

# DOROTHÉE DINO

MEMOIRS OF THE  
DUCHESS OF DINO  
(AFTERWARDS  
DUCHESS OF  
TALLEYRAND ET DE  
SAGAN), 1836-1840

Dino Dorothee

**Memoirs of the Duchesse de  
Dino (Afterwards Duchesse de  
Talleyrand et de Sagan), 1836-1840**

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**Dorothee D.**

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# Duchesse De Dino

## Memoirs of the Duchesse de Dino (Afterwards Duchesse de Talleyrand et de Sagan), 1836-1840

### CHAPTER I

#### 1836

*Paris, January 2, 1836.* —M. de Talleyrand is working hard to advance the claims of M. Molé to a seat in the French Academy. He is supported alike by M. Royer-Collard and by the Ministers; hence M. de Villemain found occasion to say, yesterday evening, that all the most *diverse* and *inverse* influences were in combination to *transport* or to *export* M. Molé to the Academy, and that he himself was strongly in favour of *importation*, as a seat in the Academy was no obstacle to other posts. This play on words was no less pointed than malicious.

There was much talk of the various speeches delivered before the King on New Year's Day, and in particular of M. Pasquier's speech, which was remarkable for the boldness he displayed in his use of the word "subject," which M. de Villemain called a *progressive* term.

The King was delighted with Count Apponyi's speech, and the Diplomatic Service were equally pleased with the King's reply. In any case, Fieschi and Mascara<sup>1</sup> were so much treasure-trove to all the speech-makers; emotion and sympathy in every degree were noticeable, and M. Dupin was moved even to sobs!

Concerning M. Pasquier, a notice was inserted by some jester in a low-class newspaper to the effect that his recent illness was caused by his recognition of Fieschi as his natural son! The old Comtesse de la Briche, who is falling into her dotage, went off in all seriousness to relate this piece of folly with sighs of profound emotion in the *salon* of Madame de Chastellux, the Carlist headquarters. Such want of tact is almost inconceivable, and great merriment was aroused!

*Paris, January 4, 1836.*— The illness of Madame de Flahaut's second daughter has become critical, and provided me yesterday with an illustration of that truest of parables, the beam and the mote, when Madame de Lieven said to me, in reference to Madame de Flahaut: "Can you conceive that she talks politics to me at a time like this and orders her carriage to visit Madame Adélaïde? She will even leave her daughter's room to discuss public affairs with her visitors, and asks me to dinner to-morrow to distract her thoughts, as she says, and not to be left alone in her anxiety!" Apparently people cannot see themselves as others see them, and such incidents give one startling cause for introspection.

The much-discussed communication from President Jackson,<sup>2</sup> which has been expected with great impatience, has reached the Duc de Broglie, by way of England. He went to the King five hours later, to inform him that the communication had arrived; when the King asked to see it the Duc de Broglie told him that it was of no importance and that he had already sent it to the newspapers! He made the same observation to his colleague, M. de Thiers, who told every one he met during the evening, on the faith of this information, that the message was of no political significance. The next day the King and M. Thiers were able to read the message in the papers, and found that it was very

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<sup>1</sup> Mascara, in Algiers, was captured by the French in 1835.

<sup>2</sup> See [Appendix](#). In 1834 Jackson had claimed an indemnity of twenty-five millions, in very haughty terms, from the Government of Louis Philippe as compensation to the United States for the loss of ships seized under the Empire; in the event of refusal, confiscation was threatened of all French estates within the territories of the Union. While the claim was entirely legitimate, the insulting form in which it was presented delayed a settlement, until President Jackson retracted his words in the communication to which reference is here made.

cleverly conceived, very insolent to M. de Broglie personally, and exactly calculated to terminate the existing dispute. Council after council was then held, and lively discussions took place; at length the royal will has triumphed, with the support of M. Thiers, and the communication will be declared satisfactory. The intervention of England is to be declined, and a statement will be made that France is prepared to pay the sum of twenty-five millions as due under the terms specified. M. de Broglie eventually yielded, though his surrender was delayed by the wound to his self-esteem. At first he refused to submit for approval his note thanking England for her offer of intervention, but it was eventually shown to the King yesterday. It was criticised as being too long, too diffuse, and too metaphysical. There was a vigorous discussion in the council, but the King concluded the matter by giving his hand to the Duc de Broglie with a kind word. At the same time a considerable amount of ill-temper remains on both sides. However, a war with the United States would be very disadvantageous to French commerce; so this conclusion will probably have a good effect upon public opinion.

*Paris, January 11, 1836.*— Yesterday morning I had a call from M. Royer-Collard. He had just left M. de Berryer in a state of considerable vexation and disgust; their conversation had dealt with Prague. M. de Berryer said that at Prague M. Royer was in many men's minds and was well spoken of; that Charles X. had several times repeated his fear that he had not sufficiently considered several things which M. Royer had told him in a long conversation at the time of the much-discussed address<sup>3</sup> of 1830. The curious point is that when the old king attempted to recall these important points, of which he had but a vague recollection, he found himself unable to remember them. The incident is very characteristic of the man's good intentions and incompetency.

*Paris, January 16, 1836.*— M. Humann, Financial Minister, delivered a tirade yesterday in the Chamber of Deputies, in which he very imprudently raised the question of the reduction of the State bonds, without previously consulting his colleagues. It was thought that a dissolution of the Ministry would be the consequence, but the difficulty has been settled, and matters remain as they were, for the moment.

The King has personally seen Count Pahlen and soothed his feelings, and it is hoped that the speech of the Duc de Broglie in the Chamber of Deputies will not lead to any outburst.<sup>4</sup>

*Paris, January 24, 1836.*— The Chamber of Deputies remains disturbed and restive. Apathetic as the session was at its opening, it provides vexation enough to those responsible for the government. The prevailing ill-temper is especially manifested against the Duc de Broglie, the tone of whose speeches displeases the Deputies. His observation in the Chamber the other day, "is that clear?" is regarded as almost unpardonable.<sup>5</sup>

*Paris, January 28, 1836.*— Yesterday we were dining with Marshal Maison. It was a remarkable dinner for many reasons, but especially for the stories told by the Marshal's wife, one of which amused me for a long time afterwards. They were speaking of crowded balls and saying how difficult it was to discover the exact number of guests actually present; thereupon the Marshal's wife observed in her high, shrill voice: "I have an admirable method which has always worked successfully in all the balls I have given; I put my chambermaid behind the door with a bag of beans at her side, and I say: 'Marianne, when any one comes in, you will take a bean out of the big bag and put it in your handbag.' Thus the numbers are exactly known, and that is the best way of doing it." So strong an inclination

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<sup>3</sup> The Address of the 221 (March 3, 1830). This was a reply to a speech from the throne, and plainly expressed the displeasure of the 221 Deputies at seeing M. de Martignac deposed from the Presidency in favour of the Prince Jules de Polignac.

<sup>4</sup> The speech to which reference is made will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

<sup>5</sup> M. Humann submitted to the Chamber as a necessary measure a scheme for the conversion of Government 5 per cent. bonds, which had already been attempted in vain by M. de Villèle in 1824. The Chamber was inclined to receive the idea favourably, but the Cabinet showed some ill-temper as it had not been previously consulted, and M. Humann resigned. A question was asked in the Chamber on this subject on June 18, and discussion was opened by the Duc de Broglie. "We are asking," he said, "whether the Government intends to propose the measure in the course of this session. I answer, No; is that clear?" This last remark excited general disfavour, and was the subject of adverse comment forthwith.

to wild laughter overcame me that I nearly choked, and Mmes. de Lieven, von Werther, and von Löwenhielm, who were present, were in the same predicament.

*Paris, February 1, 1836.*— If I were at my dear Rochecotte, as I was last year, I should think that spring was beginning on February 1, whereas here one can say nothing of the kind. My old dislike of Paris has been growing upon me for some time. Not that people are in any way disagreeable – indeed, the contrary is the case; but life at Paris is too exhausting, the atmosphere is too keen, attractions are too numerous and widely spread, while at the same time they are not sufficiently strong. There is no leisure, constant worry, and a continual sense of want.

At London I lived amid a society at once high and simple-minded; social success and leisure were possible at the same time. M. de Talleyrand there enjoyed good health and was occupied with important business. The excitement which I then experienced had its compensations; I had time for my own occupations, for reading, working, writing, and thinking, nor was I pestered by every idle person. If calling is a tax upon one's time, calls can be paid at London with an empty carriage and with cards; in short, life was then a pleasure. Hence my deep and melancholy regret for those years which will never return; hence my longing for the calm and sweetness of Rochecotte, with its wide horizon and its pure sky, for my clean house, my kind and simple neighbours, my workpeople, my flowers, my big dog, my little cow and goat, the good Abbé, the modest Vestier, the little wood where we used to gather fir-cones – the place, in short, where I am at my best, because I have time for valuable introspection, for enlightenment of thought, for the practice of good and the avoidance of evil, time to unite myself in simplicity of heart and mind with the beauty, the strength, and the graciousness of nature, which there gives me shelter, refreshment, and repose. But a truce to these self-complainings, which are useless and ungrateful.

Yesterday I saw Dr. Ferrus, on his return from Ham. His account of what he found there is as follows: Both the orders and the attitude of the doctors were extremely kind, but it was necessary to find some excuse for action, and the two ex-Ministers who were really ill, MM. de Chantelauze and de Peyronnet, insolently refused to permit a visit from the doctors; while the others, MM. de Polignac and Guernon de Ranville, though very compliant, submissive, and anxious to take advantage of the kindly attitude of the Government, were unfortunately unable to plead any malady. Hence it was necessary to postpone the desired attempt to improve their condition.<sup>6</sup>

*Paris, February 6, 1836.*— Yesterday morning I went to the session of the Chamber of Deputies, with the Countess Bretzenheim, who had invited me to accompany her; there I heard for the first time a speech by M. Thiers; he spoke admirably, in opposition to the much-discussed proposal for the conversion of the stock, so imprudently put forward by M. Humann. While M. Thiers was speaking I thought I noticed him spitting blood several times; I wrote to ask him how he was, and the following is an extract from his reply: "I am exhausted; I did not spit blood, but in those few moments I shortened my life by several days; I have never encountered so strong an opposition of opinion, and an iron will is required to overcome an obstinacy so plain as that displayed by the Chamber. I am very sorry that you should have heard me speak, as the figures must have wearied you, and have given you a poor idea of our public oratory. We should be heard and judged only upon days of excitement, and not when we are discussing accounts. In any case, I am doubtful of the consequences, and were it not for the King I should be inclined to wish that the Ministry would resign. The struggle against such imprudence and foolishness is an unbearable task."

This letter prepared me to some extent for the events of the evening. However, M. Royer-Collard, who came to me in the course of the morning, believed that the Ministry would emerge triumphant, for the reason that the Chamber would find difficulty in using an advantage, if they gained one. He was overcome with admiration for the speech of M. Thiers, and had told him as much in the

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<sup>6</sup> This is again a reference to the former Ministers of Charles X. Certain people were energetically striving to secure the liberation of these unfortunate political prisoners.

Chamber. On this occasion they spoke to one another again, for the first time since the discussion of the September laws.

My son, M. de Valençay, came directly from the session of the Chamber of Deputies to dinner with us. He told us of the stupefaction produced in the Chamber by the strange conclusions of Humann, and the excitement of the Ministers because the project for converting the Government stock had been postponed by a majority of two votes only.

The *Journal de Paris* announced the resignation of the Ministry at a later hour, and General Alava, who had just seen the Duc de Broglie, told us at eleven o'clock in the evening that the King had accepted their resignations, and had sent for MM. Humann and Molé.

At that moment I received the following note from M. Thiers: "We have resigned in full freedom and seriousness. The King knew beforehand, and agreed with every one, and myself in particular, that this result was the inevitable consequence of our intention to oppose the scheme for conversion. Our honour would be compromised if we did not persist in our action and force a new Ministry to take office. It matters not if that Ministry be weak and helpless; the burden of proving the fact will rest upon the Third Party. No other action is possible, either for the King or for ourselves, and would in any case be a deception in the style of Charles X."

*Paris, February 7, 1836.*— There is no news of the Ministry except the fact of resignation, which is definite. It is thought that M. de Broglie will never take office again, as the animosity of the Chamber is chiefly directed against himself.

M. Thiers made no attempt to oppose resignation; he was actuated rather by the desire to secure an honourable withdrawal and to dissociate himself from colleagues whom he did not like than by any special devotion to the point at issue, though his defence was marked with great skill.

The King summoned M. Humann, who *refused*, M. Molé, who *declined*, M. Dupin, who *spoke at random*— shades of meaning which are worthy of note. In short, nothing has been done, nor can any action be regarded as probable. The friends of M. Molé say that he will no longer be sent from pillar to post or put up with requests, refusals, and vexations such as he experienced in November, and that if people will not submit to his views he will decline to interfere.

*Paris, February 8, 1836.*— Yesterday I had a call from M. Royer-Collard. He explains the attitude of the Chamber towards the last Ministry as follows: The Ministry had lasted for three years and was worn out, especially the doctrinaire members of it, while the Cabinet had wearied the Chamber by too constantly pressing for decisions and making personal matters Cabinet questions; moreover, the Chamber had gone beyond its powers in the announcement issued at the time when the laws concerning intimidation were passed;<sup>7</sup> it had been by no means popular in the provinces, while the disdainful folly of M. de Broglie had filled the cup to overflowing. Finally, as the country was prosperous and peaceful both at home and abroad, the Chamber had thought the moment opportune to enounce its rights and to show the Ministry that it was not indispensable; while a popular question in the provinces had provided it with an opportunity for displaying its power, in which determination it was supported by its political ignorance, which will not allow it to foresee the extent of the crisis. M. Royer-Collard added that the only two Ministers who could have preserved their reputation in the Chamber were MM. Thiers and Duchâtel, but that here again some small period of exile would be necessary.

Yesterday we dined with M. Thiers in fulfillment of a long-standing invitation. He was highly delighted and fluttering whenever he pleased. He proposes to travel, and to visit Vienna, Berlin, Rome, and Naples; he will start in April. M. de Broglie, who was also at dinner, appeared sad and

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<sup>7</sup> In 1835, in consequence of Fieschi's attempt, the Ministry proposed three severe legal enactments dealing with the jury and the sentences in cases of rebellion, and, most important of all, with the Press. The discussion upon these laws continued in the Chamber from August 13, 1834, to September 29, and ended in a complete success for the Government.

downcast, and I was astonished that he made no attempt to hide his feelings; it was not the devil, but the doctrine, that he was burying.

In the evening I paid a visit to Madame de Lieven and made the acquaintance of M. Berryer. M. Royer-Collard, who sees him constantly, told me in the morning that M. Berryer was very anxious to make my acquaintance. We were on our best behaviour. He talks simply and kindly.

*Paris, February 9, 1836.*— Yesterday we dined with the Sardinian Ambassador.<sup>8</sup> I was told that nothing had been yet decided concerning the Ministry, and M. Molé, who was sitting near me, confirmed this statement. He has declined to join the Third Party, in spite of the universal desire that he should do so. I believe that, for want of a better leader, M. Dupin will eventually profit for the time being by this state of affairs; as, however, the little group which he leads is very weak, he will be obliged to base his power upon the Left, and this will cost him dear. His position will be analogous to that of the English Whig Ministry confronted by O'Connell. I hope that this state of affairs will be of no long duration, though a short time is quite enough in which to take many retrograde steps. At the Château sadness prevails, uneasiness in the diplomatic world and anxiety in public opinion.

The young and beautiful Queen of Naples died on January 31, a few days after the birth of her child. The news arrived yesterday.<sup>9</sup>

*Paris, February 10, 1836.*— The judges in Fieschi's case, and the audience, take a remarkable interest in this man. He is an unprecedented character; he has a fine intellect and a real genius for strategy, while the terrors of his situation never obscure his memory, his self-possession, or his penetration; he is a man of strong passions, especially where women are concerned. His affection for Nina Lassave is remarkable; he constantly writes to her, and when he learned that she had been unfaithful to him he reproached her for not waiting a few days and sparing him this last bitterness, as his execution would have set her free; all this was written in the most touching style. Another point is that when M. Ladvocat sent money to Fieschi, that he might provide himself with some small dainties in prison, instead of spending the money, he sent it to this woman Nina. She wrote to thank him more or less in the following terms: "I thank you for thus depriving yourself for my sake; with what you have sent me I have bought a few decent things to do you credit before your judges, but as you will soon be unable to send me anything more, I am economising, and am now mistress of forty francs."

This remark concerning economy is disgusting. Moreover, she wrote to Fieschi to assure him that she had remained faithful to him, which is untrue. Everybody seems to have been far more interested by these amorous details than by the actual crime. What a strange time it is! Fieschi's correspondence, in passing through the hands of M. Decazes, became the amusement of the House of Peers; but the truly astonishing fact is the notoriety which the whole story has given to Mlle. Nina, who was formerly resident in the Salpêtrière. It is asserted that monetary proposals have been made to her by men of high position; there is no doubt that one hears the strangest descriptions of her beauties and her imperfections, and it is a positive fact that she has only one eye.

If Fieschi is a lover, he is no less attracted by religion. When the almoner of the Chamber of Peers asked those under trial if they wished to hear Mass, Fieschi alone replied yes, and said that he was anxious to hear it as he was neither a heathen nor an atheist; that if he was not a theological expert he had nevertheless read Plutarch and Cicero and firmly believed in the immortality of the soul; as the soul was not divisible it could not be material, and that, in short, he believed in the spiritual nature of man. He asked the almoner to come and see him again and not to leave him after his sentence had been pronounced. In view of such inconsistencies, how is it possible to pass any absolute judgment on men?

I believe the following to be an accurate bulletin of the Ministerial crisis: Yesterday morning the King sent for Dupin, Sauzet, and Passy, and commissioned them to form a Ministry upon two

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<sup>8</sup> The Marquis de Brignole-Sale.

