soon heard the dreadful news of the prisoners of the High Court of Orleans having been massacred on the ninth of September at Versailles. The King was overwhelmed with grief at the sad fate of the Duke de Brissac, who had not quitted him, even for a single day, from the commencement of the Revolution, until the time of his arrest: His Majesty also much regretted M. de Lessart and the other interesting victims of their attachment to their King and country.

On the twenty-first of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, one Lubin, a municipal officer, surrounded by cavalry, and a

numerous populace came before the Tower, to proclaim a decree which had recently been passed by the National Assembly. The trumpets sounded, and there was a great silence. This Lubin had the voice of a Stentor. The Royal Family could distinctly hear the proclamation of the abolition of Royalty and establishment of a Republic. Hébert, so well known under the name of Pere Duchesne, and Destournelles, who was afterwards Minister of the public contributions, were then on guard in the apartments of the Royal Family: at this moment, they were seated near the door, and fixed their eyes significantly upon (*fixoient*) the King, accompanied with a malicious smile: the King perceived it; but, with a book in his hand, he continued reading: no alteration was observable in his countenance. The Queen displayed the same firmness: not a word—not a movement did she betray which might increase the triumph of these two men. The proclamation being finished, the trumpets sounded anew: I placed myself at a window: immediately the eyes of the people were turned towards me: I was taken for *Louis XVI.* and loaded with abuse: the soldiers menaced me with their sabres, and I was obliged to retire, in order to put an end to the tumult.

The same evening, I acquainted the King with the need which his son had of curtains and blankets for his bed, the weather now beginning to grow cold. The King told me to write the demand, and signed it. I made use of the same expressions as hitherto:—
 “The King requires for his son,” &c. “You are very audacious,” said Destournelles to me, “thus to make use of a title that is abolished by the will of the people, as you have just now heard.” I observed to him, “that I had heard a proclamation, but that I did not know its purport:” “It is,” said he, “the abolition of Royalty; and you may tell the gentleman,” pointing to the King, “to cease to assume a title that the people no longer acknowledge.” “I cannot,” replied I, “change the note; it is already signed; the King will ask me the cause of the alteration, and it is not for me to inform him.” “You will do as you please,” said he, “but I will not certify your demand.” The next day, Madame Elizabeth ordered me, for the future, to write for these sort of things in the manner following: “It is necessary for the use of *Louis XVI.*—of *Marie Antoinette*—of *Louis Charles*—of *Marie Theresa*—of *Marie Elizabeth*,” &c.

Up to this time, I had often been obliged to repeat these demands. The small supply of linen that the King and Queen possessed, had been lent to them by persons belonging to the Court,* during the time they remained at the Feuillans. None could be procured from the Castle of the Thuilleries, where, on the tenth of August, all had been given up to pillage. The Royal Family were particularly deficient in garments: the Princesses mended them every day; and frequently, Madame Elizabeth, in order to repair those belonging to the King, was obliged to wait until he was gone to bed. However, after many entreaties, I prevailed on the Council to order a few articles of new linen; but the work-women having marked them with letters surmounted with a Crown, the municipal officers required that the Princesses should take out the Crowns: such was their present condition, that it was necessary to obey.

* The Countess of Sutherland, the Lady of the English Ambassador at the French Court, found means to convey to the Queen, some linen and other articles for the young Prince. The Queen afterwards (she being then deprived of the use of pen, ink, and paper,) ordered me to return these things, and to write to Her Ladyship to acknowledge the favor in the name of Her Majesty. The municipal officers opposed the message, and kept the linen and effects.

On the twenty-sixth of September, I learnt by a municipal officer, that it was proposed to separate the King from his family ; and that the apartment in the great Tower intended for him, would soon be ready for his reception.

It was not without many precautions, that I announced to the King this new tyranny : I protested how much it had cost me to afflict him with this distressing intelligence. “ You cannot give me a greater proof of attachment,” said His Majesty : “ I require from your zeal, that you conceal nothing from me : I am prepared for every thing that may take place. Endeavour to find out the day of this painful separation, and to inform me of it.”

On the twenty-ninth of September, at ten o'clock in the morning, five or six municipal officers entered the Queen's chamber, where the Royal Family were assembled. One of them, named Charbonnier, read to the King an order (*arrêté*) of the Council of the *commune*, which directed them “ to take away paper, ink, pens, pencils, and even written papers, as well from the persons of those under detention as from their chambers ; and also from the valet de chambre and

“ other persons serving in the Tower : ” —
 “ When you want any thing , ” added he ,
 “ Cléry will go down and write your demands
 upon a register which will be kept in the
 Council chamber . ” The King and his
 family , without making the least observation ,
 searched in their pockets , and gave up their
 papers , pencils , pocket necessaries , &c . The
 commissaries afterwards examined the cham-
 bers , searched the drawers , and carried away
 whatever they could find of the articles desig-
 nated in the order . I then found by one of
 the municipal officers of the deputation , that ,
 on the very same evening , the King was to
 be transferred to the great Tower : of this I
 found means to advise His Majesty , by
 Madame Elizabeth .

In fact , after supper , as the King was quit-
 ting the Queen ’s chamber to go to his own , a
 municipal officer told him to wait , the Council
 having something to communicate to him . A
 quarter of an hour afterwards , the six muni-
 cipal officers who in the morning had taken
 away his papers , entered ; and read to the
 King a second order of the *commune* , which
 directed his removal into the great Tower .
 Although apprised of this event , the King
 was again very much affected . His afflicted

family sought to read, in the eyes of the commissaries, how far their designs might extend: it was in the midst of the greatest consternation and alarm that the King received their adieus; and these moments of a separation which announced so many calamities, were the most afflictive that Their Majesties had yet passed in the Temple. I followed the King into his new prison.

The apartment in the great Tower to which the King was now conducted, was not yet finished: there was but one bed in it and no curtains: the painters and paper-hangers were still at work in it, which caused an intolerable smell; and I was apprehensive that His Majesty would be incommoded by it. A chamber very distant from that of the King was designed for me: I insisted strongly, however, that I should be stationed near him as heretofore. I passed the first night upon a chair near His Majesty: the next day, it was not without great difficulty, that the King prevailed on the municipal officers to let me have a chamber adjoining to his own. The next morning, after the King had risen, I was desirous of going to dress the young Prince, but the municipal officers would not grant me permission; one of them, named

Veron, said to me, "You are to have no more communication with the female prisoners, nor your master neither; he is not even to see his children again." At nine o'clock, the King demanded of the commissaries to be conducted to his family. "We have no orders for that," said they. His Majesty made some observations in reply, but received no answer.

Half an hour afterwards, two municipal officers entered, followed by a man-servant, who brought the King a piece of bread and a flaggon of lemonade for his breakfast: the King signified to them his desire to dine with his family: they answered that they should be governed by the orders of the *commune*. "But," added the King, "surely my valet de chambre may go to them; he has the care of my son, and there is nothing to prevent his continuing to serve him." "That does not depend upon us," said the commissaries, and retired.

I was then in a corner of the chamber, overwhelmed with grief, and absorbed in the most distressing reflections upon the lot of this august family. On one side I saw the sufferings of my master; on the other, I figured to myself the young Prince, commit-

ted, perhaps, into the hands of strangers. It was already rumoured that he was to be separated from Their Majesties : what new sufferings would not the Queen be subjected to, in the event of his being carried off!

I was occupied with these afflictive ideas, when the King came to me, holding in his hand the bread which they had brought him : he presented me with the moiety of it, and said, "It appears that they have forgotten your breakfast : take this, I have enough without it." I declined accepting the offer, but he insisted upon it. I could not refrain from tears : the King perceived it, and became similarly affected.

At ten o'clock, other municipal officers brought the workmen, to continue the works of the apartment : one of these municipal officers told the King, that he had just been assisting at the breakfast of his family, and that they were all in good health. "I thank you," replied the King, "and I beg you will inform them of what concerns me, and tell them I am well : Can I not," added he, "have some books that I have left in the Queen's chamber ? You will oblige me by sending them to me, for I have nothing to read." His Majesty named the books he

wished to have. This municipal officer consented to the King's demand, but not knowing how to read, he proposed to me to accompany him. I congratulated myself on the ignorance of this man, and blessed Providence for having afforded me this moment of consolation. The King charged me with some orders: his eyes told me the rest.

I found the Queen in her chamber, surrounded by her children and Madame Elizabeth. They were all weeping, and their sorrow increased at sight of me: they put a thousand questions to me concerning the King, which I could only answer in a reserved manner. The Queen, addressing herself to the municipal officer who had accompanied me, earnestly renewed the demand to be with the King, at least during some part of the day, and at the hours of meal: it was no longer complaints and tears, but cries of grief.—“ Well, they shall dine together to day!” said a municipal officer, “ but, as we are under the orders of the *commune*, we shall act tomorrow as they may direct.” To this proposal his colleagues consented.

At the simple idea of being again with the King, a sentiment, bordering on joy, arose to solace this unfortunate family. The Queen,

clasping her children in her arms, and Madame Elizabeth, with her hands raised towards heaven, thanked God for this unexpected happiness, presenting a spectacle the most touching. Some of the municipal officers could not refrain from tears, (the only tears which I ever saw them shed in this frightful abode.) One of them (the shoemaker Simon) said in a pretty loud voice, "I believe these b * * * of women will make me cry;" and afterwards, addressing himself to the Queen, he continued, "When you assassinated the people on the tenth of August, you did not cry."— "The people are much deceived in regard to our sentiments," replied the Queen.

I then took the books as the King had directed me, and carried them to him. The municipal officer went in with me to announce to His Majesty that he should see his family. I said to these commissaries, that I might, without doubt, continue to attend the young Prince and the Princesses; to which they consented. I found an opportunity to inform the Queen of what had passed, and of all that the King had suffered since he quitted them.

Dinner was served up in the King's apartment, where his family came; and, by the burst of affection which ensued, one might

judge of the fears by which they had been agitated. No more was heard of the orders of the *commune*, and the Royal Family continued to meet together at the hours of repast, as also at the promenade.

After dinner, the Queen was shewn to the apartment which was preparing for her above that of the King: she entreated the men who were employed about it to expedite their work; but it was three weeks before it was finished.

In the mean time, I continued my services both to Their Majesties, and to the young Prince and Princesses. Their occupations were nearly the same as heretofore. The attention which the King paid to the education of his son met with no interruption; but the abode of the Royal Family in two separated Towers, as it rendered the *surveillance* of the municipal officers more difficult, rendered it also more vigilant. The number of commissaries were augmented, and their increased distrust left me very few means of being informed of what was going forward beyond the bounds of our prison. The following are those of which I availed myself:—

Under the pretext of bringing me linen and other necessary articles, I obtained permission

that my wife should come to the Temple once a week ; and she was always accompanied by one of her friends, who passed for a relation. Nobody has evinced more attention to the Royal Family than this lady, by the difficulties she has encountered, and the risks she has run for their convenience, on several occasions. On their arrival, I used to be called down to the Council-chamber, but I could only speak to them in the presence of the municipal officers, and we were narrowly watched ; so that the first visits did not fulfil my aim. I then gave them a hint to come, in future, at one o'clock in the afternoon : this was the hour of promenading, during which, most of the municipal officers attended the Royal Family : there remained only one in the Council-chamber ; and, if he was a civil man he allowed us a little more liberty, without however permitting us to be out of his sight.

Having thus obtained some opportunities of speaking without being heard, I enquired about those persons in whose welfare the Royal Family took the most interest ; and I gained information of what was passing in the Convention.* It was my wife who en-

* After the abolition of Royalty, the National Assembly took the title of "the National Convention." (*Trans.*)

gaged the crier, of whom I have already spoken, to come every day close to the walls of the Temple, and to cry, several times over, the particulars of the daily prints.

To these articles of intelligence may be added, whatever I could pick up from any of the municipal officers ; and especially, from a very faithful servant of the name of Turgi, Groom of the mouth (*Garçon de la bouche*) to the King, who, through attachment to His Majesty, had found means to get himself employed in the Temple, together with two of his fellow-servants, Marchand and Chrétien. They brought into the Tower the meals of the Royal Family, which were prepared in a kitchen at some distance off: they were besides entrusted with commissions of purveyorship ; and Turgi, who took part in this employment, going out of the Temple in his turn two or three times a week, could inform himself of whatever was passing. The difficulty was how to apprise me of what he had learnt: he was forbidden to speak to me, except in the way of business as respected the accommodation of the Royal Family, and even then, our intercourse was always in presence of the municipal officers. When he wished to tell me any thing, he made me a concerted sign,

and I then sought means to converse with him under different pretences. Sometimes I requested him to dress my hair, when Madame Elizabeth, who knew of my understanding with Turgi, chatted with the municipal officers; which thus afforded us sufficient time for conversation: sometimes I gave him an opportunity of going into my chamber, of which he took advantage by placing under my bed the journals, memoirs, and other printed articles that he wished to put into my hands. When the King or Queen were desirous of any particular communications from without, and the day when my wife was to come happened to be distant, I entrusted Turgi, moreover, with this business. If it was not his day to go out, I feigned to want some article for the service of the Royal Family: "That must be done another day," said he: "Very well!" replied I carelessly, "the King will wait." In thus speaking, it was my design to induce the municipal officers to let him have an order to go out: frequently he received one, and the same evening or the next morning he gave me the details required. We had agreed to manage matters in this way; but it was necessary to take care, not to employ a second time the same artifices before the same commissaries.

New obstacles presented themselves in rendering an account to the King of the information that was thus obtained. In the evening, I could only speak to His Majesty at the time when the municipal officers were relieved, and at his going to bed. Sometimes I could speak a word to him in the morning, when his keepers were not as yet in a state to appear at his rising : I then affected not to wish to go into the King's chamber without them, but at the same time made them sensible that he was waiting for me : if they permitted me to go in, I immediately drew the curtains of the King's bed, and, while I put on his stockings, spoke to him without being either seen or heard. Generally my hopes were disappointed, the municipal officers obliging me to wait till they were dressed, so as to accompany me into the King's chamber. Many of them even treated me with harshness :—some ordered me, in the morning, to take away their truss-beds ; and, in the evening, obliged me to replace them ; others continually held discourses with me of an insulting nature. But this conduct furnished me with new means of being useful to Their Majesties : opposing to the commissaries only the mildness of complaisance, I gained upon them in spite of themselves ; I

inspired them with confidence without their perceiving it; and I was thus often enabled to know, even from themselves, what I wished to learn.

Such was the plan which I had been pursuing with so much care, ever since my coming into the Temple; when an event as strange as it was unexpected, made me fear I should be for ever separated from the Royal Family.

One evening, about six o'clock, on the fifth of October, after having accompanied the Queen to her apartment, I again went up to the King, along with two municipal officers; when the sentinel posted at the door of the guard-room, taking hold of me by the arm and calling me by name, asked me how I did, and said with an air of mystery, that he wished to speak to me. "Sir," I replied, "speak aloud, I am not permitted to speak low to any body." "I have been told," replied the sentry, "that the King has been sent to a dungeon some days ago, and that you were with him." "You see to the contrary," said I, and quitted him. At this moment, one of the municipal officers walked before me, and the other followed: he that went first stopped and heard us.