<sup>9</sup> Marie Christine, Princess of Savoy, died in giving birth to the prince who was afterwards Francis II., the last King of Naples.

conditions only: firstly, they were not to give a post to any one who had voted against the repressive laws; secondly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs must be a man who would reassure European opinion and be agreeable to himself. The three men replied that they understood the King's wishes, but that they could not bind themselves until they had consulted their friends; they then withdrew. At the Chamber they sent round a list, which was drawn up nearly as follows: Dupin to be Minister of Justice and President, Passy to be Minister of Finance, Flahaut of Foreign Affairs, Molitor of War, Montalivet of the Interior. I have since learned that Montalivet refused the post in spite of the King's wishes, and that the King refused to accept the nomination of Flahaut. The King wished to appoint Rumigny or Baudrand to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and would have declared for the latter, if there had not been a wish to retain him as a companion to the Prince Royal on his travels. The Prince is very pleased at the fall of the last Ministry: I believe he is wrong; the Flahaut party are delighted. The Ministerial party hope to secure the election of M. Guizot as President of the Chamber of Deputies; the Opposition will support M. Martin du Nord.

In the evening I accompanied M. de Talleyrand to a dinner given by M. de Montalivet. Counts Pahlen and Apponyi were pale with fear inspired by the sight of M. de Flahaut's name on a list of Ministers. Marshal Maison was regretting the loss of his ambassadorship at St. Petersburg with cries of rage which were not in the best of taste.

We then went to the last Ministerial reception given by the Duc de Broglie. M. de Broglie believes himself to be fully in touch with the requirements of the time; he has no suspicion of the actual truth, that he is the sole cause and object of the squabbling which is going on, that he is the man rejected by the Chamber, and that if he were to say to his colleagues, "I see that I am myself the real stumbling-block; I will withdraw, but I beg you to remain," M. Molé would take his place and everything would be settled to the general satisfaction.

*Paris, February 11, 1836.*—Madame de Rumford died yesterday morning after breakfast; she had had some friends to dinner the evening before. She had been much changed for some time, but has always refused to acknowledge herself an invalid, and remained as discourteous to death as she was to those about her. The loss of her *salon* will be felt; it was a meeting-place, and there are very few that are habitually regarded as such. Every one found something there to remind him of this or that period of his life. This loss has saddened me; it is not well to have reached the age of eighty-four. But M. de Rigny was fifty, Clémentine de Flahaut sixteen, Yolande de Valençay two! Life is threatened at every step of the ladder, and one must always be ready.

That old cat Sémonville, whose claws are always ready, reached the Luxembourg yesterday with the announcement that the Ministry was at length settled. He was surrounded with questioners, and gave the list as follows: "President of the Council, Madame Adélaïde; Justice and Public Worship, the Duchesse de Broglie; Foreign Affairs, the Duchesse de Dino;<sup>10</sup> Interior, the Comtesse de Boigne; War, the Comtesse de Flahaut; Marine, the Duchesse de Massa; Finance, the Duchesse de Montmorency; Commerce, the Marquise de Caraman!" I sent this piece of wit to Madame de Lieven, in reply to a note asking for certain information; she replied that the King's condition at least was fulfilled, and that the Minister of Foreign Affairs was not likely to disturb Europe.

This is poor stuff, but poorer still is the fact that it is impossible to form a Ministry, in seriousness or otherwise. Yesterday I was at the Tuileries. The Ministers who had resigned were all grouped about the King, but, I think, with no particular object. It is deplorable!

*Paris, February 12, 1836.*—Of Ministerial news there is none; all that I have learned yesterday is as follows: Dupin, Passy, and Sauzet spent three hours with the King, and told him that they could not undertake the formation of a Ministry, as various intrigues had made the attempt impossible; they were, however, ready themselves to enter the Ministry, if their services were agreeable to the King.

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<sup>10</sup> The author of these memoirs.

They then withdrew, and the King sent for M. Molé in the course of the evening, but I cannot say what passed at this interview.

*Paris, February 13, 1836.*— I have the following information as regards the events of yesterday concerning the Ministerial crisis. M. Molé declares that he will not take office without M. Thiers, who will not come in without M. Guizot; he, again, will not act without M. de Broglie, unless the latter recognises that he is himself the only real obstacle, insists that his colleagues should take office without him, and writes them a letter to that effect, dated from Broglie. M. de Salvandy attempted to enlighten him upon this point, but met with a very poor reception. A lively scene is said to have taken place between MM. de Broglie and Guizot; certainly M. de Broglie is obviously agitated, and so ill-tempered as to rouse the pity of his friends and the contempt of other men. Some people think that the King will summon de Broglie and request him with greater authority than Salvandy used to put an end to this deplorable state of affairs, which is only continued on his account.

Dupin's chance has entirely disappeared. During the two days when it was thought that he would be Minister, Thiers and Guizot both entered the competition for the Presidency, and so gained an opportunity of counting the votes in their favour. M. Guizot received eight, M. Martin du Nord fifteen; the remainder of the Ministerial party would have voted for M. Thiers and secured for him the refusal of the position.

*Paris, February 16, 1836.*— Fieschi and his accomplices have been condemned to death; M. de Mareuil came yesterday to tell us of the sentence, at eleven o'clock in the evening.<sup>11</sup>

It seems that many of the peers gave long explanations to justify their manner of voting. A small fraction of the Chamber considered that the circumstantial evidence against Pépin and Morey was inadequate to justify the extreme penalty, and preferred to inflict penal servitude for life. Fieschi was condemned to death unanimously, and M. Barthe asked that the punishments reserved for parricides should be added to the death penalty.

The newspapers announce the death of Madame Bonaparte; her great-granddaughter — that is, the daughter of Joseph, who married the son of Lucien — was the only member of her numerous family at her side. Cardinal Fesch has been very attentive to her, and she leaves him her pictures; it is also thought that the division of her inheritance will cause fresh dissensions among her children, who are by no means at harmony with one another, for it seems that during her lifetime she gave considerable sums to Lucien, Jérôme, and to Madame Murat, which sums they are not willing to repay.

*Paris, February 17, 1836.*— Yesterday the King assembled his former Ministers and announced that in the first place he would not accept their resignations until another Cabinet was formed. Furthermore, he said that it was only by an accident that a majority in the Chamber had been against them; their system was that of the Chamber, although certain individuals in the Cabinet might not be agreeable to the Chamber, and he would therefore be delighted to see them all remain in office; if, however, they thought that any of their members were likely to keep the Chamber in a state of exasperation, he asked them to consider the matter among themselves and then to let him know upon what he could rely. M. de Broglie said that the King should make trial of the Third Party, to which the King replied: "It may please you, sir, to restate the weakness of that Third Party, but it does not please me to make so disastrous an attempt; I have had enough of three days' ministries; the majority is not to be found either in the Third Party or in the Left, but with you, gentlemen, or, if not with all of you, at any rate with some. Your arrangements and mutual engagements ought to give way before the gravity of the situation: so much I expect from your honesty and your desire for the general welfare; for my own part, gentlemen, I shall fold my arms and bide my time at Saint-Cloud." MM. de Broglie and Guizot replied that no member of the Cabinet was exactly bound, but that there were certain conventions which they must respect in each member's case. This was a very inopportune reply at

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<sup>11</sup> The sentence which condemned Fieschi, Pépin, and Morey to death. They were executed at the Barrière Saint-Jacques on February 19.

such a moment, especially from the first speaker, who could have cut the Gordian knot at one word and have simplified the position. No one knows what the result will be, unless matters should turn out as M. Royer-Collard predicted to M. Thiers last Friday: "You are impossible to-day, but in a week you will be necessary, indispensable, and absolute."

M. de Talleyrand and myself visited the Queen yesterday. The fact that the Court was in mourning for the Queen of Naples, together with the trial of Fieschi and the Ministerial crisis, made it impossible for the Château to take part in the pleasures of the carnival, and a very serious spirit prevailed. The King's attention was occupied by thoughts of the punishment which awaited the prisoners condemned the previous evening, and he had not ventured to go out, because he knew that Madame Pépin and her children were lying in wait for him. The Château was mournful indeed, and formed a painful contrast with the joyful tumult in the streets. M. Pasquier came to tell the King that Pépin had asked to see him that morning, so that the execution must be postponed until the next day.

Before going home I spent half an hour with Madame de Lieven. No one was there except Lady Charlotte Grenville and M. Berryer, who said that when one knew nothing one was able to say anything one liked, and that he had no hesitation in asserting that Thiers' was the only possible combination, and alone likely to be agreeable to the Chamber.

*Paris, February 19, 1836.*— Yesterday morning I had a call from M. Thiers, who had definitely accepted the task of forming a Cabinet and acting as President. He proposed to spend the rest of the day in making up his list. He has too much common sense to underrate the difficulty of his new position, and too much courage or blindness to be dismayed by it. M. Molé failed to secure election to the Academy; it has been a disastrous week for him.

*Paris, February 20, 1836.*— The following are the actual words written by the King beneath the signature which he was obliged to append to the death-warrants of Fieschi, Pépin, Morey, &c.: "It is only a profound sense of duty which induces me to give an approval which is one of the most painful acts of my life; however, considering the frankness which Fieschi showed in his confession and his conduct during the trial, I intend that the subordinate parts of his punishment shall be remitted, and I deeply regret that my conscience will not allow me to do more."

*Paris, February 21, 1836.*— M. Thiers is finding difficulties in the way of his attempt to combine a Ministry; every one is willing to work with him or under him, but not in company with others. At the same time it is important that the Cabinet should be both strong and reputable. There are difficulties everywhere, even for superior mortals.

*Paris, February 22, 1836.*— M. de Talleyrand is in a very bad temper: the newspapers and public opinion all regard him as responsible for the new Ministry: the names have at length appeared in this morning's *Moniteur*.<sup>12</sup> He, however, has had nothing to do with it, and as the sudden rise of M. Thiers has not met with universal approval, the English being particularly incensed, M. de Talleyrand is aroused to great irritation by all that he hears upon the subject, and vents his anger upon Paris, his age, and his position, and keenly regrets that he ever left London.

*Paris, February 23, 1836.*— Yesterday, on returning home at the end of the morning, I found M. Berryer at my door; he had just left the Chamber of Deputies, where Thiers had been speaking. Berryer has a high opinion of the talent, the intellectual power, and the capacity of Thiers. Berryer is himself the most unprejudiced, impartial, and simple of characters; there is nothing artificial, affected, or extreme about him; it is difficult to think of him as a party man. In my opinion, no one was ever less a party man, and perhaps he would be glad if he could avoid the necessity of taking sides entirely. The ease, the lightness, the gentleness, and the simplicity of his conversation are the more creditable to him by contrast with his profession and his position. The justice of his judgment

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<sup>12</sup> The Cabinet was as follows: M. Thiers, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Sauzet, Keeper of the Seals; M. de Montalivet, Minister of the Interior; M. d'Argout, Financial Minister; M. Passy, Minister of Commerce and Public Works; M. Pelet de la Lozère, Minister of Education; Marshal Maison, Minister of War; Admiral Duperré, Minister of Naval Affairs.

and the kindness which is most constantly characteristic of it compel confidence in his opinions and his statements.

Thiers' speech was received with marked coldness by the Chamber. The fact is fortunate for him, in my opinion. There is some danger that the intoxication of success might lead to his fall, and anything which will keep him from disaster can only be useful and for his good.

*Paris, February 24, 1836.*— M. Molé dined here yesterday. His bearing shows some traces of coldness and disappointment. He was unwilling to act in concert with M. Dupin in the matter of the Ministry; consequently the latter, who commanded several votes in the French Academy, withdrew them, and so brought about the rejection of M. Molé; he then observed: "M. Molé would not be my colleague, and I do not care for him as my fellow Academician."

Paris is likely to become increasingly difficult as a place of residence. Apart from the two great dynastic divisions which separate society, we shall now have to deal with all the factions caused by disappointed ambition, the Molé, Broglie, Guizot, and Dupin factions, and finally the Thiers faction. These will all be as bitterly hostile to one another as the Legitimists are to the Moderate Party. All these factions will never find any such common point of amalgamation as the Château might and should become; on the contrary, some object to the King, others to our house. Detestation and malignancy are mutual, but no one is willing to examine himself or to recognise that there are faults on all sides, and that the real causes of blame are to be found in himself. How strange is the blindness and how great the ill-faith of men, especially of those who are involved in public affairs and interests!

*Paris, March 4, 1836.*— Yesterday, at the house of M. de Talleyrand, M. Mignet related that Marchand, a former *valet de chambre* under the Emperor, proposed to publish a commentary upon the "Commentaries" of Cæsar, which Napoleon had dictated to him in the last weeks of his life in St. Helena. Marchand often spoke to M. Mignet of Napoleon's last moments, of the loneliness and emptiness of his life; in illustration, he said that one evening when the Emperor, who was then very ill, was in bed, he pointed to the foot of the bed and said to him: "Marchand, sit down there and tell me something." Marchand said to him: "Dear me, sire, what can I tell you who have done and seen so much?" "Tell me about your youth; that will be simple and true, and will interest me," replied the Emperor. There is something very pathetic about this little dialogue. What teaching might not Bossuet have drawn from these few words – Bossuet, who did not disdain to introduce the somewhat trivial anecdote of the fowl into the funeral oration upon the Palatine! Surely the greatest homage to Bossuet is the fact that every great misfortune, every triumph or failure, makes us turn towards the Eagle of Meaux, who alone could extol, lament, and immortalise them worthily.

*Paris, March 5, 1836.*— Yesterday morning MM. Berryer and Thiers met at my house. I think it would have been impossible to have been present at a conversation more animated, sparkling, witty, surprising, kind, sincere, free, and true, or more devoid of all party spirit, than that which then arose between these two men, so different and so highly gifted. I also thought that it would never finish; they did not go until after six o'clock.

*Paris, March 7, 1836.*— M. Royer-Collard introduced me yesterday to M. de Tocqueville, the author of "Democracy in America." He seemed to me to be a nice little man, simple and modest, with an intellectual expression. We talked a great deal about England, and our views upon the destiny of the country were quite in harmony.

*Paris, March 9, 1836.*— I had several times glanced at the "Imitation of Jesus Christ." Whether it was that my knowledge of others and myself was only superficial or that my mind was ill-prepared and too wandering, I had seen no great difference between this famous work and the "Journée du Chrétien" and the "Petit Paroissien." I had often been surprised at the great reputation which this book enjoyed, but had never found any pleasure in reading it. Chance led me to open it the other day with Pauline; the first lines caught my attention, and I have since been reading it with ever increasing admiration. What intellectual power beneath the highest simplicity of form! What profound knowledge of the deepest recesses of the human heart! What beauty and enlightenment!

And yet it is the work of an unknown monk. Nothing humiliates me more than a failure of self-knowledge or shows me more clearly in what darkness I was sunk.

*Paris, March 10, 1836.*— Yesterday I went with the Duchesse de Montmorency to a ball, given by Madame Salomon de Rothschild, the mother. The house is the most magnificent that can be conceived, and is therefore known as the Temple of Solomon. It is infinitely superior to her daughter-in-law's house, because the proportions are higher and greater. The luxury of it is indescribable, but in good taste – pure Renaissance, without any mixture of other styles; the gallery in particular is worthy of Chenonceaux, and one might have thought one's self at an entertainment given by the Valois. In the chief room the armchairs are made of gilt bronze instead of gilt wood, and cost a thousand francs apiece. The dining-hall is like the nave of a cathedral. All was well arranged and admirably lighted; there was no crushing, and every courtesy.

*Paris, March 11, 1836.*— Yesterday I went to Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, to hear the Abbé de Ravignan, formerly the King's *procureur*; he is a friend of Berryer, who praises him greatly, and a brother-in-law of General Exelmans; I had known him in the Pyrenees, where I had been struck by the beautiful expression of his face. He is a good preacher, with an excellent delivery, while his style is pure and refined, but rather logical and argumentative than warm or sympathetic. He therefore lays more stress upon evangelical dogma than upon morality, and seemed to me to be a man of talent rather than a great preacher.

*Paris, March 18, 1836.*— With regard to my reflections upon Bossuet,<sup>13</sup> you praise my attitude somewhat unduly. I have, indeed, a love of truth, and the world, with the dreadful misery which it contains, fills me with disgust; I have learned to fear the contagion of the world, under which I have suffered too long; I examine myself seriously, and am horrified to find myself immersed in the sorrow and grief which are the lot of worldly people and are the destruction of peace of mind, charity, and purity. I make some attempt to burst my bonds and rise to a purer region; but none the less my efforts are usually impotent, and my struggles vain and futile. As a rule I cannot tell whether the moral weariness which overwhelms me is due to the sad sight of the deplorable agitations amid which I live, or to the no less deplorable agitation of my inward life. When we have spent years amid the struggles of life and desire to change our path, however remote may be the road which leads us forward, we find ourselves a burden to ourselves; we can neither go forward with our load nor throw it off straightway; we stumble and retrace our steps; we prove ourselves but feeble travellers, and our goal recedes as our desire to reach it increases. Such is my case...

Yesterday, towards the end of the morning, M. de Tocqueville came to pay his call; I like him. The Duc de Noailles also called; he is not so attractive, though by no means disagreeable. Another caller was Berryer, who might be most agreeable if his mind and bearing did not betray traces of low life, which have struck my notice. However, the conversation never flagged, as the first visitor has sound views, the second good judgment, and the third that mental alacrity which enables him to apprehend a point at once. The conversation of these distinguished men was concerned only with facts, and not with people: names were not mentioned; there was no gossip, no bitterness or extravagance. The talk was as it should always be, especially at a lady's house.

*Paris, March 20, 1836.*— How deep a melancholy may be inspired by the first fine spring day, when it fails to harmonise with one's own frame of mind! For forty-eight hours the weather has been mild and lovely, the atmosphere filled with sweetness and light and breathing joy and happiness; new life, new warmth and pleasure are springing into being, and I feel suffocated in this town. The public promenades cannot take the place of the country, and nothing can bring back the sweet springtime of last year, with its flowers, its wide horizon, and its freshness, in which it was so easy to take breath. I would worship any one who could give me back these things! And instead I drive with Madame de Lieven through the Bois de Boulogne in a closed carriage! Such was my occupation yesterday, while

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<sup>13</sup> Extract from a letter.

M. de Talleyrand was at the Academy of Moral and Political Science, voting for M. de Tocqueville, who failed to secure election.

*Paris, March 24, 1836.*— The Princess Belgiojoso is rather striking than beautiful: she is extremely pale, her eyes are too far apart, her head too square, her mouth large and her teeth discoloured; but she has a good nose, and her figure would be pretty if it were somewhat fuller; her hair is jet black, and she wears striking dresses; she has intellect, but wants balance, and is full of artistic whims and inconsistencies; her manner is intentionally and skilfully natural, sufficiently to hide her affectation, while her affectation seems to counterbalance a certain innate vulgarity, which her flatterers style an untamed nature. Such is my impression of this personage, with whom I have but the slightest acquaintance.

M. Royer-Collard found me reading the "Imitation" the other day, and brought me yesterday a pretty little copy which he has had from his youth, and has almost invariably carried about with him. I have been deeply touched by this gift, and regard it as a most precious possession. My only objection to this little book is the fact that it is in Latin: I never knew Latin well, and I find that I have now forgotten it. I think I shall have to take it up again.

M. Royer asked me to give him in exchange some book which I had constantly read. I gave him a copy of Bossuet's "Funeral Orations," deeply scored with my marks; the ribbon-mark is torn away, but a hairpin happened to be marking one of the passages in the oration on the Princess Palatine, which had a special meaning for myself. M. Royer accepted the little volume most gratefully.

Yesterday evening I went to the Italian Opera, and Berryer paid a visit to my box. His mind was full of the morning session in the Chamber of Deputies and of M. Guizot's *formidable* speech. M. Thiers proposes to reply this morning, as, indeed, he must, unless he wishes to see M. Guizot become paramount in the Chamber; in short, we are to see the real adversaries engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle. This is an event, and is so regarded. Berryer described the whole affair marvellously well, without bitterness against any one, and without a word more than was necessary to make the situation clear. In ten minutes he had told me everything.

*Paris, March 27, 1836.*— Yesterday morning I had the honour of seeing the King with Madame Adélaïde; his conversation was charming. He was kind enough to tell me stories of his marriage, of the Court of Palermo and the famous Queen Caroline. I also heard that Prince Charles of Naples and Miss Penelope arrived here within the last two days in a state of complete destitution. This was an embarrassing event, and in a sense discreditable, especially to the Queen.<sup>14</sup>

I have reason to believe that Thiers did not reply forthwith to Guizot's great speech the other day for reasons of prudence, and in obedience to the orders of his superiors; but he will lose nothing by waiting, and we shall see a striking explosion upon the next opportunity. I think the authorities were unwilling to regard the question as a duel between two individuals, and have preferred to let the effect of the first speech wear off before offering a reply. In any case, an enormous majority responded to the effort that was made. The only vexatious point is the number of concessions offered by M. Sauzet in his speech, and on this subject I have noticed some strong discontent.

M. de Tocqueville's name was proposed, without his knowledge, to the Academy of Political and Moral Science by M. Cousin; M. Tocqueville has told me that he did not wish to seek election again. As the grandson of M. de Malesherbes, he has no desire to join an Academy of mere figureheads, of which, for the most part, this institution is composed.

*Paris, March 29, 1836.*— It is certain that all idea of intervention in Spain has been abandoned by every grade within the Governmental hierarchy; some had never entertained the project, and others have dropped it. I think there is no reason to fear any imprudence whatever in this direction.

Rumour is entirely occupied with a conversation between the King and Guizot, in which the former is said to have expressed his extreme displeasure with the dates which were given as marking

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<sup>14</sup> Prince Charles of Naples, brother of the Duchesse de Berry, was the nephew of Queen Marie Amélie.

the good system of administration. The King said that the system was not the work of any individual, but was his own, and that the only date he would recognise was his own date, August 9. He added that it was bad policy to attack the only Cabinet which could command a majority at that moment. Guizot replied that if the King cared to test the matter he would see that the majority was to be found elsewhere. "Not so," returned the King; "it is you, sir, who are deluded, and you fail to see that the course you are pursuing rather divides you from the points at issue than brings you nearer to them. If you continue, you will perhaps force me to take a measure which I detest, and which will assuredly be more displeasing to yourself; that measure is a dissolution of the Chamber, please remember." I believe this conversation to be literally exact, and I think it will induce people to consider their words and deeds more carefully, the more so as the doctrinaires, who know perfectly well that they have no chance of re-election, will shrink from a dissolution.

M. de Chateaubriand has sold his works, unedited or as yet unwritten, for a hundred and fifty thousand francs cash, in addition to a yearly income of twelve thousand francs payable to his wife upon his death. He is said to be completely upset by the payment of his debts, and his future existence which is thus defined and circumscribed seems to him a heavy burden. Everything he writes, even apart from his memoirs, will belong to his publishers in return for a scale of payment now laid down. The manuscripts of his memoirs have been solemnly sealed up in his presence in an iron box, which has been deposited with a solicitor. He says that his thoughts have suffered imprisonment for debt in place of himself.

*Paris, March 30, 1836.*— I have certainly heard more music this year than last; as I am deprived of all my favourite amusements, I have devoted myself wholeheartedly, without reserve, to music, and have sought opportunities for hearing it. As the advance of years or circumstances diminish my tastes, the pleasures which are left to me are intensified by the disappearance of others; affection takes the place of coquetry and music of dancing; reading and meditation replace idle conversations, with their malignity or indiscretions; I drive instead of calling, and prefer rest to excitement.

*Paris, April 13, 1836.*— I took Pauline yesterday evening to a charity lottery at the house of the Duchesse de Montmorency, where there was a crowd. All the Faubourg Saint-Germain were there, including even the Duchesse de Gontaut, formerly governess to the Duc de Bordeaux; she condescended so far as to bow to me very politely. Pauline was interested by everything, as girls of fifteen usually are. She was very pretty; her hair was simply done, but dressed by the great Edouard; she wore a sky-blue dress, and looked fresh as a rose, with her calm and dainty bearing and her happy little face; in short, she met with general approval, consequently I felt well disposed to every one; the slights formerly inflicted upon me by this or that person were forgotten when a pleasant word or a kind look was addressed to Pauline. It is certainly better not to live in hostility with society, and if one is so wrong-headed or unfortunate it is very pleasant to make one's daughter a means of reconciliation.

I have letters from England telling me that the Duchess of Gloucester has become the happiest person in the world; Lady Georgiana Bathurst is her lady of honour; she is at home every evening, and her house is the meeting-place of the high Tories; all the news is to be heard there, and gossip goes on, with which the Duchess delights the King every morning. The King of England sees his Ministers only on business, and has no social intercourse with them. Lord Melbourne does not care or complain, and goes his own way without worrying the King, which seems to me to be a sound plan.

Yesterday morning, thanks to a special ticket, for which I sent to ask the Archbishop, I was able to hear the last of the series of lectures given at Notre-Dame by the Abbé Lacordaire. He is starting for Rome to-day, and will be absent for two years. There were at least five thousand persons in the church, nearly all schoolboys and girls. Among the men who came in with the Archbishop and were favoured with seats on the Banc de l'Œuvre I recognised the Marquis de Vérac, the Duc de Noailles, and M. de Tocqueville. I was placed just behind this bench, with some fifty ladies, none of whom I knew; I was opposite to the pulpit and did not lose a single word. Imagination, vigour, and a style far removed from that of the seminary are the distinctive qualities of the Abbé Lacordaire; he is a

young man with a good delivery. His use of metaphor, however, seemed to me to be slightly confused and somewhat too daring, while his doctrine allowed no room for the beautiful and humble theory of grace. I think that St. Augustine, the great apostle of grace, would have found matter for criticism in his words. On the whole, I was interested and struck with the attentive attitude of his audience. The Archbishop concluded the lecture with some suitable words of thanks and farewell to the young preacher, and with a blessing at once appropriate, simple, and gentle upon the congregation, which was received with surprising respect by his young hearers. It must be said that when the Archbishop avoids politics and the commonplaces of the seminary he can produce, as he did yesterday, a noble and touching effect, with his fine face and gestures and his appealing tone, in his splendid cathedral and from his exalted position, whence he looked down upon these many young faces. M. de Tocqueville, who called upon me towards the end of the morning, was even then moved by the scene.

*Paris, April 13, 1836.*— MM. Hyde de Neuville, de Jumilhac, de Cossé, Jacques de Fitz-James, and de Montbreton have all started for Prague, to ask Charles X. to give up the Duc de Bordeaux. In the event of a refusal they have resolved to carry him off, and flatter themselves that they will have the co-operation of the young Prince in the attempt. They wish to find a home for him in Switzerland, where he is to be educated, and so brought nearer to France in every sense of the term. This project, which is in itself somewhat visionary, is reduced to absurdity by the boasting and gossip with which it has been announced. Another plan, of which the police have been informed, is to carry off one of the young princes of royal blood and to keep him as a hostage. The Minister of the Interior has been somewhat disturbed by this proposal.

*Paris, April 21, 1836.*— A courier arrived yesterday from Vienna bringing a reply conceived in the most gracious terms to the insinuations which have been made concerning the Duc d'Orléans and his proposed journey in Austria. All that was avoided under the Duc de Broglie has been welcomed under M. Thiers, to whom personally the reply referred in very kind terms. Something of the same kind is now expected from Berlin. The departure of the Prince and of his brother, the Duc de Nemours, is fixed for May 4, but the fact will not be announced for another five days, when they will have returned from Chantilly. The return journey is to be made by Turin. The Sardinian Court, which feels the want of some support, is inclined, after much hesitation, to look to France. My son, Valençay, will accompany the Princes; he will be the only unattached member of their suite with them. It was proposed to give him a title and an official position, but I objected, as my son is sure to be well received anywhere.

Yesterday at dinner at the house of M. de Talleyrand a quarrel arose between M. Thiers and M. Bertin de Veaux, the result of which, I think, has been the opposite of what was expected: instead of pacific explanations a duel became the consequence. I was on tenterhooks, and eventually checked the dissension almost brutally. Every one, I think, approved my action, which I would have taken earlier if I had not thought that M. de Talleyrand was the proper person to intervene; he, however, did not even exert himself to change the conversation. Bertin de Veaux was constantly aggressive, while Thiers for a long time was perfectly calm, until he grew excited and angry, and at length they hurled political defiance at one another.

*Paris, April 23, 1836.*— Mrs. Norton has written a letter to Mr. Ellice, which is a kind of manifesto, and has sent it to me with orders to communicate it to her foreign compatriots. I have read the letter, and, if her words are to be believed, she emerges from this foul story as pure as Desdemona.<sup>15</sup> I hope indeed that it is so. The whole business seems to me very vulgar and in very bad taste.

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<sup>15</sup> Reference is here made to an action for divorce brought against Mrs. Norton by her husband, which made a great stir in England at this time. The intimacy of Mrs. Norton with Lord Melbourne was well known. However, the verdict given in the following June acquitted Lord Melbourne, but Mrs. Norton and her husband separated.

The Duchesse de Coigny, who has always come to England for her confinements, in order to ensure the birth of girls, was to start this morning to London for the same reason, but owing to mistaken calculations she was yesterday confined of a fine boy, which is a bitter disappointment.

*Paris, April 26, 1836.*— Visitors returning from Chantilly were most enthusiastic yesterday about the beauty of the spot, the extensive society to be found there, the excitement of the races, the brilliancy of the hunt, and, in the case of those who were at the Château, the graciousness of the Prince Royal. The English say that apart from the races themselves, which, however, are by no means bad, these three days at Chantilly are much superior to Ascot, Epsom, and any meeting of the kind in England.

Hunting was carried on with the pack of the Prince of Wagram, and some four hundred young men rode out; but only thirty were in at the death of the stag.

The Prince Royal is to start on the 3rd or 4th, and will go straight to Metz to visit the School of Artillery; he will not stop at any of the small Courts, which he proposes carefully to avoid by taking all kinds of unusual routes under the pretext that they are more direct.

Yesterday I dined with Madame de la Redorte, and met several people, including General Alava, who told us the story of the duel between Mendizabal and Isturitz, in which neither combatant received a scratch.

He seemed to expect a Ministerial crisis at Madrid which might affect his position as ambassador.

Alava is so inclined to exaggerate that when he was at the house of M. Dupin at a reception of Deputies the host asked him, touching M. Berryer on the shoulder, whether he knew this Deputy. Alava straightway exclaimed: "Certainly I know M. Berryer, and *I share all his opinions.*"

*Paris, April 27, 1836.*— The route of the Prince Royal passes through Verdun, Metz, Trèves, Düsseldorf, Hildesheim, Magdeburg, Potsdam, and Berlin. All the Ministers of Saxony, Hanover, and Bavaria have brought pressing invitations from their Sovereigns asking the Prince to make a stay with them. These have been declined under the pretext of want of time, but in reality owing to some ill-feeling caused by the continued affronts and insults from Munich; if the Prince refused one invitation he obviously could not accept others without a declaration of hostility. He is sorry, however, to hurry by Dresden, whence there has never been any cause of complaint. From Berlin he will proceed to Vienna, by way of Breslau and Brünn.

For some days I have been reading a few volumes of the "Essais de Morale" by Nicole; our curiosity concerning this work was aroused by Madame de Sévigné. They are doubtless excellent, but I think one must be somewhat more advanced than I am to admire them keenly. There is a certain dry austerity apparent which somewhat repels me. To these many philosophical arguments I prefer the touching phrase of St. Augustine: "If you are afraid of God, throw yourself into the arms of God." Eventually, perhaps, I shall learn to appreciate Nicole, as one's mental tastes change with one's age and circumstances.

*Paris, April 28, 1836.*— Pozzo has received the order of St. Andrew in diamonds, and at the same time unlimited leave of absence to travel in Italy. I imagine that he will soon pass this way.

The journey of the Prince Royal has been arranged to begin a day earlier, and he is to start on the 2nd. Berlin will not be reached for ten days, as he is to put up every night, while each day's journey will not be too long, as they wish him to arrive fresh and alert and ready to undergo military fatigues, the manœuvres, festivities, and other duties. This seems to me very sensible. The Prince Royal has received a formal invitation to the manœuvres at Berlin. Hence his reception cannot be anything but excellent. The invitation has certainly been sought, but it is undoubtedly an invitation, and accusations of importunity or rashness are therefore out of place. The Duc and the Duchesse d'Angoulême will naturally have left Vienna when the two Princes arrive there.

Yesterday I accompanied the Comtesse de Castellane to a reading given by M. de Rémusat upon historical incidents in the style of the "Barricades"; "The Night of St. Bartholomew" was his

subject. It was clearly and brightly treated, and the author assures us that much historical research has been devoted to it, but it was so long that the second part had to be postponed until Tuesday. To sit through a reading is an exhausting business.

*Paris, May 1, 1836.*— Yesterday was Pauline's ball – a pretty scene and entirely successful. There was no crowd, plenty of light, young and pretty people in full gaiety, and polite young men acting as partners to the ladies, all in excellent style and taste, and the company most carefully selected. It was not exactly exclusive, but the Faubourg Saint-Germain were in preponderant numbers. My cousin, Madame de Chastellux, for instance, went to the trouble of coming. In short, I was well pleased with our little success and with the delight of Pauline.

*Paris, May 2, 1836.*— Yesterday news arrived from Berlin of the preparations made to receive the young Princes. The King said that they should have the kind of reception given to his son-in-law, the Emperor. They are to stay at the old palace. An hour after their arrival all the princes will come to pay their first calls; in short, everything is to go off as well as possible. The Carlist faction is overwhelmed, and the aggressive members of it are quite ill in consequence; the moderate members are casting tender glances at the Château des Tuileries, and yesterday M. de Chabrol, formerly Naval Minister, and M. Mounier went to the Château. M. de Noailles would be ready to do the same were it not for his wife, whose feelings he has to consider – and reasonably, for she, though a most worthy person, is very extravagant in her political ideas.

*Paris, May 4, 1836.*— Yesterday I went to hear the conclusion of M. de Rémusat's "Night of St. Bartholomew."<sup>16</sup> It is clever and talented, but I repeat that this style of performance is a mistake, and a good historical narrative would be much more interesting to me.

I have seen M. Royer-Collard, and also M. Thiers. The former said that the doctrinaires were decisively defeated in the Dupin dispute, as the Chamber had pronounced against them. The second is very pleased with his reports from the Russian Ambassador and from the Court of St. Petersburg, which are beginning to become flattering. I believe he is on the way to another reconciliation which he thinks of more importance, with Bertin de Veaux, but this is still a profound secret.

*Paris, May 6, 1836.*— I have been deeply affected by the death of the good Abbé Girolet. He followed the fine precept of Bossuet, and the only precaution which he took against the attacks of death was the innocence of his life, for all his interests were so neglected that he has left me a fine complication to unravel, which demands my immediate presence at Rochecotte. I shall start the day after to-morrow, and they are only waiting for me to take the seals off his property. A will in which he has left me everything has been found, but where or what may this everything be? This is as yet unknown, and there is some fear that there may be more debts than property, which fact would prevent me from beginning the charitable foundations which I promised to take in hand after his death. I shall find a very obvious void at Rochecotte, and shall miss that gentle look which clung so affectionately to me. And then how sad are the details of his death!

*Rochecotte, May 10, 1836.*— No interesting news can be expected from me in this retired corner of the world, where I can boast only of peace and silence and of solitude – three excellent things which I appreciate the more as I have left, in the words of the "Imitation," "the tumultuous commerce of men, which arouses vanity even in the simple-minded, and eventually enslaves the soul."