The next morning, two commissaries waited

for me at the door of the Queen's apartment : they took me to the Council-chamber, and the municipal officers who were there assembled interrogated me. I related the conversation just as it had taken place : the municipal officer who had heard us confirmed my account ; but the other maintained, that the sentinel had put into my hands a paper, of which he had heard the rumpling ; and that it was a letter for the King. I denied the fact, inviting the municipal officers to search me. An account of the proceedings of the sitting of the Council was drawn up, I was confronted with the sentry, and he was sentenced to twenty-four hours' imprisonment.

I thought this affair was over, when, on the twenty-sixth of October, while the Royal Family were at dinner, a municipal officer entered, followed by six soldiers (*gendarmes*) with sabres in their hands, a registrar, and a tipstaff, the two latter being habited in the costume of their office. I was seized with terror, under the supposition that they came for the King. The Royal Family rose up, and the King demanded what they wanted with him ; but, the municipal officer, without answering, called me into another chamber : the *gendarmes* followed him ; and the registrar

having read to me an order of arrest, I was seized upon, in order to be removed to the tribunal. I asked permission to acquaint the King with this matter, but was answered, that, from that moment, I was not permitted to speak to him: "Only take one shirt," added the municipal officer, "it will not be a long business." I thought I understood him, and only took my hat. I passed by the side of the King and his family, who remained standing, and were in a state of consternation at the manner in which I was carried off. The populace, who were crowding the court of the Temple, loaded me with abuse, calling out for my head. In order to appease these clamours, an officer of the National Guard said it was necessary to preserve my life, until I should reveal the secrets of which I was sole depositary. Similar vociferations were heard on our way to the tribunal.

Immediately on our arrival at the Palace of Justice, I was locked up. In this state I remained six hours, occupied in vain conjectures as to what might be the cause of my arrest. I could only call to mind that, in the morning of the tenth of August, during the attack of the Castle of the Thuilleries, some persons who were shut in and were endeavour-

ing to make their escape, had begged of me to conceal in a chest of drawers belonging to me, several valuable effects, and even papers, which might have made them known: I thought those papers had been seized, and that they might, perhaps, cost me my life.

At eight o'clock I appeared before judges who were unknown to me. It was a Revolutionary Tribunal, established on the seventeenth of August, to select some from amongst those who had escaped the fury of the people, and to put them to death. What was my astonishment, when I saw upon the bench of the accused persons, this same young man who was suspected of having put a letter into my hands three weeks before; and when I recognized in my accuser, the same municipal officer who had denounced me at the Council of the Temple. I was interrogated: witnesses were heard: the municipal officer renewed his accusation. I replied to him, that he was not worthy of being a magistrate of the people; that, since he had heard the rumpling of a paper, and thought he saw a letter put into my hands, he ought to have searched me immediately, instead of waiting eighteen hours before he denounced me to the Council of the Temple. After the debates the jurors conferred together, and, upon their declaration,

we were acquitted. The President charged four municipal officers who were present at my trial, to reconduct me to the Temple. It was midnight: when I arrived, the King had just gone to bed, and I was permitted to announce to him my return. The Royal Family had taken the most anxious interest in my fate, and believed that I had been condemned to suffer death.

About this time, the Queen came to inhabit the apartment that had been prepared for her in the great Tower; but even this day that had been so earnestly desired, and which seemed to promise Their Majesties some consolation, was marked, on the part of the municipal officers, with a new feature of animosity against the Queen. Ever since her entrance into the Temple, they saw her dedicate her existence to the care of her son; and observed that she found some mitigation of her troubles, in his acknowledgments and caresses. They therefore separated him from her without giving her any previous notice. Her grief, on this trying occasion, was extreme. The young Prince having been consigned to the charge of the King, the attendance on his person was committed to me. With what tenderness did the Queen entreat me to watch over the welfare (*les jours*) of her son.

The events of which I shall henceforth have to speak, having occurred in a place different from that of which I have already given a description, I think I ought now to describe the new situation of Their Majesties.

The great Tower, which is about a hundred and fifty feet in height, consists of four stories, vaulted, and supported in the middle by a thick pillar from the base to the roof. The interior is about thirty feet square.

The second and third stories were appropriated to the Royal Family, and, like the rest, consisted of but one room; but this was divided into four chambers by boarded partitions. The ground-floor was for the use of the municipal officers: the first story served for the guard: the King was lodged in the second.

The first room of the King's apartment was an anti-chamber, in which were three doors leading to three other rooms. In front of the door of entrance was the King's chamber, in which was placed a bed for the Dauphin: mine was on the left, as was also the dining-room, which was separated from the anti-chamber by a glass partition. There was a chimney in the King's chamber: a great stove, placed in the anti-chamber,

warmed the other rooms. Each of these chambers was lighted by a casement; but great bars of iron, and screens, which prevented the air from circulating, were fixed outside. The embrasures of the windows were nine feet in depth.

The great Tower opened on every story, into four Turrets, which were built at the angles.

In one of these Turrets was the stair-case, which went up to the battlements; and in which there were seven wickets, placed along it at intervals from top to bottom. From this stair-case, each story was entered, on clearing two doors: the first was made of oak, very thick, and stuck full of nails; the second was of iron.

Another Turret opened into the King's chamber, and formed a closet to it. A *garde-robe* was contrived in the third. In the fourth was kept the fire-wood: here also, in the day-time, were put the truss-beds on which the municipal officers who had the custody of the King passed the night.

The four chambers of the King's apartment had a false ceiling of cloth. The partitions were covered with printed paper: that of the anti-chamber represented the interior

of a prison ; and, upon one of the pannels was posted up, in very large characters, and framed in a tricolored border, “ The Declaration of the Rights of Man.” A chest of drawers, a small bureau, four covered chairs, a sofa, some straw chairs, a table, a glass upon the chimney, and a bed of green damask, composed the whole of its furniture. These goods, as also those of the other rooms, had been taken from the Palace of the Temple : the King’s bed was that which served the Captain of the Guards of the Count d’Artois.*

The Queen lodged in the third story. The manner in which it was divided was nearly the same as that of the King’s apartment. The bed-chamber of the Queen and Madame Royale was over that of the King : the Turret served them for a closet. Madame Elizabeth occupied the chamber over mine. The first room served as an anti-chamber, in which the municipal officers remained day and night. Tison and his wife were lodged over the dining-room in the King’s apartment.

* The Duke d’Angoulême, in Quality of Grand Prior of France, was proprietor of the Palace of the Temple. The Count d’Artois had furnished it, and it was his residence when he came to Paris. The great Tower which was at the distance of two hundred paces from the Palace, and situated in the middle of the garden, was the dépôt of the archives of the Order of Malta.

The fourth story was not occupied. A gallery reached along the inside of the battlements, and sometimes served as a promenade: lattices were placed between the battlements, to prevent the Royal Family from seeing and being seen.

After this re-union of Their Majesties in the great Tower,* there was little change in the hours of meal, reading, or walking; or in the stated times which the King and Queen had hitherto devoted to the education of their children. After his rising, the King read the office of the Knights of the Holy Ghost; and as the saying of Mass in the Temple, even on festivals, was prohibited, he ordered me to buy him a breviary, according to the ritual of the diocese of Paris. This Prince was truly religious; but his religion was pure and enlightened, and had never turned him aside from his proper duties. Books of travels—the works of Montesquieu—those of the Count de Buffon—the “*Spectacle de la Nature*,” by Pluche—the History of England, by Hume, in English—the “*Imitation of Jesus Christ*,”

* The second story of the little Tower was inhabited by the Queen, her children, and Madame Elizabeth, from the thirteenth of August to the end of October, 1792: the third story of the little Tower was inhabited by the King, from the thirteenth of August to the twenty-ninth of September.

in the Latin tongue—Tasso in the Italian—and our different dramatic works—these were the books which, since his entrance into the Temple, constantly formed the subjects of his reading. He set apart four hours of the day to the reading of Latin authors.

Madame Elizabeth and the Queen, being desirous of having devotional books like those of the King, His Majesty ordered me to get them purchased. How many times have I seen Madame Elizabeth on her knees, in the act of fervent prayer!

At nine o'clock, the King and his son were summoned to breakfast, and I accompanied them. I afterwards adjusted the *coiffure* of the three Princesses; and, by the orders of the Queen, I showed Madame Royale* how to dress hair. While I was thus employed, the King used to play either at Draughts or Chess, sometimes with the Queen, sometimes with Madame Elizabeth.†

* Marie Therese Charlotte, now the Duchess d'Angoulême: she was married in 1807 to her cousin, the Duke d'Angoulême, in the private chapel belonging to Wanstead Park. (*Trans.*)

† Elizabeth Phillipine Marie Helene of France, born at Versailles, 3d of May, 1764, was the King's younger sister: his elder sister, Madame Clotilde of France, married in 1777, the Prince of Piedmont, who was afterwards King of Sardinia. (*Trans.*)

After dinner, the young Prince and his sister played in the anti-chamber at battledore and shuttlecock, at *siam*, or at other games: at these times, Madame Elizabeth was always present with them, and generally sat down near a table with a book in her hand. I also remained in the room, and sometimes I read; in which case, I sat down in obedience to the orders of this Princess. The occasional separation of the Royal Family into different apartments, was often the occasion of perplexity to the municipal officers on guard: they did not wish to leave the King and Queen alone, and yet were still less willing to separate, so much did they distrust each other: there was, therefore, no alternative but to leave us to ourselves. These opportunities of conferring together Madame Elizabeth eagerly embraced, by putting questions to me or giving me orders: I used to hear and answer her, without turning my eyes aside from the book which I held in my hand, for fear of being surprized by the municipal officers. The Dauphin and Madame Royale in concert with their aunt, facilitated these conversations by their noisy sports; and often, by means of signs, gave us notice that the municipal officers were coming into the room. It was particularly

necessary for me to distrust Tison, who was regarded as a spy even by the municipal officers themselves; indeed he had several times denounced one or other of their body. It was in vain that the King and Queen treated this man with kindness; nothing could overcome his natural obduracy.

At night, the municipal officers placed their beds in the anti-chamber, in such a manner as to obstruct the passage to the room which His Majesty occupied. They also shut a door of my chamber which communicated with that of the King, and took away the key; so that it then became necessary for me, when His Majesty called me in the night, to pass through the anti-chamber, and consequently, to bear the ill-humour of the commissaries, and wait till they chose to get up.

On the seventh of October, at six o'clock in the evening, I was ordered down into the Council-chamber, where I found a number of municipal officers assembled together, presided by Manuel, who from *procureur du commune* was become a member of the National Convention: his presence surprized and alarmed me. I was directed to take away from the King's person, on that very evening, the Orders with which he was still decorated,

such as those of *St. Louis* and the *Golden Fleece*: His Majesty no longer wore the Order of the *Holy Ghost*, which had been suppressed by the first Assembly.

I represented to them that I could not obey; and that it was not for me to make known to the King the orders of the Council. I made this answer, in order to have time to give His Majesty notice of what was going forward; and I perceived besides, from the embarrassment of the municipal officers, that they were acting, in this instance, without being authorized so to do by any order, either of the Convention, or of the *commune*. The commissaries, at first, refused to go up to the King; but Manuel induced them to determine otherwise, by offering to accompany them. The King was seated and occupied in reading: Manuel addressed himself to him; and the conversation which followed was as remarkable for the indecent familiarity of Manuel, as for the calmness and moderation of the King.

“How fares it with you?” (*Comment ça va?*) said Manuel to him: “Have you every thing that is necessary for you?” “I content myself with what I have,” replied His Majesty. “You are without doubt informed of the

victories of our armies:—of the taking of Spires and of Nice, and of the conquest of Savoy.” “I have heard speak of them, some days ago, by one of the gentlemen who read the Evening Paper.” “What! Have you not then the daily papers, which are becoming so interesting?” “I receive none of them,” said the King. “We must, gentlemen,” said Manuel, addressing himself to the municipal officers, “give all the journals to the gentleman,” pointing to the King: “it is right that he should be informed of our success.” Then again addressing himself to His Majesty, he continued: — “Democratical principles are spreading themselves: you know that the people have abolished Royalty and adopted the Republican government.” “I have heard so,” said the King, “and I devoutly wish, that the French may find the happiness that I have always been desirous of procuring for them.” “You know also,” rejoined Manuel, “that the National Convention has suppressed all the Orders of Chivalry: you ought to be told to divest yourself of these decorations. Since you now belong to the same class as other citizens, you must be treated in every respect like them. As to other matters, ask for whatever is necessary

and it will be most readily provided for you.”
“I thank you,” said the King, “I want nothing;” and immediately he resumed his reading. Manuel sought in vain to excite regret or provoke impatience: he found nothing but great resignation and an unalterable serenity.

After the deputation had retired, one of the municipal officers told me to follow him to the Council-chamber, where I was again ordered to take from the King his decorations. Manuel added, “You will do well to send the Crosses and Ribands to the Convention. I ought also to acquaint you,” continued he, “that
“ the durance of Louis XVI. may last a long
“ time; and that, if you wish to remain here,
“ it will be your best way to inform him of the
“ directions you have received forthwith.
“ Besides, there is a plan under consideration,
“ in order to render the *surveillance* more
“ easy, to diminish the number of persons
“ employed in the Tower. If therefore you
“ remain with the ex-King, you will be
“ absolutely alone, and your situation will
“ become very painful: you will have a
“ weekly allowance of wood and water
“ brought to you, but it will devolve on you
“ to clean the apartment and do the other

“work.” I answered that, as I was determined never to quit the King, I must submit to every thing that might be required of me. After this admonition, I was taken back into His Majesty’s chamber, who, on being made acquainted with what had transpired at the Council-chamber, said to me, “You have heard these gentlemen : you will this evening take off my Orders from my clothes.”

The next day, while I was dressing the King, I told him that I had locked up the Crosses and Ribands, although Manuel had given me to understand, that it was proper to send them to the Convention. “You have done right,” replied His Majesty.

A report has been spread, that Manuel came to the Temple some time in the month of September, to engage His Majesty to write to the King of Prussia, at the period of his entrance into Champagne ; but I can assert, that, while I remained there, Manuel only came to the Tower twice : viz. once on the third of September, and once on the seventh of October ; that each time he was accompanied by a great number of municipal officers, and that he did not speak to the King in private.

On the ninth of October, the Journal of the

debates of the Convention was brought to the King ; but, a few days afterwards, a municipal officer, named Michel, and who was a perfumer, got an order to be taken out, which again forbade the introduction of public papers into the Tower : he then sent for me to the Council-chamber, and asked me by what order it was that I had journals sent to my address. In fact, without my privity, four journals were brought here every day with this printed address : — “To the Valet de chambre of Louis XVI., at the Tower of the Temple.” I never knew, and I still remain ignorant of the name of the party who ordered them. This Michel wished to force me to point them out to him : he made me write to the editors of these journals for information on this head ; but their answers, if they ever made any, were not communicated to me.

This interdiction in regard to the admission of journals into the Tower, had however, some exceptions, when these writings furnished occasion for any new outrage. Did these papers contain insulting expressions against the King or Queen, atrocious menaces, or infamous calumnies, some of the municipal officers had the deliberate wickedness to place them upon the mantle-piece, or upon the chest

of drawers in the King's chamber, in order that they might fall into his hands.

This prince once read in one of these papers, the invocation of a cannoneer, who demanded "the head of the tyrant Louis XVI., to load his gun with, and send it to the enemy." Another of these journals, speaking of Madame Elizabeth, and wishing to destroy the admiration which her devotion to the King and Queen had inspired in the minds of the public, sought to defame her virtues by the most absurd calumnies. A third said, it was necessary to smother the little wolves that were in the Tower, meaning the Dauphin and Madame Royale.

The King was only affected by these articles on the people's account. "The French," said he, "are very unfortunate, in suffering themselves to be thus duped." When I observed any of these journals, I took care to withdraw them from His Majesty's sight; but they were often put in his way during my occasional absence; so that there are very few of these articles, dictated either with the design to outrage the Royal Family, to provoke the people to the Regicide, or to prepare them to suffer it to be committed, which have not been read by the King. Those only who

know the insolence of the writings which were published at that time, can form an adequate idea of this unheard-of species of punishment.

The influence of these sanguinary writings was remarked in the conduct of the major part of the municipal officers, who now became more harsh and mistrustful.

One day, after dinner, I wrote an account of expences in the Council-chamber, and locked it up in a desk of which they had given me the key. Scarcely was I gone out, however, when Marinot, a municipal officer, although he was not then on duty, said to his colleagues, that the desk ought to be opened, to examine its contents and see if I had not some correspondence with the enemies of the people. "I know him well," added he: "I know he receives letters for the King." Then, accusing his colleagues of connivance, he loaded them with abuse, threatened to denounce them all to the Council of the *commune*, and went out to put his threat into execution. An account was immediately drawn up of all the papers in my desk, and sent to the *commune*, where Marinot had already given in his denunciation.

Another day, this same municipal officer,

pretending that a draught-board that had been brought to me, and of which I had had the cases repaired with the consent of his colleagues, enclosed a correspondence, he tore off the leather entirely, and, finding nothing, had the cases re-examined in his presence.

On Thursday, my wife and her friend came to the Temple, according to custom: while I was speaking to them in the Council-chamber, the Royal Family, who were at the promenade, perceived us, and the Queen and Madame Elizabeth made us a sign with the head. This movement, which intended nothing more than the usual notice, was remarked by Marinot: it needed no more for him to cause my wife and her friend to be arrested, at the instant they went out of the Council-chamber. They were interrogated separately. My wife was asked, who was the lady that accompanied her; "She is my sister," was the reply; but when questioned as to the same fact, the latter said she was her cousin. This contradiction served as matter for a long examination (*proces verbal*,) and for the most grave suspicions. Marinot pretended that this lady was a page belonging to the Queen, in disguise. At length, after three hours of the most painful and insulting interrogation, they were set at liberty.

They were still permitted, however, to come to the Temple, but we redoubled our prudence and precautions. In these short interviews, I often succeeded in putting into their hands notes written in pencil, which had escaped the vigilance of the municipal officers, and which I carefully concealed. These notes related to some particulars of information required by Their Majesties: luckily, on the day that my wife and her friend were arrested I had not given them one: if any note had been found upon them, we should all three have been placed in the greatest jeopardy.

Other municipal officers attracted notice by the most strange freaks (*tours*) of behaviour. One caused the macaroons to be broken, to see if any notes were concealed in them; another, with the same view, ordered some peaches to be cut before him, and the kernels to be broken; a third forced me one day to drink some essence of soap intended for the King's beard, affecting to believe it was poison. At the end of every meal, Madame Elizabeth gave me a little gold-bladed knife to clean: the commissaries often snatched it out of my hands, to examine whether I had not slipped some notes into the bottom of the handle.

Madame Elizabeth having ordered me to return a prayer-book to the Duchess de Serent, the municipal officers cut off the margins from it, lest there might be written something in it with a particular ink.

On one occasion, a municipal officer would not allow me to go up to the Queen's apartment, to dress her hair; Her Majesty was therefore, under the necessity of coming into the King's apartment, and of, herself, bringing all that was needful for her toilet.

Another of these commissaries chose to follow the Queen, when, according to custom, she went at noon into the chamber of Madame Elizabeth, to change her morning dress: I represented to him the indecency of this procedure, but he persisted in his design. As Her Majesty could not submit to this intrusion, she was obliged to leave the chamber and remain in dishabille.

When I received the linen from the wash, the municipal officers made me unfold it, piece by piece, and examine it in the light: the laundress' book, and all such papers as were used for wrappers, they held to the fire, in order to satisfy themselves that they were not marked with a secret ink. The linen which the King and Princesses put off was also examined.

Some of the municipal officers, however, had none of the harshness of their colleagues; but the greater part of these, having become suspected by the Committee of Public Safety, died the victims of their humanity; and those who still exist, have for a long time past been cast among the wretched inhabitants of the prisons.

A young man, named Toulan, a commissary, whom I took to be, by his discourse, one of the greatest enemies of the Royal Family, came to me one day, and clasping my hand, "I cannot," said he in a whisper, "speak to day to the Queen, because of my comrades; acquaint her that the commission with which she charged me is executed, and that I shall be on duty in a few days, when I will bring her an answer." Astonished at hearing him speak in this manner, and fearing that he might be laying a snare for me, Sir," said I, "you are mistaken in speaking to me about such matters." "No, no, I am not mistaken," replied he, clasping my hand more strongly, and retired. When I related this conversation to the Queen, she said to me, "You may confide in Toulan." This young man, with nine other municipal officers, was afterwards implicated in the trial of this Princess: they

were accused of having wished to favor the escape of the Queen, when she was in the Temple. Toulan perished on the scaffold.

Their Majesties having been shut up in the Tower for three months, had as yet seen none but municipal officers, when, on the first of November, a deputation of the National Convention was announced to them. It consisted of Drouet, Post-master of Varennes, Chabot, an ex-capuchin, Dubois Crancé, Duprat, and two others whose names I do not recollect. The Royal Family, and particularly the Queen, shuddered with horror at the sight of Drouet. This Deputy seated himself insolently near her: following his example, Chabot also took a seat. The deputation asked the King how he was treated, and if he had every thing that was necessary. "I complain of nothing," replied His Majesty; "I only ask that the Deputation cause to be put into the hands of my valet de chambre, or deposited at the Council, the sum of two thousand livres, to defray our little current expences, that we may have the means of procuring linen and other garments, of which we are in the greatest need." The deputies promised to comply with his request, but nothing was sent.

Some days after this, the King had a pretty considerable defluxion from the head: I immediately requested that M. Dubois, His Majesty's dentist, might be called in. After a deliberation of three days, this demand was refused. A fever succeeded: His Majesty was then permitted to consult M. le Monnier, his first physician. It would be difficult to describe the grief of this respectable old man when he saw his master.

The Queen and her children scarcely ever left the King during the day, waiting upon him with me, and often assisting me to make his bed: at night I was the sole attendant on His Majesty. M. le Monnier came to see him twice a day, accompanied by a great number of municipal officers: he was always searched, and was only permitted to speak aloud. One day, when the King had taken medicine, M. le Monnier requested to stay some hours: as he kept standing, while several municipal officers were seated with their hats on their heads, His Majesty desired him to take a seat, which he refused out of respect: the commissaries loudly murmured at this mark of deference. The King's malady lasted ten days.

A few days afterwards, the young Prince, who slept in His Majesty's chamber, and

whom the municipal officers would not suffer to be removed into that of the Queen, was infected with the same fever. The Queen felt the more uneasiness on account of it, because, notwithstanding her most earnest solicitations, she was not allowed to pass the night with her son: she lavished on him the most tender assiduities during the time that she was permitted to remain with him. The same disorder communicated itself to the Queen, Madame Royale, and Madame Elizabeth. M. le Monnier obtained permission to continue his visits.

I fell sick in my turn. The chamber that I occupied was a small damp room, and was without a chimney: the screen of the casement intercepted, moreover, the little air which it contained. I was attacked with a rheumatic fever attended with a great pain in my side, which obliged me to keep my bed. The first day, I got up to put on the King's clothes; but His Majesty, seeing my condition, would not permit my attendance, but ordered me to go to bed, and dressed his son himself.

During the first day, the Dauphin scarcely ever left me: this august child brought me my drink (*tisan*.) In the evening, the King took an opportunity, when he appeared to be

least noticed, to come into my chamber : he made me take a glass of *tisan*, and said to me, with a kindness which made me shed tears, " I should like to attend you myself, but you know how much we are observed : have a good heart, to-morrow you will see my physician." At supper time, the Royal Family came into my room ; and Madame Elizabeth, without the municipal officers perceiving it, gave me a little bottle which contained a lotion. This Princess had at that time a bad cold, but she deprived herself of the medicine on my account : I wished to decline the present, but she insisted that I should accept it. After supper, the Queen undressed the young Prince and put him to bed, and Madame Elizabeth curled the King's hair.

The next morning, M. le Monnier ordered me to be bled, but it was necessary to have the consent of the *commune* before a surgeon could be admitted. They talked of transferring me to the Palace of the Temple ; so, fearing I should never more return to the Tower if I once went out, I would be bled no more : I even pretended that I was better. In the evening other municipal officers arrived, and my removal was no longer thought of.

Turgi applied for permission to pass the night with me: this request was granted him as well as to two of his comrades, each in his turn doing me this service. I was six days confined to my bed, and the Royal Family came to see me every day. Madame Elizabeth often brought me drugs, which she applied for as if for her own use. So many kindnesses had a powerful effect in restoring me to renewed strength; and, instead of feeling pain, I soon had only to evince sentiments of gratitude and admiration. Who would not have been moved to see this august family suspend, in a manner, the remembrance of their long sufferings, to attend to one of their domestics!

I must not forget in this place to mention a trait in the character of the Dauphin, which shews the goodness of his heart, and how much he profited by the examples of virtue which he had continually before his eyes.

One evening, after having put him to bed, I retired, to give place to the Queen and Princesses, who came to embrace him and wish him a good night: Madame Elizabeth, whom the watchful eye of the municipal officers had prevented from speaking to me, took advantage of this moment to put into his

hands a little box of ipecacuanha lozenges, desiring him to give it me when I should come again: soon afterwards, the Princesses went again into their own apartments, the King retired to his study, and I went to supper. I returned about eleven o'clock into the King's chamber, to prepare His Majesty's bed: I was alone: the young Prince called to me in a low voice: I was very much surprized at finding him awake, and fearing that he was unwell, I asked him the cause of it. "It is," said he, "because my aunt has left with me a little box, and I would not go to sleep without giving it you: I am glad you are come, for my eyes have been shut several times:" mine filled with tears; he perceived it, embraced me, and two minutes afterwards sunk into a profound sleep.

To this sensibility the young Prince added many graces, and all the amiability of his age. Often by his artlessness (*naïveté*,) the sprightliness of his character, and his little frolics, he caused his august parents to forget their unhappy situation; but he felt it himself: although so young, he knew he was in a prison and subjected to the *surveillance* of his enemies. His conduct and discourse had acquired a reserve, which instinct, perhaps,

when there is fear of danger, inspires at every age : never have I heard him speak either of the Thuilleries or Versailles, or of any thing which might have recalled to the Queen or King some afflicting remembrance. If he saw a municipal officer arrive, who was known to be more civil than his colleagues, he would run to the Queen to announce him to her, and would say with the most marked expression of satisfaction, "Mama, it is Mr. such a one to-day."

One day, as he had his eyes fixed upon a municipal officer whom he said he recollected, the officer asked him in what place he had seen him. This question the young Prince repeatedly refused to answer : at length, leaning towards the Queen and speaking softly, "It was," said he, "on our journey to Varennes."

The following trait affords another proof of his sensibility. A stone-mason being employed in making holes at the door of the anti-chamber, to let in the bolts which were enormously large ; the young Prince, while the workman was at breakfast, amused himself with his tools : seeing what he was about, the King took the mallet and chisel out of his son's hands, and showed him how to use

them, continuing awhile his employment. The mason, seeing the King at work, was struck with surprize, and said to His Majesty, "When you leave this Tower you may say that you have worked at your own prison." "Ah," replied the King, "when and how shall I leave it!" At this exclamation the Dauphin shed tears. The King let fall the chisel and mallet, and, returning to his chamber, walked backwards and forwards with a quick step.

On the second of December, the *commune* of the tenth of August was replaced by another, under the title of the Provisional Commune. Many of the former municipal officers were re-elected as members of this new body. I thought at first, that this remodelled municipality would be better composed than the old one, and I entertained hopes that some favorable change in the regulation of the prison would take place ; but in this I was mistaken. Many of these new commissaries gave me reason to regret the removal of their predecessors : our former guards were more rude, yet it was easy for me to take advantage of their natural indiscretion, so as to find out all they knew ; but now, it became necessary for me to study the character of the commissaries of this new

municipality, in order to form a right estimate of their conduct and intentions: the former men were more insolent; the wickedness of these was much more deliberate.

Up to this time, only one municipal officer attended the King and another the Queen, the new *commune* ordered that there should be two; so that it now became much more difficult for me to speak to the King and Princesses: on the other hand, the Council, who had hitherto held their sittings in one of the halls of the Temple Palace, were now removed into a room on the ground-floor of the Tower. The new municipal officers were ambitious of surpassing the old ones in point of zeal, and this zeal was but an emulation of tyranny.

On the seventh of December, a municipal officer, at the head of a deputation of the *commune*, came to read to the King an order, which required that the detained persons should be deprived of "knives, razors, scissors, penknives, and all other cutting instruments of which prisoners presumed to be criminal are usually deprived; and to make the most strict search for such articles, as well upon their persons as in their apartments." During this recital the municipal

officer faltered in his speech, and it was easy to perceive that he did himself violence: he has since shewn by his conduct, that he only consented to come to the Temple from a desire of being useful to the Royal Family.

After the municipal officer had read the order, the King drew from his pockets a knife, and a little red-morocco case of instruments, out of which he took a pair of scissors and a penknife: the knives and scissors he delivered up to the deputation, but was allowed to keep the remaining contents of the case of instruments. The municipal officers then searched the apartment very minutely; took the razors and curling-irons, a toilet-knife, some small instruments to scale teeth, and a few articles mounted in gold and silver. A similar search was made in my chamber, and I also was ordered to be searched.

The municipal officers afterwards went up to the Queen's apartment, read to the three Princesses the same order, and took away from them every thing of a similar description, even to the little apparatus which they made use of at their needle-work.

An hour after the deputation had retired, I was summoned down to the Council-chamber and asked if I knew what the articles con-



sisted of that remained in the case of necessities which the King had put into his pocket again : "I order you," said a municipal officer named Sermaize, "to take away the case again this evening." "It is not for me," I replied, to execute the orders of the *commune*, nor to search the King's pockets." "Cléry is in the right," said another municipal officer: "it was your business," addressing himself to Sermaize, "to have made this search."