I spent the evening with M. Vestier, my good architect, over plans and arrangements for the vault of the Abbé and for my own. This will be arranged quite simply in the parish cemetery on the hillside before that beautiful view, in the pure air, looking out upon the rising sun. The vaults are to be very simply surrounded by shrubs and an iron railing; there will be nothing more than names and dates. Thus his last resting-place will be as simple as was his mind, and I trust that mine will be equally so. The wishes of men are so rarely performed after their deaths that during our lifetime we should act as far as we can. I had considerable difficulty in inducing Vestier to undertake this simple

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<sup>16</sup> This work was published after the death of the Comte de Rémusat in 1878, by his son Paul.

work. He says it is horrible to be giving orders for the digging of my grave, and at length the poor fellow began to weep, but he yielded at last, for he is very obedient to me.<sup>17</sup>

*Rochecotte, May 13, 1836.*— Yesterday I received a long letter from my son, Valençay, from Coblenz. Full honour has been done to the Princes; M. the Duc d'Orléans has invariably invited to dinner the authorities commissioned to welcome him. He speaks German with a fluency which is much appreciated. In every town regimental bands are constantly playing under the windows of the Princes, and, in short, all due attention is shown to them.

*Valençay, May 18, 1836.*— I have been here since the day before yesterday, and am expecting M. de Talleyrand and Pauline to-morrow.

I have been reading a narrative written by one of the chief nuns of Port Royal, about the reform of their establishment, which was carried out by the Mother Marie Angélique de Sainte-Madeleine Arnauld, and about their persecution, in the time of their celebrated abbess, the Mother Angélique de Saint-Jean Arnauld, a niece of the foregoing and a daughter of M. d'Andilly. They were great minds and strong souls, and how remarkable are the details of the story! What a race were these Arnaulds, and M. Nicole and the Abbé de Saint-Cyran! All these names are to be found in the writings of Madame de Sévigné. Her friend, M. de Pomponne, was Arnauld, the son of M. d'Andilly. This was a peculiar family, even in its own time, and it was said that Pascal was quite a nonentity compared with Antoine Arnauld. They must have been giants indeed; and if giants at their time, what would they seem now?

*Valençay, May 22, 1836.*— Yesterday I had a letter from my son, Valençay, from Berlin. He is delighted, and with reason, for apart from the generally satisfactory character of the journey, he is treated with especial kindness, which is particularly touching to me as it is due to consideration for myself. The Prince Royal told him that he had always regarded me as his sister, that he would treat him as a nephew, and that my letter was delightful. He objected, however, that there was not enough of the nursery about him. The Duchess of Cumberland and my godmother, Princess Louise,<sup>18</sup> have been quite motherly, and the Queen of the Low Countries has also been very kind, together with M. Ancillon, Herr von Humboldt, and the Countess of Redern. M. de Valençay assures me that the Crown Prince of Prussia was neither cold nor repellent in his reception of the Duc d'Orléans, but, on the contrary, kind and cordial; the Crown Princess and Princess William the younger were equally charming; every one else behaved very properly, as also did the sight-seers along the routes, and our Princes showed perfect prudence. There was some trouble in inducing the young French officers to take off their Belgian decorations; the Duc d'Orléans was anxious that they should not wear them at all at Berlin, but they showed some reluctance, and eventually it was agreed that they should remove them when meeting the Queen of the Low Countries.<sup>19</sup> A courier came to Berlin with an urgent letter from the King of Saxony inviting the Princes to pass through Dresden. I do not know whether that will induce them to change their route. The two Princes attended service in a Catholic church in Berlin on Sunday, and their action produced an excellent effect.

*Valençay, May 23, 1836.*— Yesterday, the Day of Pentecost, was spent as follows, and will give an idea of our usual mode of life in this place: First of all came high mass at the parish church, which lasted for two full hours, thanks to a sermon from the vicar, who took the more pains as he saw me in the Castle pew. The heat was extreme, and the smell unpleasant, while the crowd was almost as great as at Saint-Roch. The result for me was a severe headache, which passed off to some extent during a long drive which I took with M. de Talleyrand, to the ponds in the Forest of Gâtines. Several people from the town dined with us. I walked for a little after dinner, while Pauline went for a drive with

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<sup>17</sup> This plan was not entirely carried out; the Abbé alone was buried at Saint-Patrice.

<sup>18</sup> The Princess Louise was the daughter of Prince Ferdinand of Prussia, the youngest brother of Frederick the Great. She married Prince Antoine Radziwill in 1796.

<sup>19</sup> Queen Wilhelmina of the Low Countries was the daughter of King Frederick William II. of Prussia, and sister of the king then reigning, Frederick William III.

her uncle; I wrote until nine o'clock, when the post goes, and when M. de Talleyrand came in. The day was concluded with newspapers, tea, and piquet.

These days are very pleasant when I am not alarmed about M. de Talleyrand's health, and I thank God for them as I go to bed. I no longer consider the amount of amusement or interest or pleasure to be gained; one day perhaps that will return; now that M. de Talleyrand and my children are well and my mind is free from anxiety, and my temper sufficiently kind to make life pleasant for those around me, I ask for nothing more. When we are able to perform a complete renunciation of self, we find our burden lightened, and the low and heavy flight of selfishness is replaced by the rapid sweep of outstretched wings, which is a pleasure in itself. My courage and my self-possession only disappear when I see sickness threatening or striking down my family, for I have only reached the threshold of that stage of resignation in which one sacrifices one's self to the things of heaven. I doubt if I shall ever pass within it. But enough of this, or I shall be thought as religious as a lady of the Faubourg Saint-Germain. I am very far from that point, which I shall never entirely reach, for my independence will never allow me to follow the beaten track or confine myself to particular practices, attitudes, and observances; at the same time, given my natural taste for good books, the natural seriousness of my mind, my wide experience, and the sincerity of my judgments upon myself, it will be hard if I do not learn to draw consolation at least from the one perennial source.

The Carnavalet residence is for sale at a price of a hundred and forty thousand francs. If I dared, I would buy it, and I am, indeed, extremely tempted.

*Valençay, May 26, 1836.*— The correspondence between M. de Talleyrand and Madame Adélaïde continues animated and very affectionate, and gives me some work.

The following news reached us from Paris by letters of yesterday's date: Alava is overthrown, and Miraflores proclaims himself the successor; Alava says that the affairs of his country reduce him to despair. As a matter of fact the newspapers mention some strange affairs in the Assembly of the Procuradores, and great is the confusion caused by the whole business of the change of Ministry. Some people who declare themselves well informed, assert that Isturitz, to relieve himself of embarrassment, would be inclined to come to an understanding with Don Carlos and to arrange a marriage between Queen Isabella and her cousin.

Lady Jersey has given orders for copies of her correspondence with Lady Pembroke to be sent to her. It seems that this correspondence is beyond all that could be imagined in maid-servant style. She also wishes M. de Talleyrand to read all these details.

I have a letter from Princess Louise of Prussia, my godmother, which speaks in very high terms of the young French Princes. Princess Louise is a clever woman, naturally inclined to sarcasm and severity, and her appreciation is therefore the more valuable. M. de Valençay writes to me that he has been greatly struck by the beauty of the Princesses, by their jewels and the elegance of their dress. Herr von Humboldt took the Princes and their suite to see the museums and the artists' studios. The Crown Prince of Prussia has a taste for art, and has greatly stimulated these matters in Berlin. The Duc d'Orléans has given great pleasure by ordering a statue from Rauch, the chief sculptor in Prussia, and the King's favourite. The shyness of the Queen of the Low Countries is even greater than that of the Duc de Nemours. This mutual defect seems to have brought them together, for I am told that the Queen has conceived a friendship for the young Prince and that long conversations have taken place between them.

*Valençay, May 29, 1836.*— Yesterday I read the new play of M. Casimir Delavigne, *Une Famille au Temps de Luther*. The work contains some fine lines, but is quite unsuited for the stage, and nothing is colder than its theological discussions, even when they conclude with crime; moreover, these forms of fanaticism are somewhat wearisome, discordant as they are with the spirit of our time. Finally, the dreadful massacre of St. Bartholomew has become even tiresome, and the best proof of the fact that both it and the atrocities of the Atrides have lost their power to thrill, is their recitation with songs and dances.

Madame Adélaïde informs M. de Talleyrand that the Crown Princess of Prussia has written to her mother, the Queen-Dowager of Bavaria, saying that she was *forced to agree* to the proposal to show honour to the French Princes, and that a very good friend of Louis-Philippe had advised them to show themselves in public.

The King of Naples has now left home, some say to marry a princess of Modena, and others to pay court to the daughter of the Archduke Charles, and others, again, to have a look at the young princesses of Paris.

The King is having a full-length portrait of François I. painted for Valençay, and another of the Grande Mademoiselle; the former built the Castle, and the latter visited it and praised it in her memoirs. The King is also sending M. de Talleyrand the chair in which Louis XVIII. was wheeled about, and he has informed us through Madame that if he should go to Bordeaux, as is possible, he would pass this way.

*Valençay, May 31, 1836.*— It seems that neither intellect nor years can shelter people from foolishness, and a great act of folly has been committed by M. Ancillon in his marriage with Mlle. de Verquignieulle, if what we hear from Berlin is true. M. de Valençay also informs me that the entertainment given by M. Bresson,<sup>20</sup> at which the King of Prussia was present, was a very brilliant affair; all the servants were in full livery, blue, gold, and red, and Bresson said to him: "These are my colours," an amusing remark, and one worthy of the present time. "We shall see," as M. de Talleyrand says.

*Valençay, June 1, 1836.*— The young French gentlemen who went to Prague have returned after a very short stay. They were especially struck by the atmosphere of boredom which is the environment of life in that town. They said the Duc de Bordeaux had a very pleasant face, but his figure was not attractive and his mind but little developed, like that of a child brought up in the midst of old men.

At a dinner given on May 22 to the two French Princes by the Crown Prince of Prussia, Princess Albert,<sup>21</sup> to the great rage of Bresson, the great disgust of the King, and the general horror of the company, appeared with an enormous garland of lilies in her hair; up to that point her behaviour had been quite proper.

The presents distributed by the Duc d'Orléans at Berlin were most expensive, and in money and diamonds amounted to more than a hundred thousand francs. It is rather too much than not enough. Prince Wittgenstein received a box containing not only the portrait of the Prince Royal, but also that of the King and Queen – a very marked attention. M. Ancillon, plastered with the great Cross of the Legion of Honour, swelled himself out and strutted about, and appeared ready to trample upon any one and every one. His behaviour is explained by his middle-class origin and his Calvinistic views.

The parting was affectionate, some professing to love the Princes as their sons and others as their brothers; in short, no success was ever more complete. The ladies were all struck with the handsome appearance of the Duc d'Orléans. My authorities for these statements are reliable, as I quote not merely M. de Valençay, but other letters which came in yesterday, written moreover by natives of Berlin. The accident which nearly befell the Duc d'Orléans at the manœuvres was caused by his politeness to the Princesses; he was reining in his horse near them, when he was nearly thrown, but the skill with which he recovered himself gained him many compliments; and on this question the Duchess of Cumberland writes as follows: "Imagine what would have become of us if any misfortune had happened to him; I should be ready to leave my sick body upon my bed and be changed into a guardian angel to hover over them during their stay at Berlin, and thus to answer the confidence of your Queen, who begged me in a charming letter to treat her sons as my own."

Upon the day when our Princes were at home to the Diplomatic Body M. de Ribeaupierre, the Russian Minister, sent his excuses, alleging a swollen face. Contrary to the old etiquette of Berlin,

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<sup>20</sup> M. Bresson was the French Minister at Berlin.

<sup>21</sup> Princess Albert of Prussia was a princess of the Low Countries.

the whole of the Diplomatic Body was invited to a ball at the house of Prince William, the King's brother. Of this entertainment I am informed: "The ball given to the French mission by order of the King, Louis-Philippe, was a great success; the French Princes were so tactful as to do the honours themselves, and received the King and the Princesses at the foot of the staircase."

*Valençay, June 2, 1836.*— The Princess de Lieven arrived here yesterday in a feeble state of health. We took her in and looked after her as well as we could, but towards the evening I began to feel that she had some presentiments of a tiresome stay, and that if the journey hither lay before her at this moment she would hesitate to undertake it. This I can understand. Here she will have no news and will not be able to see the shadow-show of life, which are both necessities to her. The novelty of the outer world, recollections and historical traditions, natural beauties, the domestic life of a household, reading, thought, and work are by no means to her taste, and in other respects Valençay has never been more poverty-stricken than at this moment.

The verses which M. de Peyronnet has sent to me are not very excellent, but that point is of no account in comparison with the actual circumstance and the whole question. During the winter I worked pretty hard for these poor people, and obtained some definite alleviation for M. Peyronnet, who was the worst of all in health, and this he found very agreeable; I hope that I may be able to do more for him as soon as the session is over. It was this charitable work which inspired the verses in question.<sup>22</sup>

My sister writes to me from Vienna saying that great preparations are made to receive the French Princes, and in particular Paul Esterhazy is working for that purpose; there will be an entertainment at his house at Eisenstadt. Unfortunately many people are in the country and many in mourning.

*Valençay, June 4, 1836.*— We have had two days of bad weather, but yesterday morning a better prospect fortunately allowed us to take Madame de Lieven for a drive in the forest and past the warren, the quarries, &c. In the evening, however, M. de Talleyrand had an attack of palpitation, which was but slight, though it is evident that the enemy is still there. Madame de Lieven yawned to desperation. The poor woman is bored, which fact I can very well understand and pardon. The truth is that, with her frame of mind and habits, she is not likely to endure our solitude or the dull and quiet atmosphere of the household which is due to the mental and physical state of M. de Talleyrand. Moreover, the Princess is not an easy guest from a material point of view; she has twice changed her room, and now wants to go back to the first room she occupied, in which is the bed of Madame de Staël. Lady Holland could not have given us more trouble, and Pauline says that the Princess is "rather whimsical."

A caricature has appeared in London of Lord Melbourne and Mrs. Norton on the very day of the eclipse; it represents the sun and Mrs. Norton as the moon passing over it, while beneath is the word "Eclipse." The reference is to the scandalous law-suit which Mr. Norton is bringing against his wife, and in which Lord Melbourne is unpleasantly compromised.

*Valençay, June 5, 1836.*— The poor Princess de Lieven is greatly bored, and expresses herself on the subject with strange openness. Yesterday she asked me, as if she were talking to herself, why we had invited her at a time when we had no one staying in the house. I began to laugh, and replied very gently: "But, dear Princess, you yourself were so kind as to ask to come. We would have invited the whole world, but the session is not yet finished, so that diplomatists, peers, and Deputies cannot leave Paris." "That is true," she replied, and later on, when she saw that M. de Sercey had just arrived at Paris, she was full of regret that she could not be there to ask him questions; she also thought her *salon* would have been very interesting that evening during the discussion of the foreign service vote. I like straightforward persons, because with them at any rate one knows exactly where one is.

*Valençay, June 10, 1836.*— The Princess de Lieven received letters yesterday from her husband, telling her that she has been represented in a very bad light to the Emperor Nicholas. Conversations

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<sup>22</sup> We have been unable to find them.

and whole speeches have been sent to St. Petersburg as though they emanated from the Princess, which are certainly fictitious, for she is very zealous in her master's service; but those who talk a great deal and see many people are always compromised sooner or later. The Princess is greatly agitated in consequence.

The Prince d'Orange is quite obviously showing signs of madness, which take the form of such sordid economy that his wife and children have not even enough to eat; he keeps the key of the pantry himself, and the Princess has to send out her chambermaid to buy cutlets. The eldest son is said to be a young scamp. He is now at London with his younger brother, where they are known as the "unripe Oranges." The Dutch are said to be much perturbed about the future of their country, and are praying that the life of the present King may be prolonged.

*Valençay, June 13, 1836.*— Yesterday I had a long letter from the Crown Prince of Prussia, with a kind sentence concerning the French Princes and their father, the King, though with a qualification against revolutions which shows his true opinion. It is a curious letter. I have had another from M. Ancillon in most laudatory terms, with no qualification, concerning the travellers, the union, the peace, and M. de Talleyrand; also a curious letter. Finally I have two very long letters from M. de Valençay written from Vienna; he had stopped at Günthersdorf, of which he gives full details.<sup>23</sup> At Vienna he had seen the Count of Clam at the house of his aunt of Sagan, from whom he had learnt that the first interview had given great satisfaction and that our Princes had said everything that was proper. The Archduchess Sophie spoke very kindly of her remembrance of me and treated my son very well. He thinks that the Austrian princesses lack that grace and distinction which is so striking in the princesses of the Prussian royal family. Princess Metternich was at the first evening reception given by M. and Madame de Sainte-Aulaire; she behaved most discreetly, and stayed very late; the Duc d'Orange only talked to her for five minutes, and then upon the subject of homeopathy! She deserved a small lesson.<sup>24</sup>

The great diplomatic reception of the nobility and the garrison seems to have been superb. M. de Valençay was especially delighted by the races at Baden, where he was entertained by the Archduke Charles, who spoke to him very warmly of M. de Talleyrand. The Archduke received all the Frenchmen most cordially. They dined with the Archduchess Theresa, who is described by M. de Valençay as of an agreeable appearance, with pretty manners, and an attractive face. She is very dark and small. The Duc d'Orléans was seated near her at dinner, and their conversation was vivacious. Prince Metternich was also there. He has been reconciled, at any rate outwardly, with the Archduke.<sup>25</sup> The latter has retired to the pretty town of Baden, where he grows flowers; he told M. de Valençay that, like all old soldiers, he loved his garden. The Duc d'Orléans was to dine there again by himself two days later. The Archduke adores his daughter, and will leave her free to choose her own husband; she has refused the Crown Prince of Bavaria, and is to inspect the Kings of Naples and Greece. The Russian alliance alone causes her father some fears.

M. de Valençay was also delighted with the entertainment at Laxemburg, and the water-parties, with music everywhere, which reminded him of Virginia Water. All the society of Vienna was there informally, and the scene was correspondingly animated.

It is quite clear that all this causes ill-feeling at Prague. The Dauphine was speaking to some one who asked her, when she was about to start for Vienna, at what time they would have the honour of seeing her again; she replied that any one who wanted to see her henceforward would have to come and fetch her. A Vienna lady, a strong political opponent of France, said before M. de Valençay, in

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<sup>23</sup> An estate belonging to the Duchesse de Dino in Silesia.

<sup>24</sup> Princess Metternich had used some discourteous terms concerning the assumption of the crown by Louis-Philippe in 1830.

<sup>25</sup> The Liberal ideas of the Archduke Charles had induced Prince Metternich to remove this prince from the Court and to regard him with suspicion. They had almost quarrelled.

speaking of our Prince Royal, that he was so kind and gracious it was to be hoped that he was not something else!

The travellers are to start on the 11th and make their way to Milan through Verona, devoting ten days to the journey.

The Prince of Capua and Miss Penelope are at Paris. The former has seen the Queen; he will go to Rome, and there open negotiations for a reconciliation with Naples.

All the Coburg family and the Belgian King and Queen are coming to Neuilly.

*Valençay, June 17, 1836.*— It seems that every day must be marked by some tribulation. Yesterday evening we had a terrible fright, the consequences of which might have been most serious; they seem to have been but slight, though the doctor says that we cannot be certain for nine days that no internal shock has been sustained. M. de Talleyrand's mania for staying out late brought him back yesterday in his little carriage when it was pitch-dark; moreover, he childishly amused himself by steering a zigzag course, so that he twisted the front wheel. This checked his progress, and he could not perceive the cause in the darkness, so he told the servant to push harder, which he did. The result was a violent jolt, which shot him out of the carriage and threw him head first with his face on the ground upon the gravel of the Orange Court at the entry of the *donjon*. His face was badly bruised, but fortunately his nose bled freely; he did not lose consciousness, and wished to sit in the drawing-room and play piquet. At midnight he put his feet in hot mustard and water, and is now asleep. But what a terrible nervous shock at his age and with his weight, and when he is suffering from a malady which demands that he should be spared every emotion and disturbance!

*Valençay, June 18, 1836.*— M. de Talleyrand's face has suffered considerably, but otherwise he seems to have escaped miraculously from this remarkable fall.

*Valençay, June 21, 1836.*<sup>26</sup> — Do you remember that it was you who refused any form of conversation upon the subject of religion? Only upon one occasion at Rochecotte did you give me any outline of your ideas upon this subject; at that time you were more advanced than myself in respect of certain beliefs. My experiences since that date have brought me more rapidly along the road, but my starting-point has been my recollection of that conversation, in which I saw that you admitted certain fundamental principles of which I was not sure. In any case, my speculations have not advanced beyond that point, and only in points of practice do I attempt to guide my movements by this compass; I have never busied myself with dogmas or mysteries, and if I prefer the Roman Catholic religion I do so because I think it most useful to society in general and to States; individual religion is a different matter, and I think any religion based upon the Gospel is equally good and divine. Since I have seen all supports falling away around me, I have felt my own weakness and the necessity of some support and guide; I have sought and found; I have knocked and it has been opened to me; I have asked and it has been given to me; and yet all very incompletely hitherto, for when one thus walks alone and ill prepared it is impossible to avoid wrong paths, or to avoid slipping in the ruts with continual stumbles. Nor would it have been wise to arouse myself to excessive zeal and fervour, which would have prepared a reaction, perhaps fatal; I therefore advance step by step, and when I consider my progress am humiliated to see how little I have risen; a little more kindness, patience, and self-command is all that I have acquired. I have the same delight in the things that please me, the same repugnance for those that weary me, my dislikes are not extinct and enmity remains keen, my mental anxiety is often wearing, my energies are inconsistent, my speech often too hasty and its expression inconsiderate. I have, too, a thousand modes of self-flattery; I am wounded by blame, and too pleased by approbation, which I sometimes seek and would be ready to arouse at necessity; in fact, there is no task so long and difficult and none that demands more exertion and perseverance than to satisfy one's conscience.

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<sup>26</sup> Extract from a letter.

Apart from the practical methods which I have felt must be followed as a thread to guide me through the labyrinth, I have also been helped by a great sense of gratitude. One day in England I was suddenly struck by the thought of the innumerable favours which had been granted to me, though I had made so ill a use of my powers and my advantages. I admire the patience of God and the long-suffering of Providence towards me; to have found what I have found seems to me so real a blessing and so ill-deserved that it has filled me with gratitude. This sense has continually increased, and partially supports me in accomplishing the sacrifices which I am making. The deep instruction to be daily derived from the old age of M. de Talleyrand; the death of Marie Suchet;<sup>27</sup> her mother's grief; the successive deaths of so many of my acquaintances of different ages, sexes, and positions; of the granddaughter whose eyes I have closed,<sup>28</sup> and who brought death so near to me; the close reading of good books; the lofty conversation of M. de Royer-Collard, who is ready to throw aside philosophic doubts and is slowly succeeding – all these influences have made me consider a thousand matters hitherto unnoticed, and have directed me towards a lofty and a certain goal. Such is the story of this side of my life. My attitude, however, is not that of outward profession, and I can say that I am more advanced in reality than in form; in the latter respect, I doubt if I shall ever change.

What a long answer this is to one small page of your letter! If it seems to you too long, say so, and we will reserve all these revelations for evenings at Rochecotte.

The Duc d'Orléans gives a glowing account of a conversation with Prince Metternich, by which he was delighted.

The Princesse de Lieven has just gone away, to the general relief. I think that the Princess and her proud niece<sup>29</sup> came to feel that they had been somewhat ridiculous here, as they went to some trouble on their last day to utter innumerable thanks and excuses for the inconvenience they had caused, &c.

*Valençay, June 24, 1836.* – How stupid ill-nature is! Madame de Lieven has been unkind enough to write to Paris groaning and lamenting over the profound boredom which she felt here, and her correspondents have been laughing at us or using her words against us; the fact is widely known and commented upon. Our friends told us of it with great indignation. This small ingratitude on the part of Madame de Lieven, which apparently arises on this occasion from want of social experience, is real stupidity; in any case, I am not surprised; I would have made a bet that it was so; her weariness was too profound to be concealed, and I clearly saw that the need of revenge was felt in her correspondence. I do not reproach her for being bored, for saying so, or even for writing the fact, but for prolonging her stay here under the pretext of illness. She was afraid of travelling alone, afraid to be isolated at Baden, and dared not stay longer at Paris, and so she stayed here, to die of inanition and to rouse our ill-feeling. This did not prevent her from weeping like a penitent when she went away; her tears were sincere, for she shed them, not for us, but for herself, her wandering and lonely life. On that point I am not deceived.

Yesterday I had a letter from M. de Valençay from Leoben. They were very pleased with Vienna in every respect. However, the Prussian royal family showed to better advantage than the Imperial royal family. The Prussian princesses were thought more striking for their youth, their beauty and good style, and notwithstanding the garland of lilies, which seems to have been the result of a teasing or coquettish conversation, our Prince Royal and Princess Albert began an obvious flirtation. The Empress of Austria and the Duchess of Lucca, her sister, are very beautiful, but in a cold, austere,

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<sup>27</sup> Daughter of the Marshal of Albuféra.

<sup>28</sup> Yolande de Valençay.

<sup>29</sup> The Baroness of Mengden, niece of the Princesse de Lieven, afterwards lived at Carlsruhe, where she was abbess of a noble chapter. She was very tall, especially in the upper part of her body, and any one seated by her side at dinner was obliged to raise his head in order to see her face. As she was very good-natured, she became to some extent her aunt's drudge; at Valençay, when the Princesse de Lieven stayed there, she gave her niece her jewel-box to keep when she was out driving, so that the Baroness of Mengden could rarely take part in these excursions.

and imposing style. Our Princes distributed the same presents at Vienna as at Berlin, but instead of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour which was given to Ancillon, Prince Metternich, who has long possessed all the French orders, was given a magnificent service of Sèvres china.

*Valençay, June 25, 1836.*— M. de Barante<sup>30</sup> writes from St. Petersburg saying that there is great feeling against Madame de Lieven, on account of her long stay in France. Some ill-temper has also been aroused by the successful journey of our Princes, but nothing of the kind has been shown to our ambassador, who is treated personally with great politeness.

It is said that Mrs. Norton was most angry, in the course of the strange trial – of which *Galignani* gives a far too detailed account – because the servants who were called to give evidence said that she rouged and dyed her eyebrows.

*Valençay, June 27, 1836.*— Another attempt upon the King's life.<sup>31</sup> What a dreadful mania it is, and will it be always futile? Such is the sad question which one cannot help asking. We know nothing yet beyond the news telegraphed to the centres of the neighbouring departments, whence the prefects have sent messengers for our information.

*Valençay, June 28, 1836.*— Our Princes have been told by letter not to hasten their return on account of the attempt upon the King's life. They should reach Turin to-day, and are expected at Paris on the 8th. It seems that Lord Ponsonby<sup>32</sup> has gone mad. He insists upon the dismissal of Reis Effendi<sup>33</sup> and the chief of the Guard. He has written two notes to the Ottoman Porte in which he even threatens the Ottoman Empire with disruption if satisfaction is refused. Admiral Roussin himself writes that Lord Ponsonby is mad. All the Ministers, including the Russian Minister, are working to prevent a rupture; the Court of Vienna is explaining the matter to the English Government in London, and it is hoped that Lord Ponsonby will be recalled.

*Valençay, June 29, 1836.*— Yesterday I had a letter from our travellers, dated from Roveredo, where they were detained by the indisposition of the Duc de Nemours. It was a somewhat serious attack, of which they made light in their letters to his parents, but which greatly frightened the Duc d'Orléans. He was also greatly vexed by the hurried departure of General Baudrand. It seems that this departure was provoked not so much by the necessity of a rapid journey to the waters as by some ill-temper at the fact that the Prince Royal did not show sufficient confidence in him.

The Princes were about to make their way to Florence, as the Grand Duke of Tuscany had been especially pertinacious in asking for a visit, but the illness of the Duc de Nemours stopped their journey. They have met the Archduchess Marie Louise,<sup>34</sup> cousin-german of our Prince Royal. She asked M. de Valençay for news of us, as she is his godmother. He thought she was not so aged as she has been described. They have also seen the Princess of Salerno and the King of Naples. The latter is described as having a fine head, but a coarse and clumsy figure. He is in despair at the death of his wife, with whom he lived on very bad terms until she was with child, in giving birth to whom she died. He is said to be very whimsical.

The Archbishop of Paris was at Neuilly at eleven o'clock on the day when the King's life was attempted. It is unfortunate that he can never appear before the King except immediately after an attempt at assassination, and I therefore think that his visits are not very popular, as they are made under conditions with which one would readily dispense. He refused to admit the body of Sieyès to the church, and it was taken straight to the cemetery.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> French Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

<sup>31</sup> On the evening of June 25, 1836, a young man aged twenty-six, named Louis Alibaud, shot at the king in the court of the Tuileries when Louis-Philippe was reviewing the National Guard and the drummers were beating a march.

<sup>32</sup> English Ambassador at Constantinople.

<sup>33</sup> Reis Effendi was the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Turkey.

<sup>34</sup> The widow of Napoleon I.

<sup>35</sup> Sieyès died at Paris, June 28, 1836.

My deepest grief concerning the attempted assassination of the 25th is that I fear the pistol-shot has killed our Princess Royal. Many say that Alibaud is another Louvel, an isolated fanatic, a natural product of newspaper extravagances and bad teaching. The King wishes to pardon the assassin, but it is thought that the Cabinet will not suffer him to do so. General Fagel<sup>36</sup> has been at Neuilly, notwithstanding the presence of the Belgian King and Queen; the King treated him very kindly.

*Valençay, July 5, 1836.*— My chambermaid's serious illness forces me to wait upon myself. I have felt a little awkward, but shall get used to it. It is not always pleasant, but it is useful, and I do not complain. I have, indeed, my moments of discouragement, but then I chide myself and it passes away. At times great nervous fatigue results from want of practice, but this will disappear, for we are not upon earth to amuse ourselves, or to rest, or to be well and happy and comfortable; that is our chief illusion; we mistake our object, and are then angry that we do not attain it; if we tell ourselves that the object of life is work, struggle, and sacrifice we avoid misunderstandings and escape the most painful of fates.

The examination of Alibaud will not be printed; so much the better, as all this is bad food for public curiosity. Yesterday I had a letter from the Duc de Noailles, who is one of the judges; he told me that the crime was obviously prompted by want. As the man had not a halfpenny he wished to kill himself, but he thought his death should be made interesting and useful. Such is the influence of bad teaching derived from the republican age and society in which he has lived. He is not a gloomy fanatic like Louvel, nor a modern Erostratus like Fieschi, but is merely a beggar of considerable self-possession and badly brought up.

All the newspapers, Carlist, Radical, and Moderate, are greatly vexed by the mandate of the Archbishop of Paris. To appear at Neuilly is too much for some; unwillingness to use the term "the King" in the mandate is a platitude which does not deceive others and irritates many; the Jesuitical and equivocal phrase at the end is thought very pitiable. In short, the outcry is general and deserved. I am sorry, for at bottom he is a man not without good qualities, but with a deplorable want of tact.

I have a letter from M. de Valençay written from Milan; the horseraces in the arena, where twenty-five thousand people collected, and the illumination of the theatre of La Scala were admirable.

The Mayor of Valençay came to consult M. de Talleyrand about an address to be presented to the King concerning the last attempt upon his life, and begged M. de Talleyrand to draw it up. He commissioned me with the task. Here it is, as it has been passed and as it was sent to Paris yesterday. To fall from diplomatic to municipal language is a great proof of decadence. That at any rate is what little Fontanes of Berry has produced, and of all the addresses drawn up on this occasion it is undoubtedly the most monarchical both in form and substance.

"Sire,

"With the confidence of children, the respect of subjects, and the gratitude of the friends of true liberty, the inhabitants of Valençay venture to place at the foot of the Throne the expression of their delight at the miraculous preservation of the sacred person of the King and their wishes for the permanent happiness of the Royal Family. Insignificant and remote as is the quarter of your realm whence these loving hearts yearn towards your Majesty, your goodness is our guarantee that our token of respect will be indulgently received. Our town, moreover, is not without its claims upon the interest of the King, and the claim which we are most pleased to assert is the honour which we have had in receiving His Royal Highness Monseigneur the Duc d'Orléans, and the recollection of the kindness which he has shown amongst us," &c. &c.

Then follow the signatures of the Municipal Council, including that of M. de Talleyrand.

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<sup>36</sup> General Fagel had been the ambassador of the King of the Low Countries in France under the Restoration.

*Valençay, July 10, 1836.*— My son, Valençay, arrived yesterday; he told us nothing new about his travels, and only confirmed his previous letters. We have also the Prince de Laval, by whom M. de Talleyrand is wearied to death, and with good reason. At Paris the Prince is tolerable, and sometimes even amusing, but in the country his want of judgment and his snobbishness, which induces him to say, for instance, that the orange-tree, pruned, clipped short, and planted in a box, is the aristocracy of nature, his continual practice of asking questions, of stammering and spitting before one's face, and always looking on the insignificant side of things, are most wearing; and he does not say a word of his departure.

The Duc d'Orléans writes to say that only for reasons of state would he be sorry not to marry the daughter of the Archduke Charles, for her attractions for him are entirely moral; in person he thinks her, if not ugly, yet insignificant, and he is not attracted. In any case, the father and daughter readily assent to the proposal of marriage; the Emperor of Austria says nothing; but his brother the Archduke Francis Charles and his sister-in-law the Archduchess Sophie say "No."

*Valençay, July 13, 1836.*— Yesterday evening we had a visit from the Duc Decazes<sup>37</sup> and the Comte de la Villegontier, who stopped for tea on their way to their foundry at Aveyron. M. Decazes was sad and sorrowful concerning the King's dangers and the open sores in society, as revealed by the trial of Alibaud. He also complains, and with reason, of the organisation, or rather the non-organisation, of the police. He says that the King alone has preserved his calm and presence of mind, but that around him all are sad, anxious, and agitated, and that the Queen and Madame are very unhappy. Marshal Lobau has persuaded the King that the National Guard would take it ill if his Majesty did not review them on the 28th of this month. He will therefore pass under the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, where the National Guard will march before him. But this is too much. The July festivals will be confined to the opening of the Arc de Triomphe, and the Obelisk from Luxor will be unveiled. No further commemoration would be required, in my opinion.

Alibaud yielded to the exhortations of the Abbé Grivel. He confessed, and therefore has repented. On the scaffold he kissed the crucifix before the people, but when one of the servants took away his black veil he flew into a rage and turned suddenly round to the multitude, red in the face, crying, "I die for my country and for liberty," and then he submitted.

M. Decazes also told us that every day brought him anonymous letters, denunciations, and revelations, and that it was impossible to get a moment's peace. He left me in profound sadness.

*Valençay, July 16, 1836.*— The Prince de Laval, who is still here, admiring everything and evidently well pleased in spite of our political differences, has a certain form of wit which consists in saying smart and clever remarks now and then, but these are wanting in taste and balance. His class snobbishness recalls that of M. Saint-Simon, his caste prejudice is carried to a ridiculous point, his curiosity and gossip are unexampled, and his selfishness and absorption in his own importance and amusement are inconceivable; he advances every claim on his own behalf, and is therefore unbearable when taken seriously. Taken the other way, there is something to be got out of him, the more so as, though he is a tease, he is not ill-tempered, and the very extravagance of his poses forces him to live up to them.

The Duc de Noailles, whom we also expect here to-day, is very different; he is reasonable, self-possessed, cold, polite, and reserved, asking no questions, never chattering nor wearying anybody; but though he is unpretentious his claims to consideration are none the less real, and he is absorbed, first of all by his position as a great lord, and then as a politician. His position as a man of fashion and fortune, of which Adrien de Laval boasts his past possession, as they are now gone, has no attraction for him. I might even say that if M. de Laval is a quondam young man, the Duc de Noailles is an old man before his time. He is only thirty-four or thirty-five, but his face, his manners, and his life in general make him appear fifty.

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<sup>37</sup> M. Decazes then acted as chief referendary to the Chamber of Peers.