An account was drawn up of all the articles that were taken from the Royal Family, and they were put up in parcels, each of which was sealed: after this was done, I was ordered to put my signature to an order which enjoined me to apprise the Council, if I should find any cutting instruments about the persons either of the King or the Princesses, or in their apartments. The instruments, together with the accompanying documents, were all sent to the *commune*.

I must here observe that, in the registry of orders, &c. of the Council of the Temple, I have often been obliged to sign orders and demands, of which I have been far from approving of the form and construction; but I have never signed, said, or done any thing, but what was strictly conformable to the or-

ders of the King or Queen : a refusal of compliance on my part, would have had the effect of removing me from the service of Their Majesties, to whom I had dedicated my existence. My signature at the bottom of certain orders had no other object than to certify that these documents had been read by me.

The same Sermaize of whom I have been speaking, then went with me into His Majesty's apartment. The King was seated near the fire, with his tweezers in his hand : Sermaize demanded in the name of the Council to see what there was remaining in the case of necessaries. The King took it out of his pocket and opened it : there was in it a screw-driver, a gun-screw, and a small steel. Sermaize required that they should be delivered up to him : "Are not these tweezers which I hold in my hand, also a cutting instrument?" said the King, turning his back to him. When this municipal officer went down stairs, I had an opportunity of giving His Majesty an account of all that had passed at the Council, relative to the second search.

At dinner-time, a dispute arose among the commissaries. Some objected to the Royal Family having knives and forks : others consented to leave the forks. At length it was

decided, that there should be no alteration in this particular, but that at the end of every meal the knives and forks should be taken away.

The deprivation of the Princesses of these little implements of feminine taste and usefulness, was sensibly felt by them, as they were obliged to give up an occupation, which till then had served to divert them during the tedious hours of a prison. One day Madame Elizabeth being employed in mending the King's clothes, and having no scissors, she was obliged to break the thread with her teeth. "What a contrast!" said the King, fixing his eyes upon her with tenderness: "you wanted for nothing in your pretty house at Montreuil." "Ah! my brother," replied she, "how can I entertain regret when I share in your misfortunes!"

From this time forth, every day brought fresh orders, each of which was a new tyranny: the bluntness and harshness of the municipal officers towards me also, was more remarkable than ever, the prohibition to the servants of speaking to me was renewed, and every thing made me fear some new misfortunes. The Queen and Madame Elizabeth, struck with the same presentiment, were con-

tinually enquiring about the news, but it was not in my power to give them any intelligence. I could now gain no information except by means of my wife, a visit from whom I did not expect for three days: my impatience was extreme.

At length, on Thursday, my wife arrived. I was ordered down to the Council. She affected to speak to me aloud, in order to remove the suspicions of our new supervisors; and, while she was giving me details of our domestic affairs, "On Tuesday next," said her friend to me, "the King is to be conducted to the Convention. The Trial is going to commence. His Majesty is allowed Counsel. All this is certain."

I did not know how to announce to the King, in a direct manner, this terrible news: I could have wished to acquaint the Queen or Madame Elizabeth with it, in the first instance; but I was in a state of great apprehension, time was precious, and the King had forbidden me to conceal any thing from him. In the evening, while I was undressing him, I gave him an account of all I had learned: I even intimated, that it was proposed to separate him from his family, during the trial; and I added, that there were but four days to

concert with the Queen, as to some mode of correspondence between them. I assured him that I was determined to undertake any thing that might be the means of facilitating that object. Here the arrival of the municipal officers put a stop to the conversation.

The next morning, I could find no opportunity of renewing the subject with the King, while he was rising : he went up with his son, to breakfast as usual in the Princesses' apartment, and I followed him. After breakfast, he conversed a pretty long time with the Queen, who, by a look full of grief, gave me to understand, that the distressing particulars I had spoken of had formed the subject of their deliberation. In the course of the day, I found an opportunity of conferring with Madame Elizabeth. I represented to her how much it had cost me to augment the troubles of the King, by informing him of the day when his trial was to commence. She reassured me by saying, "The King is sensible of this mark of attachment on your part : what afflicts him most," added she, "is the fear of being separated from us. Endeavour to obtain some further intelligence."

In the evening, the King testified to me how much he was satisfied, in having learnt

before-hand that he was to appear at the Convention. "Continue," said he to me, "to seek to discover something of what they wish to do with me: do not be afraid of afflicting me. That you may not be exposed to danger, I have agreed with my family, not to seem to be apprised of the matter."

The nearer the time of the Trial approached, the more mistrust was exhibited against me: the municipal officers now declined answering any of my questions. I had already in vain used various pretexts to go down to the Council, where I might have been able to obtain fresh details to communicate to the King; when a commission, appointed to examine into the expences of the Royal Family, came to the Temple. They were now under the necessity of having me down, for the purpose of giving the required information; and I learnt from a municipal officer who was well-disposed towards the Royal Family, that the separation of the King from his family had been ordered by the *commune* only, but had not yet been resolved upon by the National Assembly. The same day, Turgi brought me a newspaper, in which I found the decree which directed, that the King should be brought to the bar of the Convention: he

also put into my hands a tractate upon the Trial of the King, published by M. Neckar. I had no other means of conveying this journal and memoir to the Royal Family, than by concealing them under one of the pieces of furniture in the *garderobe*-closet, having previously intimated as much to the King and Princesses.

On the eleventh of December, 1792, from six o'clock in the morning, the *general* was heard to beat throughout Paris; and cavalry and cannon were brought into the garden of the Temple. This noise would have cruelly alarmed the Royal Family if they had not known the cause of it: they pretended, however, to be ignorant of it, and asked the commissaries on duty for some explanations. These questions the municipal officers refused to answer.

At nine o'clock the King and the Dauphin went up to breakfast in the Princesses' apartment: Their Majesties remained an hour together, but were the whole time under the eyes of the municipal officers. This continual torment to the Royal Family, in not being able to give themselves up to any freedom—any loose to their feelings, at a time when they must have been agitated by so

many fears, was one of the most cruel subtleties of their tyrants, and afforded them one of their dearest enjoyments. At length it was necessary to separate. The King withdrew, leaving the Princesses in their apartment: their looks expressed those feelings which they could not utter. The Dauphin went down with the King, as on other days.

This young Prince, who often induced His Majesty to play a game with him at *Siam*, on this day used so many entreaties, that the King, notwithstanding his situation, could not refuse him. The Dauphin lost all the games, and twice he could not get beyond the number XVI: "Every time I have this point of sixteen," said he with a little vexation, "I can never get the game." The King said nothing; but I thought I perceived, that this coincidence of words produced in him a secret emotion.

At eleven o'clock, while the King was giving a lesson in reading to the Dauphin, two municipal officers entered, and told His Majesty, that they came for the young Louis, to conduct him to his mother. The King wished to know the reason of this removal: the commissaries answered, that they executed the orders of the Council of the *commune*. His

Majesty embraced his son tenderly, and ordered me to attend him. When I returned to the King's apartment, I told him I had left the young Prince in the arms of the Queen: this information appeared to tranquillize him. One of the commissaries soon returned, to announce to him, that Chambon, Mayor of Paris, was at the Council, and was going to come up. "What does he want with me?" said the King. "I don't know," was the reply.

His Majesty walked backwards and forwards in his chamber with a quick step for a few minutes, and afterwards seated himself upon a sofa near the head of his bed: the door was half shut, and the municipal officer did not venture to come in, in order, as he told me, to avoid questions. Half an hour having thus passed in the most profound silence, the commissary, being uneasy at not hearing the King stirring, came in softly, and found him with his head supported by one of his hands, and appearing to be deep in thought. "What do you want with me," said the King to him in a raised voice. "I feared," replied the municipal officer, "that you were indisposed." "I am obliged to you," rejoined the King, in a tone of the most

acute sorrow, "but the way in which my son has been removed is extremely painful to me." To this observation the municipal officer made no reply, and retired.

The Mayor did not appear before one o'clock: he was accompanied by Chaumette, *Procureur de Ville*, Combeau, Secretary-registrar, and several municipal officers; also by Santerre, Commandant of the National Guard, with his Aides-de-camp. The Mayor acquainted the King, that he came to conduct him to the National Convention, by virtue of a decree, which the Secretary of the *commune* should read to him. This decree imported that "Louis Capet should be brought to the bar of the National Convention." "Capet is not my name," said the King: "it is the name of one of my ancestors. I could have wished, Sir," added he, "that the commissaries had left me my son during the two hours that I have passed in waiting for you; however, this treatment is of a piece with that which I have experienced here for four months. I shall follow you, not to obey the Convention, but because my enemies are in possession of power." I gave His Majesty his great coat and hat, and he followed the Mayor of Paris: a numerous escort waited for him at the Temple gate.

As I was left alone in the chamber with only one municipal officer, I learnt from him, that the King would no more see his family, but that the Mayor of Paris had yet to consult some of the deputies of the National Convention, on some particulars in regard to this separation. I requested this commissary to take me to the Dauphin, who was in the Queen's apartment, which he did; and I did not again quit it till six o'clock in the evening, at which hour the King returned from the National Convention. The municipal officers informed the Queen of the departure of the King for the National Assembly, without choosing to enter into any detail. According to custom, the Princesses and the Dauphin went down to dine in the King's apartment, and afterwards returned to their own.

After dinner, one municipal officer alone remained with the Queen: he was a young man of about twenty-four years of age, of the *Section* of the Temple. This was the first time of his being on guard at the Tower, and he appeared to be less suspicious and uncivil than the greater part of his colleagues. The Queen entered into some conversation with him, and made enquiries respecting his

condition in life, family, &c. Madame Elizabeth seized this opportunity of retiring to her chamber, and made me a sign to follow her.

When we had got into her apartment, I intimated to her, that the *commune* had ordered the separation of the King from his family, which I was apprehensive would take place that very evening; that, in point of fact, the Convention had not as yet determined upon any thing, but that the Mayor was charged to require it at their hands, and that without doubt the demand would be acceded to. “The Queen and I,” replied this Princess, “expect the worst; and we do not deceive ourselves as to the fate which is preparing for the King:—he will die the victim of his goodness and of his love for his people, for the happiness of whom he has not ceased to labor, ever since his accession to the throne. In regard to his real disposition towards them, how cruelly are these people deceived! We have no doubt, however, that the religion of the King, and his great reliance on Providence will sustain him in this cruel adversity. But,” added this virtuous Princess, her eyes suffused with tears, “Cléry, you alone will be left with my brother: redouble, if possible, your attentions to him; neglect no means of

acquainting us with his affairs; but, above all, do not expose yourself to danger, otherwise we shall have no one on whom we can confide." I assured the Princess of my devotion to the King, and we agreed upon certain means of keeping up a correspondence.

Turgi was the only person that I could at all intrust with the secret; but I could only speak to him now and then, and with great circumspection. It was agreed that I should continue to take charge of the Dauphin's linen and clothes; that every two days, I should send what would be necessary for him; and that I should take advantage of this occasion to convey some intimation of what might transpire at the King's apartment. This plan suggested to Madame Elizabeth the idea of giving me one of her handkerchiefs: "You will keep it," said she, "so long as my brother is well; but if he should happen to be ill, you will send it to me along with my nephew's linen." The manner of folding it up was to indicate the probable nature of the disorder.

The grief of this Princess while speaking to me of the King, her heroic indifference as to her own situation, and the value which she deigned to attach to my poor services towards

the King, altogether affected me deeply. "Have you heard any thing said about the Queen?" said she to me, with an emotion bordering on terror: "alas! of what can she be accused?" "No, Madam: but, of what can the King be accused?" "Oh nothing; no, nothing: but perhaps they may consider the King as a victim necessary to their safety; but the Queen and her children could be no obstacle to their ambition." I took the liberty of observing, that, in all probability, the King would only be condemned to deportation; that this expedient had been spoken of in my hearing; and that, as Spain had not declared war, it was likely that the King and his family would be sent thither. "I have no hopes," said she, "that the King will be saved."

I thought it right to add, that the foreign Powers were exerting themselves about the means of rescuing the King from his captivity; that Monsieur* and the Count d'Artois† were again collecting all the emigrants around them, and were going to unite them to the Austrian and Prussian troops; that Spain and England were taking decisive measures in favor of the Royal Family; that all Europe

* The Count de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII. (*Trans.*)

† Charles X., the present King of France. (*Trans.*)

was interested in preventing the death of the King ; and that, consequently, the Convention would have to consider the fatal tendency of their proceedings before they determined on the regicide.

This conversation lasted till one o'clock, when Madame Elizabeth, to whom I had never spoken so long before, fearing the arrival of the new municipal officers, left me, and returned to the Queen's chamber. After she was gone, Tison and his wife, who were continually on the look out, told me I had been a long time with Madame Elizabeth ; and that it was to be feared that the commissary had taken notice of it. To this remark I answered, that the Princess had conversed with me about her nephew, who probably would henceforth continue with his mother.

Soon afterwards I returned to the Queen's chamber, to whom Madame Elizabeth had been communicating her conversation with me, and the means we had concerted to manage a correspondence ; when Her Majesty deigned to signify to me her satisfaction with it.

At six o'clock, the commissaries sent for me down to the Council : they read to me an order of the *commune*, which directed me to

have no more communication with the three Princesses nor with the young Prince, being appointed to attend the King only. It was even ordered, in the first instance, to put the King, in some sort, into solitary confinement ; for I was not to be allowed to sleep in his apartment, but was to lodge in the little Tower, and not go to His Majesty's apartment, except at such times as he might want me.

At half past six, the King arrived. He appeared to be fatigued, and his first care was to see his family ; but his request was refused, under the plea of having no orders to that effect : he insisted, however, that they should, at least, be apprised of his return ; which satisfaction was promised him. The King then ordered me to request that his supper might be ready at half past eight : he employed this interval of two hours in his ordinary reading, being attended the whole time by four municipal officers.

At half past eight, I went to inform His Majesty that supper was served up. He asked the commissaries, if his family were not to come down to sup with him : no answer was made. " But, at least," said the King, " my son will sleep in my apartment, for his

bed and apparel are here." The commissaries were still silent. After supper, the King reiterated his desire of seeing his family, but was answered, that it was necessary to await the decision of the Convention. I then sent to the Queen's apartment such things as were necessary for the night's rest of the young Prince.

At night, while I was undressing him, the King said to me, "I was very far from imagining all the questions that have been put to me." He went to bed in a very tranquil state of mind. The order of the *commune* relative to my removal during the night, was not put into execution: it would have been too troublesome for the municipal officers to have had to fetch me, every time the King might have had need of my attendance.