*Paris, July 27, 1836.*— I think more and more of the Duc de Noailles. He is a man of good judgment, sound taste, with a sense of honour and excellent manners. He is also dignified and possessed of common sense, while his goodwill is valuable, and his high position may be useful in the world in which he is a figure. But my high opinion of his good qualities and the value which I set upon his goodwill and friendship do not prevent me from seeing his pretentiousness. His chief ambition is political, and is not, perhaps, sufficiently supported by the ease of temperament which is quite indispensable at the present time. The whole family has remained what it was two hundred years ago. The Noailles are rather illustrious than ancient, rather courtiers than servants, but servants rather than favourites, intriguers rather than ambitious, society people rather than lords, snobs rather than aristocrats, and above all and before all, Noailles. I know the whole of the family existing at the present time; the best and most capable of them is undoubtedly the Duc, whom I judge perhaps somewhat severely, but for whom I have always a real esteem.

I left Valençay the day before yesterday at six o'clock in the morning; my dear Pauline was very sad at being left behind; I slept at Jeurs with the Mollien family, reaching their house at eight o'clock in the evening, and arrived here in pretty good time. I found M. de Talleyrand in fairly good health, but much disturbed by the state of affairs. The King will not be present at to-morrow's review, and has given it up because of a discovery that fifty-six young people have sworn to kill him. As it was impossible to arrest these fifty-six, it has been thought more advisable to abandon the review. In what times we live!

The death of Carrel<sup>38</sup> has also thrown a gloom over us. He made many mistakes, but his mind was distinguished and his talent remarkable. Even M. de Chateaubriand, the author of the "Génie du Christianisme," wept as he walked in the funeral procession of the man who refused to see a priest and forbade the holding of any Church ceremony at his funeral. The desire to produce an effect usually ends in some loss of taste and propriety in the most essential details.

Affairs in Spain are going very badly. The supporters of intervention are growing active, and many of them are influential and leading spirits, but the supreme will is in active opposition to them.

During my journey yesterday I was in very good company, with Cardinal de Retz, whose memoirs I have taken up again; I had not read them for many years, and then at an age when one is more attracted by the facts and the anecdotes than by the style or reflections. The style is lively, original, strong, and graceful, while the reflections are thoughtful, judicious, elevating, striking, and abundant. What a delightful book, and what insight, and often more than insight, in judgment, if not in action! He was a political La Bruyère.

*Paris, July 28, 1836.*— Yesterday the Duc d'Orléans came to see me. He is in very bad health and somewhat melancholy; he too is obliged to take an infinite number of precautions which sadden his life. The King had resolved to go to the review, but was at the same time so convinced that he would be killed that he made his will, and gave full orders and directions to his son concerning his accession to the throne.

At the end of the morning I also had a call from M. Thiers, who was very pleased with the news he had just received from Africa, with the political situation at home and abroad, and, in short, with everything, apart from the great and continual dangers which threaten the King's life. There were to have been several attempts upon the King's life on the day of the review; these attempts were to be organised separately and without connection. One was to be delivered by a group of men disguised as National Guards, who were to fire a volley of twenty shots at the King as he passed, one of which would certainly have found its mark. Two of the young men who have been arrested – and the arrests amount to more than a hundred – have already made important confessions. Yesterday morning a

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<sup>38</sup> A violent newspaper quarrel brought about a meeting between Armand Carrel, editor of *Le National*, and Emile de Girardin, editor *La Presse*. A pistol duel took place on July 28 in the wood of Vincennes. Armand Carrel was severely wounded in the stomach, and died the next day, after expressing a definite wish for burial in a cemetery without any Church service.

man was arrested in whose house was found a machine like Fieschi's, but more perfect and smaller in compass, with more accuracy and certainty in its working.

*Paris, July 29, 1836.*— Yesterday evening I was with the Queen. She seemed quite natural in manner, though she said very bitterly: "We can testify to ourselves that we are entirely upright, and yet we are forced to live amid terrors and with the precautions of tyrants." Madame Adélaïde urges her not to sadden the King's temper. He was with his Ministers, and did not come in till later. His manner was quite ordinary, but his features bear the mark of gloomy thoughts; the greatest vexation he ever experienced in his life was his inability to go to the review. Moreover, he thinks that his days are numbered, for the day before yesterday, when taking leave of the Queen of the Belgians, who was returning to Brussels, he told her that he would not see her again. The young queen was in ill-health, and nothing was more heartrending than their farewells. Poor people!

A remarkable fact which is vouched for by all the officers of the legions of the National Guard is that during the last fortnight a number of unknown or notorious people, such as Bastide, and others, have put down their names on the rotas of the National Guard and take sentry duty; this was in order that they might find a place in the ranks which were to march before the King upon the day of the review.

Nothing sadder can be conceived than the Tuileries. I stayed there two hours with an inexpressible sinking of heart, a melancholy and an inclination to weep which I could hardly restrain, especially when I saw the King. I shall start early to-morrow morning for Valençay.

*Chartres, July 31, 1836.*— I left Paris yesterday, but much later than I intended, as the Duc d'Orléans sent word that he wished to speak with me again. I cannot say how much I have been touched by his perfect kindness to me. He came to see me every day, and showed that he counted me as his best friend – and he is certainly not mistaken. He has made remarkable progress in every respect, and if heaven preserves him to us I am sure that his reign will be brilliant. I hope that a good marriage will clear our political horizon, which is very dark.

What is his marriage to be? That question will be decided next week, for I think that he certainly will marry; circumstances make it entirely necessary to consolidate and strengthen that which crime threatens and attacks daily, and a continuation of the line becomes even more important than the greatness of the alliance. The latter, however, is not to be despised. Search is made, but if no success results the only object will be to find a wife who can bear fine children, without any idea of amorganatic marriage, which is not required for many sound reasons, any more than a marriage with any member of the Bonaparte family. Religion is a matter of no consequence. It is absolutely necessary to deliver Paris from the mournful condition into which it has fallen. I know the French, and if they are shown a young and engaging bride they will be delighted, while the foreign political world will perhaps be more considerate to us when it has no further matrimonial snare to spread before us.

Yesterday I stayed a few minutes at Versailles with Madame de Balbi, and a few minutes more at Maintenon, with the Duchesse de Noailles. I am now starting for Châteaudun, and shall go on from thence to Montigny, where I have promised to visit the Prince de Laval.

*Montigny, August 1, 1836.*— I left Chartres after hearing mass in the cathedral, which, as far as I could see, has not suffered from the fire.<sup>39</sup> The wood- and lead-work have gone, but as the vaulting within, which was made of stone, has not suffered, nothing is to be seen from within the church. The work of repair is now in progress.

I stopped at Châteaudun in order to go over the whole of the old castle, including the kitchens and the dungeons. Though greatly ruined, some beauties yet remain, and the view is splendid. The Prince de Laval came to meet me, and brought me here in his carriage. He is making a charming spot

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<sup>39</sup> In the month of June 1836 a conflagration, supposed to be caused by the carelessness of some plumbers, completely destroyed the chestnut beam-work of the cathedral, which was the admiration of visitors and was known as "the Forest." A great number of old windows were broken or melted, and the bells were seriously damaged. For several hours the fire threatened to spread to the whole of the lower town. The important work of repair lasted for several years.

here, arranged with good taste, care, and magnificence. The situation is beautiful, and the Gothic part of the castle has been well preserved and carefully restored. The castle would give a very good idea of the owner to anybody who did not know him. I must admit my astonishment at the fact that the spot could have been arranged as it was by Adrien de Laval; the truth is that he has an excellent architect; and then the Baron de Montmorency has arranged the court, and has had several consultations with me concerning the arrangement of the rooms, for this is not my first visit. In short, it is charming, and though things are much better at Rochecotte, there are some here which outrival ours. In respect of size and proportion the two places can be well compared.

*Valençay, August 2, 1836.*— I have now returned to my lair, and am delighted to be far from the uproar of Paris, but I should like time for a good rest, whereas M. de Talleyrand has also just come with people who are to surround us from to-day. If I could choose a coat of arms which really meant something I should prefer a stag at bay with the dogs around him.

It is impossible to be more hospitable than M. de Laval has been, and I am slightly ashamed of the small ingratitude of which I may be guilty in relating one of the most ridiculous affairs which I know. Adrien possesses the order of the Holy Ghost, which is no longer worn; he had several medallions, and will any one guess what he has done with them? He has had them sewn on the middle of one of the velvet counterpanes which cover the chief beds in the castle. I was never more surprised than to wake up in the morning and find a large inscription of the Holy Ghost across my figure.

*Valençay, August 6, 1836.*— I have a letter from M. de Sainte-Aulaire, dated July 22, from Vienna, which begins as follows: "I am now writing to you, as this letter will be taken by a courier who will start in two days and tell the Ministry I really do not know what. The attempted assassination by Alibaud has evoked unexpected manifestations of interest for the King here, and wishes no less sincere for his accomplishment of the great work with which Providence has entrusted him; but we need not be surprised that this incident has also increased the terror which is felt or which people seek to rouse concerning the condition of Paris. 'Everything comes to him who waits.' On this condition I would have answered for his success, but it is one of the cases where people will not wait, and possibly with reason." This letter from M. de Sainte-Aulaire must have come by the courier who brought the important answer concerning the proposed marriage between the Duc d'Orléans and the Archduchess Theresa; hence this answer must have arrived at Paris, and I am the more inclined to think that it has been received, as Madame Adélaïde informs M. de Talleyrand that her nephew will write to him personally upon his own affairs. It is from no curiosity, but with a keen desire to see the fate of the young Prince happily settled, that I impatiently await his letters. I should also like to see the King of Naples make one of our princesses his queen.

*Valençay, August 7, 1836.*— By way of continuing the quotation which I gave yesterday from M. de Sainte-Aulaire's letter, I will say that the reply has been received and that it has been unfavourable. I am sorry, for our sakes, but if it is a setback to our Prince Royal I regard it as possibly a political error on the part of those who have declined. Their repentance may yet be speedy, for the incident may change the appearance of the world and bring once more into opposition the two forces which were inclined to amalgamate.

*Valençay, August 9, 1836.*— Yesterday at lunch-time we saw our cousins arrive, the Prince de Chalais and his brother.<sup>40</sup> The former, in my opinion, has the most charming face that I know, a fine figure and noble manners. I talked a great deal with him, as he did not leave until after dinner. He has sound sense, simplicity of mind, uprightness of heart, curiosity upon useful matters, and a sensible and reasonable interest in everything that can strengthen the fine position of a great landowner.

I am informed that the decree which is to liberate the prisoners of Ham has been signed. I am truly pleased to hear it, as I have worked hard to secure it. They are not given full liberty, but

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<sup>40</sup> The Comte Paul de Périgord.

a change of residence with some relaxations preparatory to full freedom, which will allow them to recover their shattered health more readily and under better conditions.

Every one is well pleased at Neuilly with the King of Naples. Our King has been much worried by people who would like him to intervene beyond the Pyrenees, against his wish, but hitherto he resists vigorously. This mental anxiety, together with the precautions which people wish to impose upon him to secure his safety, is poisoning his life.

*Valençay, August 11, 1836.*— M. de Talleyrand is informed that the Spanish problems, which are growing more and more acute, are causing bitterness at Paris, where nothing of the kind should exist — namely, between the King and his Minister of Foreign Affairs,<sup>41</sup> who is supported by the Prince Royal, as these two men are anxious for intervention. We may wonder who will emerge victorious from this domestic struggle.

*Valençay, August 22, 1836.*— I can well understand the reflections made concerning the Grand Duchess Stephanie of Baden; her want of tact is due to her early education. She was brought up in a pretentious boarding-school,<sup>42</sup> where she learnt much except that exquisite sense of propriety which may be transmitted hereditarily or implanted in youth but can never be taught. For instance, she asked M. Berryer to a ball at her house, though he had not been introduced and had not asked for an introduction. Then she talks too much, as a rule, and attempts to bring herself into notice by conversational brilliancies which are not always properly calculated or adapted to her position. Princesses are not obliged to be kind; they must, however, be obliging and dignified; but to understand the limits of propriety and not to go beyond them they must have acquired certain habits from infancy; here the Grand Duchess Stephanie was wanting, and Madame Campan has not been able to amend the defect. I believe her to be at bottom an excellent person. Her life shows devotion and courage in the misfortunes through which she has passed with great credit. I think that Madame de Lieven, who criticises her so severely, would not emerge so unscathed from the crises caused by her difficult position with respect to her husband. The Grand Duchess had a nice manner and a pretty, alert, and graceful bearing; she needed youth, and as she lost youth her defects became more obvious. This, unfortunately, is every one's case, and for that reason it is wrong to say that people are too old to amend; on the contrary, when charm passes away it is most essential to replace it by capacity; charm of youth calls forth indulgence and provides excuses which disappear with those charms and graces, and are replaced by a severity of judgment which can only be opposed by more self-control, more self-renunciation, and more self-respect.

We are officially informed that the refusal from Vienna was expressed in polite terms, but no reason was given. The possibilities of Princess Sophia of Würtemberg have not been considered, in spite of what people say. Our Prince Royal has started for the country, somewhat thin and changed, but entirely convalescent.

From Madrid we hear that Isturitz has resigned. Calatrava takes his place as President of the Council. Everything is going very badly.

The King of Naples starts for Toulon on the 24th, and goes, as he came, unmarried.

The ex-Ministers are still prisoners at Ham, in consequence of difficulties which have arisen among the Ministers in power. The Minister of the Interior wishes to keep the prisoners under his supervision, and the President of the Council wishes them to remain in the fortresses, under the milder regulations, but in military strongholds; but so long as they are there, the Minister of War claims supervision over them. It is quite time that this treatment came to an end, for the unhappy people are ill.

Madame Murat has obtained permission to spend a month at Paris. She will arrive in a week, and is said to be taking no part in her brother's intrigues.

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<sup>41</sup> M. Thiers.

<sup>42</sup> The institution of the famous Madame Campan, now the school of Ecouen.

Yesterday I had a letter from Madame de Lieven, who announces her return to Paris as a positive fact. I am afraid she may be making a great mistake. Yesterday I had a letter from St. Petersburg in which she is said to be in very bad odour at Court. On the other hand, M. de Löwe-Weimar is very well treated at Court, and poses as an aristocrat. Horace Vernet is also spoiled and petted in a most inconceivable manner. Why, in view of that, should Madame de Lieven be thus harassed? Can it be that she is suspected of being something of an intriguer? The English are certainly right to include the capacity of keeping quiet among a person's best qualities.

*Valençay, August 24, 1836.*— I have a comical and unexpected piece of news to the effect that M. Berryer has been playing in a vaudeville at Baden with Madame de Rossi. This must be a strange occupation for a politician, but it is better for him than bad company in Switzerland. Yesterday the newspapers announced the death of M. de Rayneval<sup>43</sup> at Madrid. This will increase the difficulty of a question which is complicated enough already.

*Valençay, August 27, 1836.*— We have no details from Paris, but obviously some Cabinet crisis is in preparation. Meanwhile M. Thiers seems to have been anxious to involve the King in the Spanish difficulty against his wish, and to have acted for that purpose without consulting his colleagues. The result has been a considerable amount of ill-feeling which is difficult to quell, and should lead in a few days either to the submission of Thiers to the King or to the formation of a new Ministry, which, however, would contain some members of the present Cabinet, and in particular, I think, M. de Montalivet. All this is a matter of speculation, for we know nothing definite.

*Valençay, August 28, 1836.*— A letter from Madame Adélaïde yesterday informed M. de Talleyrand as follows: "The Ministry is dissolved, to my profound regret. I am especially sorry for Thiers, but he was obstinate upon the question of intervention in Spain, and this has spoiled everything. The King wished to disband the new body that was formed at Bayonne, and demanded a formal undertaking that there should be no question of intervention hereafter; Thiers refused, and resigned. Any Ministerial crisis at this moment is very vexatious, for we have so small a circle from which we can choose. The King has sent for M. Molé, but he was in the country. He will require time to come, and no doubt he will ask for Guizot. It is all very distressing, and we know by experience how long and difficult is the task of forming a new Cabinet. Pity me, for I am heartbroken!" Such was the position of affairs the day before yesterday in the immediate neighbourhood of the crisis. I am very sorry it should have occurred, in the first place because I have a real interest in Thiers, and because I regret that his revolutionary instincts should have overcome his devotion, his gratitude, and the recognition which he owed to the great wisdom, the prudence, and the long experience of the King. Moreover, constant changes of Ministry are Governmental misfortunes and shake public opinion too frequently; besides, Thiers' dexterity, alertness, and promptitude, apart from his energy and his intellect, are useful to the State. What use will he make of these powers when he has full liberty of action? Madame Adélaïde, as the extract from her letter shows, has no great love for the Doctrinaires, but it is inconceivable that M. de Broglie should be recalled, with whom M. Guizot considers that he has settled accounts for ever. Apart from these disadvantages, I think it is obviously beneficial for the King to have given a fresh proof that on questions of real importance he cannot be shaken and will not be driven into action against his wish. Thus in February he resisted the arrogance of the Doctrinaires, and has now overthrown the infatuation of Thiers. This seems to be a fair warning for the future Ministry, whatever its political colouring, and an excellent guarantee to all right-thinking men in Europe.

*Valençay, August 29, 1836.*— M. de Talleyrand ought to regard the accidents that happen to him without disastrous results as a guarantee that his life is certainly assured, and in my place I think that this warning would rather turn my thoughts upon what they portend and induce me to thank God for the respite granted to lighten our burden of responsibility. Sometimes he reflects upon death, but not

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<sup>43</sup> French Ambassador in Spain.

often. Yesterday evening there was a violent storm which threatened the Castle. After a loud clap of thunder he asked me what I had been thinking of at that moment, and I immediately replied: "If a priest had been in the room I should have confessed myself, for I am afraid of sudden death. To die unprepared and to carry with me my heavy burden of sin is a terrifying prospect, and however careful one may be to live well we cannot do without reconciliation and pardon." M. Cogny, our doctor, who was there, and who is terribly afraid of thunderstorms, added somewhat foolishly that he was performing an act of contrition at every flash. M. de Talleyrand said nothing at all, and we went on playing piquet. I take every opportunity of strengthening my belief, and thus attempting to arouse his, but never until I have an opening. In such a matter a light touch is indispensable.

Yesterday I had a long, interesting letter from the Duc d'Orléans, and a letter which I think the more satisfactory as he has returned to more reasonable opinions upon the Spanish question. His opinion of the Ministerial crisis corresponds entirely with my own. I have also a letter from M. Guizot written from Broglie on August 24. When writing he had no news of the resignation of Thiers, which took place on the 25th. He informs me that he has just bought a small estate near Lisieux and is going to turn farmer.<sup>44</sup> I presume that I shall next hear that he has left the plough to resume the pen and speechifying.

*Valençay, September 1, 1836.*— I am strongly inclined to accede entirely to the opinion concerning the Emperor Nicholas which states that the only royal quality in his possession is personal courage. His chief deficiency seems to me to be that of intelligence, not only in conversation and judgment, but in general.

M. de Montessuy, who accompanied M. de Barante to an entertainment at Peterhof and passed the night there, writes that he saw the Empress at a distance in the gardens and respectfully withdrew, but that in the evening she reproached him for so doing, saying that she had come down in order to speak to him and that it was wrong of him to avoid her. All this story seems to me to be very unlikely.

Madame Adélaïde writes to M. de Talleyrand on August 30 that nothing has yet been done with regard to the Ministry. M. Molé has opened communications with MM. Guizot and Duchâtel, both of whom have arrived at Paris, but unanimity between them is rendered difficult by their respective sense of dignity. The King and Madame seem greatly to regret their forced separation from the retiring Ministers and the necessity of calling in others.

*Valençay, September 3, 1836.*— Yesterday I learned a piece of news which is causing me much anxiety and is likely to involve me in embarrassment: the death of my man of business in Germany, Herr Hennenberg, who died at Berlin on August 23. I am thus obliged to replace a most upright and capable man, a strong and respected character who had full knowledge for twenty-five years not only of my business, but of all my intimacies, past and present, who has thrown himself heartily into every interest of my life and performed immense services, and, in spite of the many pecuniary shocks which I have experienced, has restored my fortunes and brought them to visible prosperity, often to my own astonishment. He was, in short, a man to whom I had entirely handed over the control of my affairs, as, indeed, was necessary, in view of the long distance which separates me from the centre of my interests. Such a man cannot be replaced by correspondence or blindly, nor can I remain in uncertainty and unsettlement for any length of time without suffering incalculable loss. Hence a journey to Germany seems an absolute necessity; but, on the other hand, how can I leave M. de Talleyrand alone in view of the present state of his health? It is not to be thought of, and I pray that Providence may deliver me from this inextricable complication.

Letters from Paris say that attempts to form a Ministry are so many successive failures, that the King is growing tired of it, and that Thiers is beginning to say that Spain is past all remedy. Perhaps they will end in patching the matter up, but the shock that each party has received will weaken their harmony, apart from the paralysing sense of mistrust and rancour which will remain. It is all very sad.

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<sup>44</sup> This estate was the Val Richer, where M. Guizot lived until his death.

*Valençay, September 4, 1836.*— We have letters daily from Paris, but no word regarding any solution of the difficulty. Yesterday I thought the breach might be healed; I am less inclined to think so to-day. It is even possible that the journey to Fontainebleau may take place before the reconstruction of the Cabinet. M. Thiers would like to start for Italy, to which the King has replied that his resignation will be accepted only when he has nominated a successor. Molé and Guizot are possibilities which seem to be exhausted without result.

*Valençay, September 7, 1836.*— We are told that the *Moniteur* of to-day will contain the names of a Guizot-Molé Ministry, recruited entirely from among the Doctrinaires under the influence and by the efforts of M. Guizot. I had a letter from M. Thiers yesterday, and am sorry to see some ill-temper displayed against all who do not share his ideas about that wretched Spanish question. In particular he thinks that the signatories to the Quadruple Alliance should have agreed with him. This remark is addressed to M. de Talleyrand, who proposes to reply that a fresh reading of the treaty will show that it was drawn up in such a way that France is not under obligation in any direction. M. Guizot persisted in objecting to the retention of M. de Montalivet as Minister of the Interior, and as the latter thought it inconsistent with his dignity to leave this post for another, as Guizot had proposed, he has resigned, to the King's great regret, and will go to Berry, where he has property. Sauzet and d'Argout are said to be going to Italy, once the refuge of dethroned Sovereigns and now the inevitable touringground of ex-Ministers.

The following fact is certain: On the 4th of this month information was received that the *Société des Familles*, the most numerous and best organised of secret societies at this time, proposed to make some attempt to raise a public disturbance. Their intention was perfectly clear; the fear of discovery doubtless prevented them from putting it into effect. They proposed to advance upon the prison where the political prisoners are confined, to set them at liberty, to seize the Prefecture of Police, and thence to march upon Neuilly. The Ministers assert that their intentions were quite serious.

*Valençay, September 9, 1836.*— The newspapers are already declaring a terrible war upon the new Ministry, which will be settled before the Chambers.<sup>45</sup> The Opposition journals predict a breach in the Cabinet, which seems a not unlikely possibility. Then perhaps we shall see M. Thiers return to the head of affairs, but with a certain opposition to confront him, after making war upon a system which he had long supported and entering into obligations with men inclining to the Left, in which case he would be likely to draw the Government into dangerous paths. I do not really know, but in general things seem to me to be growing dark. In any case it is fair to recognise that the new Ministerial combination can display to the country and abroad honourable names, distinguished talent, and recognised capacity. Let us hope, then, that it may rest upon a solid basis. Eight or ten days before the last crisis M. Molé, after a considerable silence, wrote a very sprightly letter to M. Royer-Collard and to myself.

*Valençay, September 10, 1836.*— Yesterday M. de Talleyrand received a nice deferential little note from M. Molé upon his accession to the Ministry. The burden of the letter was as follows: As the new Cabinet had been formed upon a question and with ideas which M. de Talleyrand had wisely made his own, the new Ministers might congratulate themselves upon his approval, and for himself he trusted that it might be so, as he relied upon M. de Talleyrand's counsel and opinion. M. de Talleyrand immediately replied. It is not my business to praise the answer, but I think it should please M. Molé, though he will find no criticism in it of the man whose place he takes. M. de Talleyrand may regret the blindness of M. Thiers upon the Spanish question, but it is not for him to blame M. Thiers in definite terms, as he has long shown and felt goodwill for him.

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<sup>45</sup> The Ministry was composed as follows: M. Molé, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Guizot, Minister of Public Instruction; M. Persil, Minister of Justice; M. Duchâtel, Financial Minister; M. de Gasparin, Minister of the Interior, with M. de Rémusat as Under-Secretary of State; M. Martin du Nord, Minister of Commerce and Public Works; General Bernard, Minister of War; and Admiral Rosamel, Minister of Naval Affairs.

*Valençay, September 11, 1836.*— I shall not quote Madame de Lieven as testifying to the accuracy of the story told by M. de Montessuy,<sup>46</sup> but I admit that I cannot understand so strange an incident. If one of our princesses or our Sovereign had so acted, a revolutionary interpretation would immediately have been put upon it at St. Petersburg, and if the Emperor Nicholas admits Horace Vernet, and especially M. de Löwe-Weimar, to his favour, his intimacy, and his confidence, I do not see why the King should be reproached for dining at the Tuileries with his National Guards. The truth is, Louis-Philippe cannot use the knout or Siberia, which are two stern precautions against familiarity, though it is fortunate for each of us that these weapons are not in his hands; in Russia, neither age nor sex nor rank nor merit is any protection.

I have a letter from M. Guizot couched in most sprightly terms, telling me of his entrance to the Council. The friendship of the King for M. de Talleyrand and the confidence with which he honours him forbid any Minister to be on bad terms with him; our intentions are identical, so that between ourselves and these gentlemen all should go well.

I have a long letter from the Comte Alexis de Saint-Priest from Lisbon. He writes from time to time, though I only send short dry notes by way of answer; but he seems determined to regard them as proofs of friendship. It is merely a case of calculating self-interest. He knows that the Duc d'Orléans shows me some kindness, and he believes himself called upon to play a part when this Prince comes to the throne, and therefore desires in any case to be one of my friends; any one reading the opening sentences of his letter would think that I was a great deal to him and he to me. I am somewhat vexed in consequence.

*Valençay, September 13, 1836.*— How is it that people are so often found ready to report ill-tempered speeches to the persons affected by them? It is a strange and too common frame of mind. To myself it is so hateful that while I believe myself incapable of it, I always receive very coldly those who bring me confidential remarks of this nature. I think that the first condition upon which one can live in peace is to speak evil of things only when they are bad and as little as possible of people, and the second condition is to disregard evil spoken about ourselves unless it be spoken to warn one of some trap or actual danger, but it is very rarely that such information is actuated by this good and laudable intention. These moral reflections are evoked by the slanders which Lord Rosse is said to have uttered about Madame de Lieven and the information brought to her concerning them. In any case I see that social habit, knowledge of the world, the necessities of conversation, and, in short, the thousand and one considerations which make hypocrisy a virtue, or at any rate a social quality, allow these two people to meet on good terms, and if that be so, my theories are of little or no importance.

*Valençay, September 16, 1836.*— The following is an extract from a letter received by M. de Talleyrand yesterday; it was not sent by Madame Adélaïde, but the writer is generally very well informed. "M. Molé is ill. He has not yet been able to pay any calls, nor to receive any ambassador, nor has any council yet been held by the King. It is said that his health will not allow him to remain long in office, and that he will never establish himself there with any certainty. If he should resign, it is thought that the Ministry would not be entirely dislocated, and that Montalivet would probably take his place. There is also a rumour that the Ministry is ready to confront the Chambers fearlessly, and expects to secure a majority, that it is ready to be contented with a small majority in the hope of seeing it grow, and that it does not intend to make every point a Cabinet question. Marshal Soult is not to be Minister of War. He was anxious to be President of the Council, but this was refused, and the post will probably be given to Molitor, Sébastiani, or Bernard. The Ministry is entirely dominated by the King's policy upon the Spanish question. The body which was gathering on the Pyrenees frontier will be disbanded and the Foreign Legion abandoned. In any case that legion is at the service of Spain, and we have no right to use it for our own purposes. Strictest adherence will be maintained to the limits laid down by the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance. At the same time an ambassador at Madrid

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<sup>46</sup> See above, p. 63.

will be appointed, though the death of Rayneval might have enabled us to dispense with this; but the appointment will be made from respect to England. A rumour has gone abroad, but it is a great secret, and the appointment is not yet settled, that this ambassador will be the Duc de Coigny. The King is a little doubtful of the attitude which Thiers will adopt. He is also much displeased with him, and has expressed his displeasure several times. At one time Thiers took some steps to return to the Ministry, and the matter was discussed. He then submitted himself wholly to the King's opinion and will upon the Spanish question, but the style of the King's expression showed that he was very far from reposing confidence in Thiers, and that he would only take him back perforce and in a difficult and unavoidable position. The true cause of Thiers' resignation is not so much difference of opinion between the King and himself as the deceitful course by which he wished to draw the King into intervention against his will. Since he has gone several facts have been discovered of which no one had any suspicion. Thiers went away announcing that he would only return for the following session if he saw his policy attacked. He is said to be really very despondent about his fall, and has the more reason for despondency as he is sole author of it. The mode of his resignation has greatly diminished the reputation which he first achieved, and the public opinion is not in his favour."

*Valençay, September 21, 1836.*— Yesterday we heard that the Constitution of 1820 had been proclaimed at Lisbon. It is asserted that this event was prepared at London, and the fact remains that Admiral Gage, who was in harbour with three ships of the line, remained a passive spectator. The queens of the South are not destined to enjoy unbroken slumber, for at Lisbon, as at Madrid, the Queen was forced to sign the new Constitution at two o'clock in the morning. The army took the side of the people and of the National Guard. The poor little Prince of Coburg has made a sad marriage indeed. If he remains in private life with so heavy a burden as Doña Maria he will collapse. It is impossible to avoid some feeling of dismay at these military reactions, and we are deeply anxious to see our Cabinet completed by a *real* Minister of War. General Bernard was the last chance, and would be the best choice, as Marshal Soult persistently refuses.

*Valençay, September 23, 1836.*— Our festival of St. Maurice<sup>47</sup> was held yesterday, and was most brilliant. Numbers of neighbours came, and our cousins came over from Saint-Aignan. The gamekeepers with their early trumpet-blasts, fine weather, a long drive, the banquet in the Castle, and dinner to the little school-girls, the three courts lighted up, and a most pretty entertainment, cheerfully and delightfully played, completed our festivity.

*Valençay, September 25, 1836.*— It is certain that Charles X., to please the Duc de Bordeaux, has requested Don Carlos to receive his grandson into his army, and Don Carlos has very wisely refused. The truth is that this would have been the only thing that could have induced France to intervene.

A letter from Strasburg gives me many details concerning the Abbé Bautain and MM. Ratisbonne and de Bonnechose which interest me greatly, for it was these men who carried on the correspondence concerning the philosophy of religion which I read last winter. This book is preceded by their biographies and the story of their conversion, so that my knowledge of their case is complete. M. Royer-Collard, to whom I have spoken several times concerning the Abbé Bautain, told me that when he was high master of the university he knew the Abbé, then quite a young man; that he had a distinguished mind and a lively imagination, but that his mother was at Charenton and that there seemed some likelihood of his following her, though at the same time he thought a great deal of him for many reasons. I trust that the death of Mlle. Humann will not relax the precious bond which unites all these young people, with their goodness and sincerity. The manner of Mlle. Humann's death was like that of Queen Anne of Austria, a description of which I have just read in the *Mémoires* of Madame de Motteville; this queen also died of cancer. I know few incidents so touching and edifying, so curious and well described, as the death of this princess. I have finished these memoirs; a book which counterbalances, from the political standpoint, the memoirs of Cardinal de Retz. By way of

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<sup>47</sup> St. Maurice was the patron saint of the Prince de Talleyrand.

restoring my equilibrium, I am reading the *Mémoires* of the Grande Mademoiselle. I read them before my marriage, at a time when I did not know France, and therefore knew even less the district which I now inhabit, and in which this princess lived for a long time; consequently her book has an entirely new attraction for me and interests me deeply.

*Valençay, September 28, 1836.*— A few days ago a Spanish courier arrived at Paris from Madrid. He had been stopped by the Carlists, who had taken all his despatches except those directly addressed to King Louis-Philippe. In these despatches Queen Christina announces that she proposes to leave Madrid, leaving the two Princesses behind. The next day a telegram came in stating that the Queen is to leave Madrid, with all the Ministry, for Badajoz. This town was chosen as being nearest to Portugal, and because the Queen would be unable to travel in the direction of Cadiz or the Pyrenees or to any seaport. Unfortunate creature!

*Valençay, October 2, 1836.*— M. de Valençay, who is at the camp of Compiègne with the Duc d'Orléans, writes that everything is going off well and that the King's visit has had an excellent effect. The Ministers, who all accompanied the King to Compiègne, followed him on horseback to the great review, but M. Molé felt uncomfortable after a few minutes and got into the Queen's carriage. The camp is said to be very fine; the King was excellently received, and the young Princes make a good appearance. I am the more pleased to hear this as it is the first time that the King has left his confinement since the case of Alibaud. His presence in camp must have been thought very necessary, as the Duc d'Orléans answered for the King's safety with his own life, begging him to go and show himself to the troops; and only then did the Council, which had at first opposed the plan, consent to the King's journey.

*Valençay, October 5, 1836.*— I must copy the following passage about the castle of Valençay, which I found in the *Mémoires* of the Grand Mademoiselle, vol. ii. p. 411, in the year 1653: "I continued my journey to Valençay, and arrived there by torchlight. I thought I was entering an enchanted house. The rooms are the most handsome, delightful, and magnificent, in the world; the staircase is very fine, and is reached by an arcaded gallery that is superb. It was beautifully lighted up; there were plenty of people, including Madame de Valençay, and some local ladies with handsome daughters, and the general effect was most perfect. The room corresponded with the beauty of the staircase, both in decorations and furniture. It rained the whole day that I was there, and I think the weather must have done it on purpose, as the covered walks had only just been begun. From there I went to Selles; it is a fine house."

I have a letter from Alexander von Humboldt about the death of my man of business, Herr Hennenberg. He offers his services in a most obliging and careful letter, marked by the utmost flattery and wittiness, a curious document which I shall keep among my precious autographs. The death of this man has aroused the interest of all my friends. Were it not for the anxiety which would pursue me if I were to leave M. de Talleyrand and my daughter, a journey to Prussia would suit me entirely.

*Valençay, October 18, 1836.*— Yesterday I had a letter from the Prince de Laval, written from Maintenon, where he was staying with M. de Chateaubriand and Madame Récamier. He told me that a messenger from the Princesse de Polignac had just arrived begging the Duc de Noailles to go to Paris to try and remove the fresh obstacle which prevented the accomplishment of the promise to improve the condition of the prisoners. The Prince de Laval adds that the Duc de Noailles was about to start, and that he would return to Montigny, whence he would come and pay us a short visit and tell us of the new complications which have arisen concerning the poor prisoners of Ham.

*Valençay, October 20, 1836.*— Yesterday we had a pleasant visit from M. Royer-Collard, who came over from Châteauevieux in spite of the deplorable state of the roads. He was very indignant that any one should be bargaining with the prisoners of Ham about their liberty. He left me a letter which he had received from M. de Tocqueville, who had returned from a journey in Switzerland. In it I found the following passage: "I have closely examined Switzerland for two months. It is very possible that the present severity of the French Government towards it may force this disunited people to submit,

but it is certain in any case that we have made implacable enemies there. We have accomplished a miracle by uniting in common feeling against ourselves parties hitherto irreconcilable. This miracle has been performed by the violent measure of M. Thiers, and perhaps even more by the pride and haughtiness of our ambassador, M. de Montebello, and his mania for interfering in the domestic affairs of the country upon every possible occasion."