The next morning, the twelfth, as soon as the King got sight of a municipal officer, he enquired whether there had been any decision upon the request that he had made to see his family. He was answered, that the orders had not yet arrived. He begged the same municipal officer to go and make enquiries about the health of the Princesses and the Dauphin, and to inform them that he was well: the commissary assured him on his

return, that his family were in good health. The King then ordered me to send his son's bed up to the Queen's apartment, where the young Prince had passed the night upon a mattress. I entreated His Majesty to await the decision of the Convention. "I do not reckon upon any consideration—any justice," replied His Majesty, "but let us wait."

The same day, a deputation of the Convention, composed of four deputies, namely: Thuriot, Cambacérès, Dubois-Crancé, and Dupont-de-Bigorre, brought the decree which authorized the King to have Counsel. The King declared that he made choice of M. Target, and, in default of him, of M. Tronchet; but that he would prefer having both of them, if the National Convention should consent to it. The deputies made the King sign his demand, which they also signed after him. The King observed that it would be necessary for him to be furnished with paper, pens, and ink. His Majesty gave M. Tronchet's address, naming his country-house, but said he was unacquainted with M. Target's residence.

On the thirteenth, in the morning, the same deputation returned to the Temple, and informed the King, that M. Target had refused

to be his Counsel; and that M. Tronchet had been sent for, and there was no doubt of his coming that day. They afterwards read to him several letters, addressed to the Convention by Messrs. Sourdat, Huet, Guillaume, and Lamoignon de Malesherbes, formerly First President of the Court of Aids of Paris, and afterwards Lord Steward (*Intendant*) of the King's Household. The letter of M. de Malesherbes was conceived in these terms:—

“Paris, the eleventh of December, 1792.”

“Citizen President, I know not whether the Convention will allow Louis XVI. a Counsel to defend him, and whether they leave the choice of one to him: in this case, I desire that Louis XVI. may know, that, if he should choose me for this office, I am ready to devote myself to it. I do not ask you to communicate my offer to the Convention, for I am far from thinking myself a personage of sufficient importance for their notice; but I have been twice called to the Counsel of him who was my master, at a time when every body was ambitious of this function, and I owe him the same service when it is an office that many persons consider to be dangerous. If I knew any possible means of directly making known to him my wishes to serve

him, I should not take the liberty of addressing myself to you. I am of opinion, that, in the station which you fill, you will have the means, more than any one else, to have this notice transmitted to him. I am with respect.

“Lamoignon de Malesherbes.”

His Majesty replied to the deputation as follows :—“I feel myself obliged by the offers which have been made to me, by those persons who have applied to serve me as Counsel, and I beg of you to signify to them my acknowledgements for the same. I accept M. de Malesherbes for my Counsel. If M. Tronchet cannot lend me his services, I will consult with M. de Malesherbes about the choice of another.”

On the fourteenth of December, M. Tronchet had a conference with His Majesty, as permitted him by the decree. On the same day, M. de Malesherbes was introduced at the Tower. The King ran to meet this respectable old man, whom he clasped tenderly in his arms; and this former Minister melted into tears at the sight of his master, either that he called to mind the first years of his reign, or rather, because, at this time, he beheld nothing but the virtuous man struggling with misfortune. As the King had permission to

confer with his Counsel in private, I shut the door of his chamber, that he might speak more freely to M. de Malesherbes. A municipal officer took me to task about it, and ordered me to open it, forbidding me to shut it in future: I opened the door again, but His Majesty had then retired to the Turret, which served him for a cabinet.

The King and M. de Malesherbes spoke very loud in this first conference. The Commissaries who were in the chamber listened to, and overheard their conversation. When M. de Malesherbes withdrew, I gave His Majesty an account of the prohibition which had been given me by the municipal officer, and of the attention with which the commissaries had listened to the conference; and I begged of him, when he might be with his Counsel in future, to shut the door of his chamber himself, which he afterwards took care to do.

On the fifteenth the King received the answer relative to his family. The decree was in substance: that the Queen and Madame Elizabeth should have no communication with the King, pending the trial; that his children might come to him, if he desired it, but on condition that they could no more see their mother nor their aunt, until after the last interrogatory.

As soon as it was possible for me to speak to the King in private, I asked him for his orders in reference to the above decree. "You see," said the King to me, "the cruel alternative in which they have now placed me. I cannot determine on having my children with me : as for my daughter that is impossible, and, in regard to my son, I am sensible of all the uneasiness that the Queen would experience from such a resolution. I must, therefore, consent to this new sacrifice." His Majesty ordered me a second time to send away the young Prince's bed, which I did immediately ; but I kept his linen and clothes, and every second day I sent him what was necessary, as agreed upon with Madame Elizabeth.

On the sixteenth, at four o'clock in the afternoon, there came another deputation of four members of the Convention, namely : Valazé, Cochon, Grandpré, and Duprat, they being also members of the Committee of Twenty-one, appointed to conduct (*veiller sur*) the Trial of the King. They were accompanied by a secretary, a tipstaff, and an officer of the Conventional Guard. They brought the King the record of his accusation, and also several other documents rela-

tive to his Trial, the major part of which were found at the Thuilleries, in a private chest of drawers belonging to the apartment of His Majesty, named by the Minister Roland the "Iron Drawers."

The reading of these articles, amounting to a hundred and seven, lasted from four o'clock till midnight. The whole of them were read and signed by the King, besides a copy of each which was left with him. The King was seated at a great table, M. Tronchet at one side of it, and the deputies opposite the King. After the reading of each article, Valazé asked the King, "Have you any knowledge of?" &c. he answered "yes" or "no," without any explanation. Another deputy made him sign them, as also the copies, which a third proposed to read to him as they were successively produced; but with this verification of them His Majesty always dispensed. The fourth deputy called over the articles by bundles and numbers, and the secretary registered them in order, as they were put into the King's hands.

His Majesty interrupted the sitting, to ask the members of the Convention if they would sup, which they consented to do. I had a cold fowl and some fruit served up to them in

the dining-room. M. Tronchet would take nothing, and remained alone with the King in his chamber.

A municipal officer named Merceraut, who was then a stone-mason, and lately held the office of President of the *commune* of Paris, although he was only a chairman at Versailles before the breaking out of the Revolution, was that day, for the first time, on guard at the Temple. He was dressed in his ragged working habit, and had on, a very bad round hat, a leathern apron, and his tricolored scarf. This man affected to stretch himself out at full length on a sofa, near the King, while His Majesty was sitting in a chair; and, with his hat upon his head, he thee'd and thou'd (*tutoyoit*) those who spoke to him: the deputies of the Convention were astonished at it; and while they were at supper, one of them put several questions to me respecting this Merceraut, and as to the manner in which the *commune* treated the King. I was going to reply, when another commissary told this member of the Convention to put a stop to his questions; that it was forbidden to speak to me; and that all the particulars he might wish for would be given to him at the Council-chamber. The deputy, fearing he should expose himself to danger, made no reply.

After the deputies had supped, the interrogatory was resumed. Among the numerous articles that were presented to him, His Majesty perceived the Declaration which he made on his return from Varennes, when Messrs. Tronchet, Barnave, and Duport were named by the Constituent Assembly to receive it. This Declaration was signed by the King, and by the deputies. "You recollect this article to be authentic," said the King to M. Tronchet: "here is your signature."

Some of these bundles contained projects of a Constitution, with marginal notes in the hand-writing of His Majesty: several of these notes were written with ink, others with a pencil. The King was also presented with registries of police, containing denunciations preferred against himself and family, and signed by some of His Majesty's domestics. This ingratitude appeared to affect the King very much. In these documents, the informers, the better to conceal their calumnies with an appearance of truth, pretended to give an account of every thing they had witnessed in the King's and Queen's apartments at the Castle of the Thuilleries.

When the deputation had retired, the King took some refreshment and went to bed, with-

out complaining of the fatigue which he had undergone: he only asked me if the supper of his family had been kept back. On my answering in the negative, "If it had," said he, "I should have feared the delay might have been irksome to them." He even had the goodness to blame me because I had not supped before him.

Some days afterwards, the same four deputies came again to the Temple. They read to the King fifty-one other documents, which he signed and sealed (*fleuroit*) in the same manner as the preceding ones: these made, in the whole, one hundred and fifty-eight articles, of which the copies were left with him.

From the fourteenth to the twenty-sixth of December, the King regularly saw his Counsel: they came at five o'clock in the evening, and retired at nine. M. de Seze was joined to them. Every morning, M. de Malesherbes brought His Majesty the newspapers, and the printed speeches (*opinions*) of the deputies relative to his trial. He prepared the work of every evening, and remained with His Majesty an hour or two. The King frequently deigned to give me some of these speeches to read. On one occasion he said to me,

“What do you think of the language (*opinion*) of such a one?” “I want words to express my indignation,” replied I; “but, Sire, how can you read these declarations (*tout cela*) without horror?” “I see how far their wickedness extends,” said the King, “and I did not think the like was to be found.” His Majesty never went to bed without having read these different articles; and, that he might not commit M. de Malesherbes, he always had the precaution to burn them himself, in the stove of his cabinet.

Having in the mean time found a favorable moment to speak to Turgi, I desired him to convey to Madame Elizabeth some information about the King. Turgi intimated to me the next day, that the Princess, in returning him her napkin after dinner, had slipt a little paper into his hands, written with pinholes, by which she told me to beg of the King to write her a word under his own hand. On the same evening, I imparted to His Majesty the desire of Madame Elizabeth. As, since the commencement of his trial, he was allowed the use of pen and ink, the King wrote to his sister a note unsealed, telling me it contained nothing that might commit me, and desiring me to read it. Respecting this last point, I

entreated His Majesty to dispense, for the first time, with my obedience to him.

The next day, I gave the note to Turgi, who brought me back the answer enclosed in a ball of thread, which he threw under my bed in passing near the door of my chamber. His Majesty saw with a great deal of pleasure that these means of obtaining news of his family had succeeded. I observed to him that it was easy to continue this correspondence.

The King put the notes into my hands : I took care to reduce the size of them, and to cover them with cotton thread : Turgi found them in the drawers where the table plates were kept, and made use of various means to return me the answers. When I gave them to the King, he always said to me with kindness, "Take care ; it is exposing yourself too much."

The wax candles which the commissaries caused to be delivered to me, were in parcels tied with packthread. When I had a pretty good quantity of it, I announced to the King that it only depended on him to give more activity to his correspondence, by sending a part of this packthread to Madame Elizabeth, who was lodged above me, and whose window

answered perpendicularly to that of a little gallery which communicated with my room. I represented that, in the night time, the Princess might tie her letters to this packthread, and let them slide down to the window which was under hers ; that a screen, in form of an open basket, which was placed at each window, precluded any fear that the letters would fall into the garden ; and that the same means might serve the Princess to receive answers. I further observed, that there might also be fastened to the packthread a little paper and ink, of which the Princesses were deprived. " This is a good contrivance," said His Majesty to me : " we will make use of it, if that which we have hitherto made use of should become impracticable." In fact the King had recourse to it in the end. He always waited till eight o'clock in the evening to manage this correspondence : I then shut the door of my chamber and that of the gallery, and, in order to divert the attention of the commissaries from our plan, I held them in conversation, or engaged them at play.

It was about this time that Marchand, a servant-man, and father of a family, who had just received his salary for two months,

amounting to the sum of two hundred livres, was robbed in the Temple : this was a considerable loss to him. The King, who remarked his sadness, on being informed of the cause of it, told me to reimburse Marchand to the amount of his loss, and at the same time, to charge him not to speak of it to any one, and especially, not to thank him ; “for,” added he, “if he does, he will ruin himself.” Marchand was sensible of the pecuniary benefit conferred on him by His Majesty, but still more so of the prohibition of expressing his gratitude to him for it.

Since his separation from the Royal Family, the King constantly refused to go down into the garden : whenever it was proposed to him, he replied, “I cannot bring my mind to go out alone ; the walk was only agreeable to me in so far as I enjoyed it with my family.” But although separated from the objects dear to his heart, although certain of his fate, he suffered neither complaints nor murmurs to escape him : he had already pardoned his oppressors. Every day, in his reading cabinet, he imparted new strength to that fortitude which sustained his spirit. When he quitted this retreat, it was to resume the details of a life always uniform, but constantly embel-

lished by manifold traits of goodness. He deigned to treat me as if I had been more than his servant. He treated the municipal officers on guard about his person, as if he had had no cause to complain of them, and conversed with them with as much affability as he did formerly with his subjects. He used to discourse with them about matters relative to their condition—of their family and children, and of the advantages and duties of their profession. Those who heard him were astonished at the justness of his remarks, the extent and diversity of his knowledge, and the manner in which it was arranged in his memory. His conversation had not for its aim to divert his mind from the consideration of the injuries which he had to sustain; no! his sensibility was lively and deep, but his resignation was still superior to his misfortunes.

On Wednesday, the nineteenth of December, the King's breakfast was brought as usual: not calling to mind the ember weeks, I presented it to him: "This is a fast-day," said this Prince to me. I took back the breakfast into the hall. "According to the example of your master, you will, no doubt, fast also," said a municipal officer (Dorat de

Cubieres) to me in a tone of raillery. "No, Sir, I have need of breakfast to day," replied I. Some days afterwards, His Majesty handed to me a newspaper that M. de Malesherbes had brought him, wherein this anecdote was entirely misrepresented. "Read," said the King to me: "you will see that you are there treated as an intolerant person (*un malicieux*;) they would, no doubt, be much better pleased to have it in their power to treat you as a hypocrite."

On the same day, the nineteenth, the King said to me at his dinner, in the presence of three or four municipal officers, "Fourteen years ago, you was an earlier riser than now." I immediately comprehended His Majesty. "It was the day in which my daughter was born," continued the King. "This, her birthday;" he repeated with tenderness, "and to be deprived of seeing her!" Some tears rolled from his eyes, and, for some time, there reigned a respectful silence.

Madame Royale wishing to have an almanack styled "The Little Court Calendar," the King ordered me to buy it; and, at the same time, to procure for him the almanack of the Republic which had been substituted for the Royal Almanack: he often looked it over, and noted the names in it with a pencil.

The King was soon to appear for the second time at the bar of the Convention. He had not been able to shave since his razors had been taken from him, and he suffered a good deal from it; so that he was obliged to wash his face several times in the day with fresh water. The King told me to procure him a pair of scissors or a razor, but that he would not speak to the municipal officers himself. I took the liberty to observe to him, that if he should appear thus disfigured at the Assembly, the people would at least see with what rigour the Council general acted towards him. "I ought not," replied His Majesty, "to endeavour to excite the public sympathy in my fate." I addressed myself to the commissaries on the subject, and the *commune* determined the next day that the King's razors should be restored to him, but that he should only make use of them in the presence of two municipal officers.

On the three days preceding Christmas, the King was more occupied in writing than usual, as they then had it in contemplation, to keep him a few days at the Feuillans while they were deliberating on his fate. Orders were even given me to prepare to follow him, and to get ready such things as might be ne-

cessary for him in that situation ; but this plan was afterwards abandoned.

On Christmas day His Majesty wrote his Will: I read and copied it at the time he was taken to the Council of the Temple: it was entirely written (and it contained some ob-
literations) in the King's own hand. I think it behoves me in this place, to declare my attestation of this monument, already celestial, of his innocence and piety.

WILL OF LOUIS XVI.

“ In the name of the most Holy Trinity ; of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. This day, the twenty-fifth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, I, Louis XVI. by name, King of France, having for more than four months been shut up with my family in the Tower of the Temple, at Paris, by those who were my subjects, and, since the eleventh instant, deprived of all communication whatever, even with my family ; moreover, engaged in a trial, of which it is impossible to foresee the issue by reason of the passions of men, and for which there is not any pretext or authority in any existing law ; having only God as witness of my thoughts, and to whom I can address

myself; I here declare, in his presence, my last will and sentiments.”

“I leave my soul to God my Creator: I pray to him to receive it, in his mercy; not to judge it after its merits, but by those of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has offered himself as a sacrifice to God his Father for us men, however unworthy we might be of it, as I am, and more so than any other (*et moi le premier.*)”

“I die in the union of our Holy Mother—the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church; which holds its powers by an uninterrupted succession from Saint Peter, to whom Jesus Christ confided them.”

“I firmly believe and confess all that is contained in the Creed, in the Commandments of God, and of the Church, and in the Sacraments and Mysteries, such as the Catholic Church teaches, and has always taught. I have never pretended to render myself a judge in the different ways of explaining the dogmas which rend the church of Jesus Christ, but I have agreed, and shall always agree, if God grant me life, to the decisions which the Superior Ecclesiastics, united to the Holy Catholic Church, give, and shall give, conformably to the discipline of the church that

has been pursued ever since the time of Jesus Christ.”

“I pity with all my heart our brothers who may be in error, but I pretend not to judge them; and I love them all no less in Jesus Christ, according to the precepts which christianity teaches us. I pray God to pardon me all my sins: I have scrupulously sought to know them, to detest them, and to humble myself in his presence. Not having it in my power to avail myself of the ministry of a Catholic Priest, I pray God to receive the confession that I have made of them to him; and especially the deep repentance that I feel, in having put my name (although it was against my will) to acts which might be contrary to the discipline and belief of the Catholic Church, to which I have always remained sincerely united in heart. I pray God to receive the firm resolution which I have taken, if he should grant me life, to make use, as soon as I have it in my power, of the ministry of a Catholic Priest to accuse me of all my sins, and to receive the sacrament of penitence.”

“I beg of all those whom I may have offended, through inadvertence, (for I do not recollect having knowingly given offence to any one,) or those to whom I may have set

bad examples or given scandal, to pardon me the evil which they think I may have done them. I beg of all those who have charity, to unite their prayers to mine, to obtain from God the pardon of my sins.”

“I pardon with all my heart those who have been my enemies without my having given them any cause for it; and I pray God to pardon them, as also those who by a false zeal, or a zeal indiscreetly managed (*mal connu*) have done me much harm.”

“I commend to God my wife and children, my sister, aunts, and brothers, and all those who are attached to me by the ties of blood or otherwise. I particularly pray God to cast his eyes of mercy upon my wife, my children, and my sister, who have for a long time been sharing in my sufferings, and to sustain them by his grace in the event of losing me, so long as they shall remain in this perishable world.”

“I commit my children to my wife: I have never doubted of her maternal tenderness for them. I recommend to her especially to make them good Christians and honest people, to teach them to regard the grandeurs of this world (if they are condemned to experience them) only as dangerous and perishable advantages, and to direct their views towards

the only solid and desirable glory—that of eternity. I beg of my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and to be as a mother to them should they have the misfortune to lose their own.”

“I recommend to my son, if he should have the misfortune to become King, to consider that he is bound to devote himself (*qu’ il se doit*) entirely to the happiness of his citizens; that he ought to forget all hatred—all resentment, especially that which has reference to the misfortunes and vexations which I experience; that he cannot promote the happiness of the people except by reigning according to the laws; but at the same time, that a King cannot cause the laws to be respected, and do the good he is desirous of, except in so far as he may possess the authority that is necessary to enforce obedience; and that, if he is divested of this support, by being restrained in his operations, and not having the means of inspiring respect, he becomes more hurtful than useful.”

“I recommend to my son to take care of all the persons who have been attached to me, as much as the circumstances in which he may be placed will furnish him with the ability so to do; and to consider that it is a

sacred debt which I have contracted to the children or relatives of those who have perished for me, and next to these, to the children and relatives of such as may have been unfortunate on my account."

"I am aware that there are several persons among those who were formerly attached to me, who have not of late conducted themselves towards me as they ought, and who have even shewn ingratitude ; but I pardon them, (for in times of trouble and commotion (*effervescence*) we are not masters of ourselves,) and I beg of my son, if he should have the means of benefiting them, to regard only their misfortunes."

"I wish it were in my power, in this place, adequately to express my gratitude to those who have shewn me a true and disinterested attachment. If, on the one hand, I have been sensibly hurt at the ingratitude and disloyalty of some persons to whom I have never done any thing but kindnesses, either in their own persons, or in those of their relatives and friends ; on the other, I have derived consolation in seeing the attachment and gratuitous concern which many others have extended towards me : for these unequivocal marks of regard I beg of them to accept my best thanks.

In the situation in which things still remain, I should be afraid of exposing them to danger were I to speak more explicitly; but I especially recommend to my son to seek opportunities of acknowledging them."

"I think I should calumniate the sentiments of the nation however, if I were not openly to recommend to my son Messrs. de Chamilly and Huë, whose real attachment had induced them to shut themselves up with me in this sad abode, and who had like to have become the unfortunate victims of their fidelity. I also recommend to him Cléry, with whose attentions I have every reason to be satisfied: as he has remained with me throughout my disconsolate durance, (*jus qu' au fin,*) I beg of the gentlemen of the *commune* to deliver to him my clothes, books, watch, and other little effects that have been deposited at the Council of the *commune*."

"I freely (*tres volontierement*) pardon in those who guard me, the bad treatment and constraint which they have considered it incumbent on them to impose upon me. I have found some feeling and compassionate souls: may they enjoy in their hearts the tranquillity which their way of thinking must necessarily inspire."

“ I beg of Messrs. de Malesherbes, Tronchet, and de Seze, to accept here my sincere thanks and the expression of my sensibility, for all the cares and troubles which they have given themselves for me.”

“ I conclude in declaring before God, in whose presence I am shortly to appear, that I do not reproach myself with any of the crimes which are laid to my charge.”

“ Done in duplicate, at the Tower of the Temple, the twenty-fifth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety two.”

(Signed) “ LOUIS.”

On the twenty-sixth of December, the King was conducted for the second time to the bar of the Assembly: I had previously informed the Queen of some particulars relating to this procedure, that the noise of the drums and the movements of the troops might not frighten her. His Majesty set off at ten o'clock in the morning, and returned at five in the evening, having been the whole time under the *surveillance* of Chambon and Santerre. Messrs. de Malesherbes, de Seze, and Tronchet, came the same evening, just as the King was retiring from table. He invited them to take some refreshment: M. de Seze was the only

one who took any: His Majesty expressed his thankfulness to him for the discourse which he had delivered in his defence. These gentlemen afterwards went into his cabinet.

The next day His Majesty deigned to put into my hands his printed defence, after having asked the municipal officers if he might give it me without fear of any ill consequence. The commissary Vincent, a ship-builder, who has rendered all the services to the Royal Family that lay in his way, took upon himself to carry a copy of it secretly to the Queen: he took advantage of the moment when the King thanked him for this little service, to ask him for something to keep in remembrance of him: His Majesty immediately untied his cravat, and made the commissary a present of it. At another time, he gave his gloves to another municipal officer, who wished to have them from a similar motive: even in the eyes of many of his guardians, his spoils were, as relics, already held sacred.

On the first of January, I approached the King's bed, and, in a low voice, asked his permission to present him my most ardent wishes for the termination of his misfortunes. "I accept your wishes," said he affectionately, while he reached out one of his hands

to me, which I kissed and bedewed with tears. As soon as he was risen, he begged of a municipal officer to go to his family and make some enquiries after their health, and to present them from him with his best wishes on the occasion of the new year. The municipal officers were moved at the tone with which his words, so heart-rending in regard to the situation of the King, were pronounced. "Why," said one of them to me after the King had returned to his chamber, "does he not ask to see his family? Now the interrogatories are at an end, such a request would not meet with any objection: he must address himself to the Convention." The municipal officer who had gone to the Queen's apartment returned, and announced to His Majesty, that his family thanked him for his good wishes, and addressed theirs to him. "What a new-year's-day!" said the King.

On the same evening, I took the liberty of observing to him, that I was almost certain of the consent of the Convention, if His Majesty should request permission to see his family. "In a few days," said the King, "they will not refuse me that consolation: we must wait."

The nearer the moment of the sentence ap-

proached, if that name may be given to the procedure to which the King was subjected, the more my fears and anguish augmented : I put a thousand questions to the municipal officers, and all that I learnt of them increased my terrors. My wife came to see me every week, and gave me an exact account of what was going on in Paris. The public opinion always appeared favorable to the King: it even manifested itself tumultuously at the Théâtre François, and at that of Vaudeville. At the former was represented "The Friend of the Laws:" all the allusions to the Trial of His Majesty which appeared to operate in his behalf, were seized and applauded with transport. At the Vaudeville theatre, one of the dramatis personæ in the "*Chaste Susanna*," said to the two old men, "How can you be both accusers and judges?" This passage, at the instance of the audience, was several times repeated. I put into the King's hands a copy of "The Friend of the Laws." I often told him, and I was almost brought to believe it myself, that the members of the Convention, who were divided among themselves, would only pronounce the sentence of imprisonment or of deportation. "May they," replied His Majesty, "have that moderation,

on account of my family ; I have no fears but for them."

Some persons gave me to understand by my wife, that a considerable sum of money had been deposited at the house of M. Pariseau, editor of the "*Feuille de Tour*," and was at the disposal of the King ; and they informed me, that it should, if His Majesty desired it, be handed over to M. de Malesherbes, and requested me to ask the King for his orders in regard to this matter. When I related the circumstance to His Majesty, "Thank these persons on my part," replied he, "but I cannot accept their generous offer : it would expose them to danger." I begged of him, at least to speak to M. de Malesherbes on the subject, which he promised to do.

In the mean time, the correspondence of Their Majesties continued. The King, having been informed that *Madame Royale* was sick, suffered great uneasiness for some days. The Queen, after many solicitations, succeeded in obtaining an order for M. Brunier, Physician to the Royal children, to be sent to the Temple : this information appeared to tranquillize him.

On Tuesday the fifteenth of January, the eve of the day on which the sentence of the

King was passed, his Counsel came to the Temple according to custom, and Messrs. de Seze and Tronchet intimated to His Majesty, that they should be absent on the morrow.

On the morning of Wednesday the sixteenth, M. de Malesherbes remained some time with the King, and told His Majesty on going out, that he would come to give him an account of the votes, as soon as he should know the result of them; but the sitting being prolonged to a very late hour in the night, it was not till the morning of the seventeenth that the decree was pronounced.

On the same day, the sixteenth, at six o'clock in the evening, four municipal officers entered the King's chamber, and read to him an order of the *commune*, importing in substance, "That he should be kept in sight (*gardé a vue*) night and day by the said four municipal officers, and that two of them should pass the night by the side of his bed." The King asked these municipal officers, whether his sentence was pronounced. One of them (*du Roure*) began by seating himself on the sofa, while His Majesty remained standing: he afterwards replied, that he did not trouble himself about what was going on at the Convention; that he had heard, however, that

they were still proceeding with the votes. Shortly after, M. de Malesherbes came in, and announced to the King, that the voting was not yet terminated.

At this moment, one of the chimnies of the Palace of the Temple in which the wood-porter lodged, caught fire. A pretty considerable concourse of people entered the courtyard. A municipal officer came quite in a fright to tell M. de Malesherbes to retire immediately. M. de Malesherbes went out, after having promised the King that he would return and inform him of his sentence. I asked this commissary what was the cause of his fright. "The Temple has been set fire to," said he. "It has been done on purpose to save Capet in the tumult; but I have now caused the walls to be surrounded by a strong guard." It was soon learnt that the fire was out, and that it happened by mere accident.

On Thursday the seventeenth of January, M. de Malesherbes came in about nine o'clock in the morning: I ushered him in. "All is lost," said he to me; "the King is condemned." The King, who saw him arrive, rose up to receive him. The Minister fell at his feet; he was stifled with his sobs, and for some time was unable to speak. The King

raised him up, and clasped him affectionately to his breast. When M. de Malesherbes informed him of the decree which condemned him to death, the King did not act in any way indicative of surprize or emotion, as regarded his own fate : he only appeared to be affected by the grief of this respectable old man, and even sought to console him.

M. de Malesherbes gave an account to His Majesty of the result of the voting. Informers, relations, personal enemies, laymen, ecclesiastics, absent deputies—all had voted ; yet, notwithstanding this violation of all usages, those who pronounced death, some as a measure of expedience, others as the punishment of pretended guilt, only obtained a majority* of five voices : many of the deputies had only voted for death, coupled with a condition of delay. A second vote upon this question had been ordered ; and it was to be presumed, that the votes of those who wished to retard the execution of the Regicide, joined to those

* It was the terrorist faction headed by Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, which obtained the name of the *mountain*, from the seats which they occupied in the Convention, who called for the trial and execution of the King ; the Girondists, or moderate party, had gradually lost the ascendancy. (*Trans.*)

suffrages which were not for capital punishment, would form the majority ; but, assassins devoted to the Duke of Orleans and the deputation of Paris, were placed at the gates of the Assembly, who terrified with their cries, and threatened with their poinards, any one who should refuse to become their accomplices ; and either from stupor or indifference, the Capital dared not, or would not undertake any thing to save their King.

M. de Malesherbes was about to go away, when the King obtained permission to converse with him in private : he took him into his cabinet, shut the door, and remained about an hour alone with him. After this conference, His Majesty conducted him back as far as the entrance-door, and again requested him to come to him betimes in the evening, and not to abandon him in his last hours. "The grief of this good old man has affected me exceedingly," said the King to me as I attended him back to his chamber.

On the arrival of M. de Malesherbes from the Convention I was seized with a trembling of my whole body, and this agitation had not subsided, when, in the course of my duty, it was necessary for me to prepare the King's shaving apparatus. He put on the soap him-

self, whilst I, standing before him, held the bason. I had not as yet dared to cast my eyes upon my unfortunate master: I looked at him by chance, and my tears flowed in spite of me. I do not know whether the way in which I was affected recalled to the mind of the King his situation, but a sudden paleness overspread his countenance: his nose and ears whitened all at once. At this sight my knees gave way under me. The King, who perceived that I was fainting, took me by both hands, clasped them strongly, and said to me in a low voice, "Come, come! You must have more courage." He was observed:—a mute language described to him all my affliction:—he appeared to be sensible of my attachment, his countenance became reanimated, and he shaved himself quietly. Afterwards I assisted him in putting on his clothes.

His Majesty remained in his chamber till his dinner-hour, occupied in reading or walking. In the evening, I followed him into his cabinet, under the pretext that he might have need of my assistance. "You have heard," said the King to me, "the account of my sentence." "Ah! Sire," said I to him, "hope for a delay: M. de Malesherbes does not think it will be rejected." "I do not entertain any

hope of that," replied the King, "but I am very much grieved that the Duke of Orleans,* my relation, has voted for my death.—Read that list." So saying, he handed me a list of the votes which he was then holding in his hand. "The public," said I to him, "murmur loudly.—Dumourier is in Paris; and it is reported, that he is charged with an address from his army to stay the proceedings which have been instituted against Your Majesty.—The people are shocked at the infamous conduct of the Duke of Orleans. There is also a report in circulation, that the Ministers of foreign Powers purpose going to the Assembly in a body, there to remonstrate in your behalf; and it is confidently stated, that the members of the Convention, to complete their embarrassment, are in fear of a popular commotion." "I should be very sorry that such a thing should take place," replied the King; "there would then be more proscriptions and bloodshed. I do not fear death," added this Prince, "but I cannot, without shuddering, look at the cruel lot which I am

* The King's third brother, known at this period as *Monsieur Egalité*, who, notwithstanding his democratical principles, soon afterwards himself became a victim of revolutionary fury.

going to leave behind me to my family—to the Queen and our unfortunate children! And those faithful servants who have not abandoned me—those old men who have no other means of subsistence than the slender pensions which I gave them; who will support them! I behold the people, delivered up to anarchy, become the victims of every faction:—crimes succeed each other—long dissensions, tearing France to pieces.” Then, after a moments silence, he exclaimed, “Oh! my God! is this the recompense that I have deserved for all my sacrifices! have I not tried every means of insuring the happiness of the French people.” As he uttered these words he clasped my hands: penetrated with a holy respect, I bathed his with my tears. I was obliged to quit him in this state. The King in vain awaited the arrival of M. de Malesherbes. In the evening, he asked me, if he had been at the Temple: I had put the same question to the commissaries, but they had all answered me in the negative.

On Friday the eighteenth, the King did not hear any thing of M. de Malesherbes, which made him very uneasy. Having met with an old French Mercury, he found a riddle, which he gave me to make out: I

in vain sought for the word. "What! do you not perceive its meaning," said he: "it is very applicable to me at this time; the word is *Sacrifice*." The King ordered me to look in the library for the volume in the History of England which contains the account of the death of Charles I.: this he afterwards continued to consult from time to time. On this occasion I learnt, that His Majesty had read two hundred and fifty volumes since he had been in the Temple. In the evening, I took the liberty of observing to him, that he could not be debarred from intercourse with his Counsel, unless by a decree of the Convention; and that he ought to demand their admission into the Tower. "Let us wait till to-morrow," said the King.

On Saturday the nineteenth, at nine o'clock in the morning, a municipal officer, named Gobeau, entered with a paper in his hand: he was accompanied by the keeper of the Tower, named Mathey, who brought an inkstand. The municipal officer told the King, that he had an order to take an inventory of his furniture and other effects: His Majesty left me with him and returned into his Turret. Then, under pretence of taking an inventory, the municipal officer began to turn over every

thing with the most minute caution, in order to ascertain, as he said, that no weapon nor cutting instrument was concealed in His Majesty's chamber. He proceeded to rummage a very small bureau, in which were some papers: the King was obliged to open all the drawers, and to displace and open every paper, one after the other. There were three small parcels at the bottom of a drawer: the municipal officer wished to examine the contents.—“It is,” said the King, “money, but it is not mine; it belongs to M. de Malesherbes: I have packed it up ready to return to him.” The three parcels contained three thousand livres in gold; upon each bundle the King had written with his own hand, “To Monsieur de Malesherbes.”

While this search was making in the Turret, His Majesty returned to his chamber, and wished to warm himself. The keeper Mathey was at this time before the fire, holding up his coat and turning his back to it. Finding he could obtain but little warmth, and that with difficulty from one side of the fire-place, and the insolent keeper continuing in the same place, the King told him with some quickness, to move a little. On this notice, Mathey thought proper to retire: the municipal offi-

cers went out also, after having finished their search.

In the evening, the King desired the commissaries to enquire of the *commune*, why it was that the persons who composed his Counsel should not be admitted into the Tower; observing that he wished, at least, to communicate with M. de Malesherbes: they promised to make known his wishes, but one of them acknowledged, that they were forbidden to lay before the General Council any demand of Louis XVI., unless it was written and signed with his own hand. "Why," replied the King, "have I been left for two days in ignorance of this change!" He then wrote a note and put it into the hands of the municipal officers, but it was not taken to the *commune* till next morning. The King demanded permission to see the gentlemen of his Counsel freely, and complained of the order which directed him to be kept in sight both night and day.—"It ought to be considered," he wrote to the *commune*, "that, in the situation in which I am placed, it is very painful to me, not to be allowed to have the seclusion and tranquillity which is necessary to collect my thoughts."

On Sunday the twentieth of January, the

King, as soon as he rose in the morning, enquired of the municipal officers, if they had made known his request to the Council of the *commune*: they assured him, that it had been sent in without loss of time. About ten o'clock, I went into the King's chamber, who immediately said to me, "I do not see that M. de Malesherbes is coming."—"Sire," said I, "I have just learnt, that he has presented himself several times, but his admission to the Tower has been constantly refused." "I shall soon know the grounds of this refusal," replied the King; "the *commune* has without doubt decided on my letter." His Majesty then walked to and fro in his chamber; he read; he wrote;—thus spending the whole of the morning.

The clock had just struck two: suddenly the door opened:—it was the Executive Council. Twelve or fifteen persons presented themselves at once, among whom were the following officers:—Garat, Minister of Justice, Le Brun, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Grouvelle, Secretary of the Council, the President and the *Procureur General Syndic* of the Department, the Mayor and the *Procureur de Ville*, the President of the Criminal Tribunal, and the Public Accuser. Santerre, who preceded the

others, said to me, "Announce the Executive Council." The King, on hearing a good deal of stirring, had risin up and advanced a few steps ; but at the sight of this train, he stood still between the door of his chamber and that of the anti-chamber, in an attitude the most noble and imposing imaginable. I was near him. Garat, with his hat upon his head, addressed him in these words :—"Louis, the National Convention has charged the provisional Executive Council, to signify to you its Decrees of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th, and 20th of January : the Secretary of the Council will read them to you." Then Grouvelle, the Secretary, unfolded the Decree, and read it in a weak and tremulous voice.

Decrees of the National Convention of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th, and 20th of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

ARTICLE FIRST.

The National Convention declares Louis Capet, the last King of the French, Guilty of Conspiring against the liberty of the Nation, and of a Criminal Attempt against the General Safety of the State.

ARTICLE SECOND.

The National Convention decrees, that Louis Capet shall suffer the punishment of Death.

ARTICLE THIRD.

The National Convention declares, that no argument of Louis Capet, advanced at their bar by persons composing his Counsel, is entitled to be received as an Appeal to the Nation against the Sentence which has been passed upon him by the Convention; and forbids all persons whomsoever from giving publicity to them, on pain of being prosecuted and punished as guilty of a criminal attempt against the general safety of the Republic.

ARTICLE FOURTH.

The provisional Executive Council will notify to Louis Capet the present Décreé in the day-time; and will take the measures of police and safety necessary to insure the execution thereof within twenty-four hours, reckoning from such notification; and will render in an account of its proceedings to the National Convention as soon as it is executed.

During the reading of this instrument, there was no perceptible alteration in the King's countenance; except, that, at the first article, when the word "conspiring" was pronounced, I remarked a smile of indignation to glance upon his lips, and, at the words "shall suffer the punishment of Death," a heavenly look which he cast upon all those who surrounded him, announced to them that death was without terror to innocence. The King advanced towards Grouvelle, Secretary of the Council, took the Decree out of his hand, folded it up, and put it in his pocket-book; then, taking a paper out of his pocket-book, he said to the Minister Garat:—"Sir, Minister of Justice, I beg of you to give this letter to the National Convention immediately: the Minister appearing to hesitate, the King added, "I will read it to you;" and he read without any visible emotion as follows:—

"I request a delay of three days, to enable me to prepare myself to appear before God. I ask, for that purpose, to be permitted to see freely the person whom I shall point out to the commissaries of the *commune*; and that this person be secure from all fear and inquietude on account of this act of charity which he shall perform towards me."

“ I request to be relieved from the perpetual *surveillance* which the General Council has established for some days.”

“ I request to be permitted, during this interval, to see my family at such times as I shall require it, and without witness : I should much desire, that the National Convention would forthwith take into consideration the state of my family, and permit them to retire freely wherever they may think proper.”

“ I recommend to the beneficence of the nation all those persons who were attached to me : many of them have embarked all their fortune in their places, and, having no longer any appointments, must now be in want ; and besides these, there are several old men, women and children, who had nothing but their pensions to subsist on.”

“ Done at the Tower of the Temple, the twentieth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.”

(Signed) “ LOUIS.”

Garat took the King's letter, assuring him that he would present it to the Convention. As he was going out, His Majesty took out his pocket-book, and said, “ Sir, if the Convention should grant my request as to the

person whom I wish to see, here is his address:" he then put the card into the hands of a municipal officer. This address, which was not in the hand-writing of the King, signified, "M. Edgeworth de Firmout, No. 483, Bacq. Street." The King drew back a few steps, and the Minister and those who accompanied him retired.

His Majesty walked to and fro for a short time in his chamber. I remained standing against the door, with my arms across, and as if deprived of all sense: while I was in this situation, the King came near to me, saying, "Cléry, ask for my dinner." Shortly afterwards, two municipal officers called me into the dining-room: they read to me an order, which imported in substance, "That Louis should not make use of any knife or fork at his meals; that a knife should be confided to his valet de chambre to cut his bread and meat for him, in presence of two commissaries; and that, afterwards, the knife should be withdrawn." The two municipal officers charged me to acquaint the King with this order, but I refused to do so.

On entering the dining-room, the King saw the basket containing the Queen's dinner: he asked why his family had been made to wait

an hour past the time, observing that the delay might be unpleasant to them. He sat down to table. "I have no knife," said he to me. The municipal officer Minier then apprised His Majesty of the order of the *commune*. "Do they think me so cowardly," said the King, "as that I should attempt my life? Crimes are imputed to me, but I am innocent of them, and shall die without fear. I wish my death may promote the happiness of the French, and avert the misfortunes which I foresee." After the King had uttered these words there reigned a great silence. The King ate but little: he cut some beef with his spoon, and broke his bread: his dinner only lasted a few minutes.

I was in my chamber given up to the most dreadful grief, when, about six o'clock in the evening, Garat came again to the Tower. I went to the King to announce to him the return of the Minister of Justice. Santerre, who preceded him, approached His Majesty, and said to him in a low voice and with a laughing air, "Here is the Executive Council." The Minister, having advanced, said to the King, that he had taken his letter to the Convention, and that they had charged him to notify to him the following answer:—"That

it was free to Louis to call in such Minister of worship as he might judge proper, and to see his family without restraint or witness; that the Nation, ever great and just, would take into consideration the fate of his family; that just indemnities would be granted to the creditors of his house; and that the National Convention had passed to the order of the day respecting the delay of three days."

The King heard this answer read without making any observation: after he had returned to his chamber, he said to me, "I thought, by the air of Santerre, that he was going to announce to me that the delay was granted." A young municipal officer, named Botson, seeing the King speak to me, drew near. "You have appeared to be sensible of what has happened to me," said the King to him; "accept my thanks for it." The commissary was surprized at this remark, and did not know what to answer; and I was myself astonished at the expressions of His Majesty; for it was only the day before, that this same municipal officer, who was scarcely twenty-two years of age, and was of a mild and interesting appearance, had said, "I have applied to come to the Temple, to see the grimace that he (meaning the King) will

make to-morrow." "And so have I," replied Merceraut, the stone-cutter of whom I have already spoken. "Every body refused to come, but I would not give this day for a good deal." Such were the vile and ferocious men which the *commune* chose to appoint to guard the King in his last moments.

At this time, the King had not seen any of his Counsel for four days.—Those of the commissaries who felt for his misfortunes avoided coming near him.—Of so many subjects of whom he had been the father—of so many Frenchmen whom he had loaded with benefits, there remained to him, now, but one single servant to whom he might confide his troubles.

After the reading of the answer of the Convention, the commissaries took the Minister of Justice aside, and asked him in what manner the King was to be allowed to see his family. "In private," replied Garat: "it is the intention of the Convention." The municipal officers then communicated to him the order of the *commune*, which enjoined them not to lose sight of the King, day or night. It was therefore agreed between the commissaries and the Minister, that, in order to reconcile these two decisions, which were opposed to each other, the King should receive

his family in the dining-room, so as to be seen through the glass of the partition, but that the door should be shut, to prevent his being heard.

The King called the Minister of Justice back, to ask him if he had sent to M. de Firmont: Garat replied, that he had brought him in his carriage, and that he was at the Council and was going to come up. His Majesty put into the hands of a municipal officer, named Baudrais, who was conversing with the Minister, the three thousand livres in gold already spoken of, requesting him to give it to M. de Malesherbes, to whom it belonged: the municipal officer promised to do so; but he took it immediately to the Council, and this sum was never given to M. de Malesherbes. After this, M. de Firmont came in, and the King took him into the Turret and shut himself up with him. Garat having gone away, there only remained three municipal officers in His Majesty's apartment.

At eight o'clock, the King came out of his cabinet and told the commissaries to conduct him to his family. The municipal officers replied that that could not be done, but that they should be brought down if he desired it. "Very well," said the King; "but, at least, I

may see them alone in my chamber." "No," said one of them; "we have arranged it with the Minister of Justice, that your interviews shall be in the dining-room." "You have heard," replied His Majesty, "that the Decree of the Convention permits me to see them without witness." "True," said the municipal officers; "and so you will be in private:—the door will be shut, but, through the glass, we shall have our eyes upon you." "Let my family come down," said the King.

In the mean time, His Majesty went into the dining-room, and I followed him: I set the table sideways and placed chairs at the bottom so as to give more room. "You should bring," said the King to me, "a little water and a glass." There was a jug of water in the room, but in an icy state: I only brought one glass, and placed it near the jug. "Bring some water that is not icy," said the King; "for if the Queen should drink of that, it may make her ill. You will tell M. de Firmont," added His Majesty, "not to leave my cabinet: I fear that the sight of him would occasion too much affliction to my family." The commissary who went to fetch them, was absent a quarter of an hour: during this interval, the King returned to his cabinet, but

came from time to time to the door, with marks of the most eager emotion.

At half past eight, the door opened :—the Queen* appeared first, holding by the hand her son; afterwards Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth. They all threw themselves into the arms of the King.†—A mournful silence of some minutes ensued, interrupted only by sobs. The Queen was going to lead His Majesty towards his chamber :—“ No,” said the King, “ let us go into this room; it is only here that I can see you.” They went into the dining-room, and I shut the door, which was glazed. The King sat down, having the Queen on his left hand, Madame Elizabeth on his right, Madame Royale almost fronting him, and the young Prince standing up between his legs: they all were leaning towards him and often held him embraced.

* Marie Antoinette Josephe Jeanne of Lorraine, Queen of France, daughter of Francis and Marie Theresa, and Sister of Leopold II., Emperor of Austria, had two children who did not live to witness the captivity of their august parents: namely, Louis the first Dauphin, who died in 1789, and Madame Sophie, who died in her infancy in 1798. (*Trans.*)

† Louis XVI. married in 1770, and, on the death of his grandfather, Louis XV., 10th of May, 1774, ascended the throne. (*Trans.*)

This scene of affliction lasted an hour and three quarters, during which it was impossible to over-hear any of the conversation ; but it was observed, that after every sentence which the King uttered, the sobs of the Princesses redoubled, and lasted for some minutes ; and that, after they had in some degree subsided, the King began to speak again. It was easy to judge from their emotion, that himself was the first to apprise them of his own condemnation.

At a quarter past ten o'clock, the King rose up, and all his family did the same. I opened the door. Their Majesties gave each a hand to the Dauphin : Madame Royale was on the left, having her arms extended round the King's waist : Madame Elizabeth was on the same side, but a little behind, and had seized the left arm of her august brother.* In this guise the Royal Family advanced towards the entrance-door, uttering the most distressful groans. "I do assure you," said the King to them, "I will see you to-morrow morning at eight o'clock." "You promise that you

* The King was, at this time, about thirty-nine, the Queen thirty-seven, the Dauphin eleven, Madame Royale fourteen, and Madame Elizabeth twenty-nine years of age.
(*Trans.*)

will," repeated they all together.—“Yes, I promise.”—“Why not at seven,” said the Queen.—“Well! yes: at seven. Adieu.” He pronounced this *adieu* in a manner so expressive that the sighs were redoubled. Madame Royale fell in a swoon at the feet of the King, which she held embraced: I raised her up, and assisted Madame Elizabeth in supporting her. The King, wishing to put an end to this heart-rending scene, embraced them tenderly, and assumed sufficient resolution to tear himself from their arms. “Adieu.—Adieu,” said he, and returned into his chamber.

The Princesses went up again to their apartments: I wished to continue to support Madame Royale; but the municipal officers prevented me, and compelled me to return. Although the two doors were shut, the cries and groans of the Princesses on the staircase were still heard. After this trying interview, the King rejoined his confessor in the cabinet of the Turret.

Half an hour afterwards, he came out of his cabinet, and I served up supper: the King ate but little though with an appetite.

After supper, the King went again into his cabinet, and his confessor came out of it pre-

sently afterwards, and asked the commissaries to conduct him to the Council-chamber, as he had to apply to that body for vestments and all that was necessary for the solemnity of the Mass the next morning. It was not without difficulty that M. de Firmont obtained the grant of this request. They sent to the church of the Capuchins of the Marsh, which had been erected into a parish and was situated near the *Hotel de Soubise*, to procure the things that were required for the performance of divine worship on the ensuing day. Having returned from the Council-chamber, M. de Firmont came again into the King's apartment: they both retired into the Turret, and remained there until half an hour past midnight. I then undressed the King; and, as I was going to curl his hair, he said to me "It is not worth while:" and, when he was in bed, as I was drawing his curtains, he said, "Cléry, you will awaken me at five o'clock."

Scarcely was he lain down, when a profound sleep took possession of his senses; and he slept till five o'clock without waking. M. de Firmont, whom His Majesty had invited to take a little rest, threw himself on my bed; and I passed the night in a chair in the King's chamber, praying God to preserve his fortitude and courage.



I heard five o'clock strike, and I lit the fire : at the noise that I made the King awoke, and said to me as he drew his curtains, " Has it struck five o'clock ?" " Sire, it has by many clocks, but not by ours." The fire being kindled, I drew near his bed. " I have slept well," said this Prince to me : " I had need of it; the interview of yesterday fatigued me. Where is M. de Firmont ?"—" On my bed." " And where have you passed the night ?"—" In this chair." " I am sorry for that," said the King. " Ah, Sire," replied I, " can I think of myself at this time ?" He gave me one of his hands and clasped mine affectionately.

I then assisted the King to put on his clothes, and dressed his hair. While at his toilet, he took from his watch a seal, put it into his waistcoat-pocket, and placed his watch upon the chimney; then, drawing from his finger a ring, which he looked at several times, he put it into the same pocket with the seal. After this, he changed his shirt, put on a white waistcoat, the same that he had on the preceding evening, and I helped him on with his coat. He then took from his pockets, his pocket-book, opera-glass, snuff-box, and some other things; and he also placed his purse

upon the chimney : all this was done in silence and in the presence of several municipal officers. Having completed his dress, the King told me to acquaint M. de Firmont that he was ready to see him : he was already up, and followed His Majesty into his cabinet.

While the King was engaged with his Confessor, I placed a chest of drawers in the middle of the chamber, and I dressed it out as an altar for the Mass. Every thing that was required for the solemnity had been brought to the Tower at two o'clock in the morning. I took the priest's vestments into my chamber, and when all was ready, I went to inform the King. He asked me if I could say the responses in the Mass ; and, on my answering in the affirmative, but that I did not know them by heart, the King opened a book that he was holding in his hand ; and, having found the office of the Mass, gave it to me, and took another book for himself. In the mean time the priest habited himself. I had placed a sofa before the altar, and put a large cushion on the ground for His Majesty : the King bade me take away the cushion, and went himself into his cabinet to get another that was smaller and stuffed with horse-hair, which he usually made use of at his prayers.

As soon as the Priest came in, the Municipal officers retired into the antichamber, and I shut one of the folds of the door. The Mass began at six o'clock. During the performance of this sacred rite there was a profound silence. The King, kneeling the whole time, heard Mass with the most devout meditation and in the most noble attitude. His Majesty received the Sacrament. After Mass, the King went into his cabinet, and the Priest retired into my chamber to take off his sacerdotal habiliments.

I seized this moment to go into His Majesty's cabinet: he took me by the hands, and said to me in a softened tone, "Cléry, I am satisfied with your attentions." "Ah! Sire," said I, throwing myself at his feet, "would I were able, by my death, to disarm your executioners and preserve a life so precious to good Frenchmen. Have hope, Sire, they will not dare to strike the blow." "Death has no terrors for me: I am quite prepared," said the King: "but, as for you," continued he, "look to your own situation and do not expose yourself. I am going to request that you may remain with my son. Devote to him all your attention in this frightful abode:—recall him to himself:—tell him of all the

trouble I experience on account of the misfortunes which he may suffer. Perhaps he may one day recompense your zeal." "Oh! my master! Oh! my king! if the most absolute devotion—if my zeal and assiduities have been such as to be agreeable to you, the only recompense that I desire of Your Majesty is to receive your blessing: do not refuse it to the last Frenchman who has remained with you. As I thus spoke I continued at his feet, holding one of his hands; and while I was in this posture, he received my entreaty with favor and gave me his blessing. After this he raised me up, and, clasping me to his breast, said, remember me to all those who are attached to me: tell Turgi also that I am satisfied with him. "Retire," added the King: "do not give room for any suspicion against you." Then, calling me back, he took from a table a paper which he had put on it: "Here!" said he, "this is a letter that Petion wrote to me when you came to the Temple: it may be useful to you in furthering your stay here." I seized his hand anew, kissed it, and retired. "Adieu," said His Majesty—"Again, adieu."

I returned to my chamber, where I found M. de Firmont on his knees by my bed, say-

ing his prayers. "What a Princee!" said he to me on rising up:—"with what resignation—with what courage he meets death!—He is as calm—as tranquil, as if he had just heard Mass in his Palace, in the midst of his Court." "I have just received," said I to him, "the most affecting adieus; and he has deigned to promise me to request, that I may remain in this Tower to attend on his son. When he goes out, Sir, I beg of you to remind him of it, for I shall never more have the happiness of seeing him in private." "Make yourself easy about that," replied M. de Firmont; after which he returned to His Majesty.

At seven o'clock, the King came out of his cabinet, called me, and taking me into the embrasure of the window, he said, "You will give this Seal (*a*) to my son;—this Ring (*b*) to the Queen: tell her that I quit her with pain. This little packet contains the hair of all my family: you will give her it also. Say to the Queen, to my dear children, and to my sister, that, though I promised to see them this morning, I wish to save them the grief of so cruel a separation; and that it has cost me much to part from them without receiving their last embraces. Immediately

after giving me this charge, the King returned into his cabinet.

The municipal officers who had drawn near, heard His Majesty, and seen him give me these articles, which I still held in my hands, told me to deliver them up to them; but, one of them proposed to let me remain the depositary of them until the Council should decide upon the matter. This recommendation prevailed.

A quarter of an hour afterwards, the King came out of his cabinet: "Ask," said he, "if I may have a pair of scissors." He returned to his cabinet again, and I made the request to the commissaries. "Do you know," said they, "what he wants to do with them." "I know nothing about it." "We must know," said they. I then knocked at the door of the little cabinet: the King came out. A municipal officer who had followed me said to him, "You have asked for scissors, but, before the request is made known to the Council, it is necessary that we should be informed what you wish to do with them." His Majesty answered, "I want them for Cléry to cut my hair." The municipal officers retired: one of them went down to the Council-chamber, where, after an hour's deliberation, the scis-

sors were refused. The municipal officer came up again and announced this decision to the King. "I should not have touched the scissors," said His Majesty: "I should have desired Cléry to cut my hair in your presence: try again, Sir; I beg of you to make known my request." The municipal officer went a second time to the Council, but they persisted in their refusal.

I was then told that I must get myself ready to accompany the King, in order to undress him on the scaffold: at this notice I was seized with terror; but, summoning all my resolution, I prepared myself to perform this last duty to my master, to whom it was repugnant that this office should be performed by the executioner; when another municipal officer came to tell me that I should not go out, adding, "The executioner is good enough for him."

Paris had been under arms ever since five o'clock in the morning:—the *General* was heard to beat:—the clattering of arms, the trampling of horse, the transport of artillery, which was planted and replanted incessantly,—all resounded in the Tower.

At nine o'clock, the noise increases, and the doors open with a clutter: Santerre, accom-

panied by seven or eight municipal officers, enters at the head of ten *gendarmes*, and forms them in two lines. At this movement the King came out of his cabinet:—"You are come for me?" said he to Santerre. "Yes." "I ask a minute of you."—He returned into his cabinet. His Majesty came out of it again immediately, his Confessor following him. The King held in his hand his Will, and addressing himself to a municipal officer named *Jacques Roux*, a blaspheming priest, who was most in advance, he said, "I beg of you to deliver this paper to the Queen—to my wife." "That is no business of mine," replied the priest, refusing to take the writing, "I am come here to conduct you to the scaffold." After receiving this repulse His Majesty addressed Gobeau, another municipal officer, saying, "Deliver this paper, I beg of you, to my wife. You may read it. There are some dispositions in it which I desire the *commune* may know."

I was behind the King, near the chimney: he turned towards me and I presented him with his great-coat. "I have no occasion for it," said he, "give me only my hat." I gave it to him. His hand met mine, which he clasped for the last time. "Gentlemen," said

he, addressing himself to the municipal officers, "I could wish that Cléry might remain with my son, who is accustomed to his attentions: I hope the *commune* will receive this request favorably:" then, looking at Santerre, he said, "Let us depart."

These were the last words that he uttered in his apartment. At the entrance of the stair-case he met Mathey, keeper of the Tower, and said to him, "I was a little hasty with you the day before yesterday, but do not stand upon trifles with me." Mathey made no answer to this appeal, and even affected to retire when the King spoke to him.

I remained alone in the chamber, overwhelmed with grief and almost without sense. The drums and trumpets announced that His Majesty had left the Tower.—An hour afterwards salvos of artillery rent the air, amidst maddening shouts of "*Vive la Nation! Vive le Republique!*"—The best of Kings was no more.

NOTES.

(a) Having set out from Vienna on my way to England, I went to Blankemburgh, with the intention of paying the King* the homage of my M.S. When the Prince was at this part of my *Journal*, he looked in his secretary, and shewing me with emotion the *Seal*, he said to me, "Cléry, do you recollect it?" "Ah! Sire, it is the same." "If you doubt it," resumed the King, "read this letter." I took it with a trembling hand and recognized the hand-writing of the Queen: the letter was also signed by the Dauphin, then Louis XVII, by Madame Royale, and by Madame Elizabeth.† Figure to yourself the keenness of my emotion!—I was in the presence of a King whom fortune is not weary of persecuting.—I had just quitted the Abbé de Firmont, and on the twenty-first of January I again found in the hands of Louis XVIII. this symbol of Royalty; which Louis XVI. had wished to secure to his son. I adored the decrees of Providence; and I asked permission of the King

* Louis XVIII., who after an exile of twenty-five years, was, in 1814, reinstated on the throne of his ancestors. (*Trans.*)

† The Queen and Madame Elizabeth both perished by the guillotine in 1793: Louis XVII. died in 1794, in consequence of ill treatment and neglect. (*Trans.*)

NOTES.

to have this precious letter engraved: here it is after the original (1).* I assisted at the Mass which the King caused to be solemnized by the Abbé de Firmont on the anniversary of the martyrdom of his brother: the tears which I then saw shed are not foreign to my subject.

(b) This Ring is in the hands of Monsieur:† it was sent to him by the Queen and Madame Elizabeth, with some of the King's hair. Here is the letter (2) which accompanied it.

(1) Having met with a faithful being on whom we can depend, I take advantage of it to send to my brother and friend this deposit, which can only be confided to his hands. The bearer will tell you, by what miracle we have been enabled to receive these precious tokens: I reserve to myself to tell you in person one day the name of him who has been so useful to us. The impossibility there has hitherto been of informing you of our affairs, and of the excess of our misfortunes, makes us feel more sensibly our cruel separation: Oh that it may not be of long continuance! and, in the expectation that it will not, I embrace you as I love you, which you know is with all my heart. *M. A.* I am charged in the name of

* The "*Journal*" contains fac-similes of the Letters (1—2,) with a draft of the elevation of the Tower, with plans of its second and third stories. (*Trans.*)

† The Count d'Artois, youngest brother of Louis XVI., now Charles X. (*Trans.*)

NOTES.

my brother and myself to embrace you with all my heart. *M. C. LOUIS.* I enjoy in anticipation the pleasure you will feel in receiving this token of friendship and confidence. To be with you and to see you happy is all that I desire: you know whether I love you. I embrace you with all my heart. *E. M.*

(2) Having at length found means of confiding to our brother, one of the few tokens which now remain to us of the being whom we all cherished and lament, I thought you would be happy in having something that comes from him: preserve it as a pledge of the most tender friendship, with which I embrace you most cordially. *M. A.* What a happiness for me, my dear brother, to be able, after so long a space of time, to speak to you of all the anxieties that I have suffered for you! A time will come, I hope, when I shall have it in my power to embrace you, and to tell you that never will you find a friend more true and more tender than I: you do not doubt it I hope.

F I N I S.

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