I have recently been thinking a great deal of what has been done or left undone for the prisoners at Ham. All the newspapers with the exception of the *Débats* unanimously blame the last measures, the favours offered as a bargain and the degrading conditions imposed upon these prisoners, who are a class by themselves and unexampled in history. These unfortunate men, moreover, are not asking for liberty, but are only requesting some alleviation on the score of their health. It seems that our present Ministers do not share the opinion of Cardinal de Retz, who said: "Everything that seems dangerous and really is not, is almost always a wise measure." Some one else makes another observation which seems very applicable to recent events: "There is nothing finer than to do favours to those who are against us, and nothing weaker, in my opinion, than to receive favours from them. Christianity, which enjoins the first action upon us, would certainly have enjoined the second if it were good." Here we have a clever saying in the style of that fine period when everybody, even the least perfect, had some grandeur about him. I do not know whether vice is now any less, but as for grandeur I can find none.

*Valençay, October 23, 1836.*— I have decided to write a short note concerning the castle of Valençay, describing its foundation and history, &c., which I shall dedicate to my grandson, Boson, in the following words:<sup>48</sup>

"To my Grandson!

"All are agreed that it is disgraceful to know nothing of the history of one's own country, and that undue modesty or undue presumption are possible dangers if one is ignorant of one's family history, but few are aware how greatly the pleasure of inhabiting a beautiful spot is increased by some knowledge of its traditions. Of these three kinds of ignorance the last is undoubtedly of least importance, but it is also the most common; schoolmasters may create the first, parents the second, but only individual taste can lead us to inquire into dates and facts connected with places which are not generally recognised as famous. This inquiry may seem trivial if it is not justified by any interesting recollections of the past, but in such a case as that of Valençay, where the house is well known for its connection with celebrities, it is the less excusable to disregard or to confuse its history, as we are specially called, if not to perpetuate these famous events, at least to respect them.

"It has been a pleasure to make this piece of history easier for your study. May it encourage you to remain as noble in heart and thought as are the glories and the traditions of the ancient place of which I propose to tell you the story."

*Valençay, October 24, 1836.*— Yesterday I had a very kind letter from the Duc d'Orléans, telling me of the departure of his brother the Duc de Nemours for Constantine. He envies him his dangerous enterprise.

M. the Prince de Joinville was at Jerusalem.

*Valençay, October 28, 1836.*— All our letters from Paris say that no ceremony has been more imposing than the erection of the Obelisk of Luxor.<sup>49</sup> The royal family was welcomed with delight. It was their first public appearance in Paris since Fieschi's attempt, and the people showed their

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<sup>48</sup> This note upon Valençay was printed in 1848 by Crapelet, Rue de Vaugirard, at Paris, with the dedication to which the author here refers. This curious work is quoted by Larousse in his great "Dictionnaire universel du Dix-neuvième Siècle," under "Valençay." It has become scarce, but several copies exist.

<sup>49</sup> The Obelisk of Luxor was given to King Louis-Philippe by Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt. It was removed from its place before the Temple of Luxor, carried to Paris, and erected in the Place de la Concorde in 1836.

pleasure. The Cabinet hesitated, as in the case of Compiègne, but the royal will carried the day, and with successful results.

*Valençay, October 30, 1836.*— To-morrow I propose to start from here at eight o'clock in the morning; I shall lunch at Beauregard,<sup>50</sup> dine at Tours and sleep at my own house at Rochecotte, where M. de Talleyrand and my daughter will join me on November 2.

*Rochecotte, November 2, 1836.*— I have not had a moment's rest since my arrival here, as I had to put everything in order before the appearance of the guests whom I am expecting, and to examine the changes that have been caused during my absence by the construction of the artesian well; these changes have greatly improved the immediate neighbourhood of the Castle, though much remains to be done.

I am inclined to think that M. Thiers has uttered some very ill-advised remarks concerning all of us. Ill-temper and despondency usually find unmeasured expression in the case of persons whose early education has been deficient. It was the Spanish question which drove M. Thiers from the Ministry, and on this point he was absolutely opposed to M. de Talleyrand; hence the result. I have no ill-feeling against him; it was bound to be so. Moreover, there are very few people of whom I am sufficiently fond to hate them profoundly.

*Rochecotte, November 4, 1836.*— What is the meaning of all this Strasburg disturbance?<sup>51</sup> I am inclined to think there is something serious in this mad Bonaparte enterprise, from the fact that a similar movement took place the same day at Vendôme. Six sergeants began the affair, which was immediately crushed, though one man was killed. I do not know whether the newspapers have anything to say of it, but it is quite certain, as the two prefects of Tours and Blois related it to M. de Talleyrand, who told me the news when he arrived. The Grand Duchess Stephanie will be uneasy concerning the expedition of her cousin, Louis Bonaparte.<sup>52</sup> I am sorry for the Duchesse de Saint-Leu, although I think she had some knowledge of the affair and is more inclined to intrigue than to act a part; but she is a mother, and has already lost her eldest son, and she must feel terrible anxiety; it is a just though bitter punishment for her miserable intrigues.

*Rochecotte, November 7, 1836.*— Yesterday I had a letter from Madame de Lieven, who tells me that the Emperor Nicholas is indisposed. When a Russian admits that the Emperor is indisposed he must indeed be ill. His death would be an event of very different importance from the outbreak at Strasburg. I do not think the French would have any great reason to regret him.

*Rochecotte, November 10, 1836.*— Madame Adélaïde informs M. de Talleyrand that the King has resolved not to bring the young Bonaparte to trial; he will simply insist upon his immediate departure for America and exact a formal promise that he will never return to France. Madame de Saint-Leu has written to the King to beg for her son's life. She is known to be hidden at Paris, where the authorities are unwilling to leave her; nor will they allow her to live in Switzerland. Apparently she will go to the United States with her son. What foolishness it is which can lead to such a result!

*Rochecotte, November 11, 1836.*— Madame de Lieven was saying recently before Pozzo that she would perhaps spend the next winter at Rome. "What on earth would you find to do in Italy?" cried Pozzo. "You could ask no one to tell you the news except the Apollo Belvedere, and if he refused you would say, 'Wretch, away with you!'" This sally of Pozzo's made every one laugh, including the Princess; she is, in fact, quite frivolous.

*Rochecotte, November 20, 1836.*— Yesterday's letters told of a reversal in the affairs of Portugal. The counter-revolution seems to have failed at the moment when success was thought certain, and

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<sup>50</sup> With the Comtesse Camille de Sainte-Aldegonde.

<sup>51</sup> On October 26, 1836, Prince Louis Bonaparte, accompanied by his friend M. de Persigny, and supported by Colonel Vaudrey, attempted to begin a military revolt and to overthrow the king, Louis-Philippe.

<sup>52</sup> Afterwards Napoleon III.

the mishap was due to a want of understanding between the little Van de Weyer and Lord Howard de Walden. The disaster is complete.

Madame Adélaïde tells M. de Talleyrand that the Court will certainly not go into mourning for the death of Charles X., as no notification of the event has been received.<sup>53</sup> She quotes several examples in which mourning was not worn for this reason, though near relatives were concerned, including the case of the late Queen of Naples; she was aunt and mother-in-law to the Emperor of Austria, and died in the Imperial castle near Vienna, but the Austrian Court did not go into mourning because the King of Naples, who was then in Sicily, did not send a notification of his wife's death. Such precedents are invincible.

*Rochecotte, November 21, 1836.*— The death of Charles X. has divided society in Paris upon every point. Every one wears mourning according to his own fancy, from colours to deep black by infinite gradations, and with fresh bitterness about every yard of crape that seems to be wanting. Some refer to him as the Comte de Marnes and Henry V., others as Louis XIX. In short, the place is a perfect Babel, and they are not even agreed upon the disease of which Charles X. died. Yesterday's letters speak of nothing else, except the affairs of Portugal. We are informed that the clumsy attempt might easily shake the position of Lord Palmerston.<sup>54</sup>

*Rochecotte, November 22, 1836.*— The Prince de Laval writes that M. de Ranville is staying with him at Montigny, while M. de Polignac<sup>55</sup> is on the road for Munich and Goritz. I do not know at all how this business has been arranged, nor do I know the meaning of this meeting of Paris clergy summoned to the house of M. Guizot, the Minister of Public Worship. They say that the Archbishop is preparing a manifesto in consequence, but I have not yet received the answer to the riddle.

Only the Abbé de Vertot could tell the full story of the revolutions in Portugal. Lord Palmerston would not be the hero of it, nor Lord Howard de Walden either. What can one think of the base methods employed by such diplomacy?

*Rochecotte, November 28, 1836.*— Differences of opinion concerning the question of mourning for Charles X. have found their way into the royal family; the Queen, who had voluntarily assumed mourning the first day, was vexed because the Ministry forced her to abandon it. The Cabinet is afraid of newspaper controversy, but has gained nothing, as all the newspapers are in rivalry according to their political colouring. I am much puzzled to know what shade of white, grey, or black I shall adopt when I reach Paris; generally speaking, the ladies of the neutral party who are also of society wear black in company and white at Court. The position of our diplomatists abroad will be very embarrassing.

M. de Balzac, who is a native of Touraine, has come into the country to buy a small estate, and induced one of my neighbours to bring him here. Unfortunately it was dreadful weather and I was forced to invite him to dinner.

I was polite, but very reserved. I am greatly afraid of these publicists, men of letters, and writers of articles. I never spoke a word without deep consideration, and was delighted when he went. Moreover, he did not attract me; his face and bearing are vulgar, and I imagine his ideas are equally so. Undoubtedly he is a clever man, but his conversation is neither easy nor light, but, on the contrary, very dull. He watched and examined all of us most minutely, especially M. de Talleyrand.

I could very well have done without this visit, and should have avoided it if I had been able. He aims at the extraordinary, and relates a thousand incidents about himself, of which I believe none.

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<sup>53</sup> Charles X. had just died at Goritz, in Austria, on November 6, 1836.

<sup>54</sup> The Queen of Portugal had been forced, after several outbreaks, to accept the Radical Constitution of 1820. In November she began a counter-revolution, helped by Palmella, Terceira, and Saldanha, believing, at the instigation of England, that the population of Lisbon would support her, and proposing to dismiss her Ministers. She had been wrongly informed concerning the popular feeling, and was forced to abandon the struggle.

<sup>55</sup> M. de Polignac, who was a prisoner at Ham, had demanded from M. Molé his transference to a sanatorium.

The Prince de Laval informed me that M. de Polignac has not yet been able to profit by the freedom which was granted him, as he was too ill to move at the moment arranged for his departure.<sup>56</sup> He asks to be transported to the nearest frontier, Mons or Calais, to avoid any route of which he could not endure the fatigue.

*Rochecotte, December 2, 1836.*— The Archbishop's letter concerning the convocation of the clergy is a bad one, because of its fault-finding, which is an unsuitable characteristic in an ecclesiastic whose finest quality is evangelical simplicity; but we must also admit that he must have been shocked by the attempt to influence the clergy directly, and that the prohibition of prayers instituted by the Church is somewhat too revolutionary, and I wish we could reform revolutionary ways more definitely. We cling to them out of fear, and this timidity, which is too obvious, brings us into isolation abroad and encourages enemies at home.

The Duc d'Angoulême will certainly style himself Louis XIX. and his wife the Queen; she wished it to be so. However, immediately after the death of Charles X. they sent all the insignia of royalty into the room of the Duc de Bordeaux, declaring that even if events were favourable they never wished to reign in France. In any case the notifications were issued under the incognito title of Comte de Marnes. The young Prince is called Monseigneur at Goritz. He and his sister are staying with his uncle and aunt.

M. de Polignac wrote to M. Molé after the death of Charles X., saying positively that he would be grateful to the King of the French for permission to leave Ham, and thus obtained his permit. M. Peyronnet wrote in charcoal on his prison wall, "I ask mercy only from God," which I think he had hardly the right to say, since he left his prison in very lively spirits. He would not see M. de Polignac again, even at the last moment.

*Rochecotte, December 15, 1836.*— I shall certainly leave here to-morrow evening, and shall be at Paris in the afternoon of the day following.

[The two correspondents whose letters furnish material for these memoirs spent a few months together at Paris, so that the memoirs were interrupted, and recommenced in 1837.]

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<sup>56</sup> His punishment had been commuted to perpetual banishment.

## CHAPTER II

### 1837

*Paris, April 17, 1837.*— The new Ministry, which entered upon office the day before yesterday, and is destined to immortalise the date of April 15, as different Governments are designated by such dates, will have a stern conflict to wage, and I hope, for the sake of its leader, M. Molé, that it will emerge with honour from the struggle. The *Journal de Paris* offers a frank Doctrinaire opposition; the *Journal des Débats* pronounces a funeral oration over the last Ministry and offers peace and support to the new one. All this promises neither reality, sincerity, fidelity, nor stability, and I hardly know to whom or to what it is reasonable to trust in the sphere of political relations. M. Royer-Collard came to see me this morning before going to the Chamber of Deputies; he did not seem to think that the new Ministry would survive one session.<sup>57</sup>

M. Thiers came to dine with us, among other guests, and talked largely, as usual. He came from the Chamber, where they had in vain awaited the official proclamation of the new Ministry which had been announced. The King was to take the Electress,<sup>58</sup> who is at Paris at this moment incognito as the Comtesse d'Arco, to visit Versailles, but as the council lasted from ten in the morning till five in the afternoon the King was unable to go out or the Ministers to appear before the Chamber. The incident produced a bad effect upon the Electress, who is said to be irritable and scornful.

*Paris, April 19, 1837.*— Madame de Castellane, who came to see me this morning, was very painfully affected by last night's session in the Chamber, and told me that the extreme length of yesterday's council was due to a keen discussion concerning the complete repeal of the law of appanage and the advisability of leaving blank the appanage of the Duc d'Orléans in the law which was to be presented to the Chamber on the occasion of his marriage with Princess Helena of Mecklenburg-Schwerin; the Duc d'Orléans, who was present at the council, was anxious that a blank space should be left, and eventually gained his point.

Hardly had Madame de Castellane left my house than Madame de Lieven came in; she came to ask me to dinner to-day. She told me a saying which is current concerning the new Ministry, and is borrowed from a new invention; they call it the deodorised Ministry.

Towards the end of the morning I had a visit from M. de Tocqueville, who came to me from the Chamber, where he had witnessed the solemn entry of the Ministry. He said that the entry took place amid the most absolute silence; there was not a word or a gesture, as if the benches had been empty, and as if one had been in the middle of the ice upon Lake Ladoga, to quote a later remark by Madame de Lieven. The same silence prevailed during M. Molé's speech, and when the Ministry retired in a body to make their way to the Chamber of Peers there was a murmur of dissatisfaction which drove back MM. de Salvandy and de Rosamel, who had come to resume their places upon the Ministerial bench. In the ensuing debate Marshal Clauzel seems to have cut a poor figure, but M. Jaubert was most incisive, and at his remarks upon the provisional state of affairs malicious laughter against the Cabinet burst out on all sides. On the whole the impression was most discouraging for the new Ministry.

After our dinner the Duc de Noailles came in his turn to give an account of the Ministerial entry into the Chamber of Peers. M. Molé said a few short and confused words; M. de Brézé said that

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<sup>57</sup> The Ministry was composed as follows: M. Molé, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Barthe, Minister of Justice; M. de Montalivet, Minister of the Interior; M. Lacave-Laplagne, Financial Minister; M. de Salvandy, Minister of Public Instruction. General Bernard, Admiral de Rosamel, and M. Martin du Nord retained their portfolios; M. de Rémusat, Under-Secretary of State, followed his Minister into retirement.

<sup>58</sup> Marianne Leopoldine, Archduchess of Austria-Este, born in 1771, married the Elector Charles Theodore of Bavaria. After her husband's death she married the Grand Master of his Court, the Comte Louis Arco. This princess died in 1848.

he thought the speech too vague, and asked for some explanation of the reason for the dissolution of the last Cabinet. M. Molé attempted to reply without committing himself, with the result, doubtless by mistake, that he used the word "categorical" to characterise the brevity of his words. Thereupon M. Villemain said maliciously that the speech of the President of the Council was anything rather than categorical, and that he would like to know what was going to happen concerning the law of non-revelation. M. de Montalivet then got up, and is said to have made an excellent speech. He would have left the Chamber with a thoroughly good impression, had not M. Siméon, the promoter of the law of non-revelation, announced that his speech was ready. This will be a great embarrassment for the Ministry, as they would have preferred to allow this proposed law to be forgotten.

*Paris, April 22, 1837.*— Yesterday I had a visit from the Duc d'Orléans, who had just learnt the vote of the Chamber concerning his marriage dotation, and was satisfied both with the form and matter of it. He seems to me inclined to spend half of the million allotted to household expenses in charity to the workmen of Lyons, in bank-books bought for unfortunate people in the savings-banks of the country, in clothes for a large number of children in orphanages, and, in short, in good works. He is very pleased with his marriage, and in an excellent temper. The Princess Helena wishes to be escorted from Weimar by an envoy of France, and a suitable person is being sought for this mission. I should be glad to see the Baron de Montmorency obtain the honour. The Princess will see the King of Prussia at Potsdam. Her portrait has not yet arrived. There are still hopes that the marriage will take place before June 15. As the Princess is not to be married by procuration, and is not yet, consequently, the Duchesse d'Orléans, her household will not go to meet her at the frontier. There she will be met only by some member of the King's household, and perhaps by one of the Queen's ladies; in any case, she is coming accompanied by her step-mother, the Dowager Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg.

Meunier will probably be pardoned on the occasion of the marriage.<sup>59</sup> The trial of Meunier presents no interest as regards the character of the individuals concerned, nor is their language in any way dramatic. The affair is much inferior to that of Fieschi, or even of Alibaud, and the only effect produced has been one of disgust, which is the best effect upon the public that could be produced.

The ridiculous compliment of M. Dupin to the Prince Royal is well commented upon this morning in the *Journal de Paris*. The King would not allow his son to receive the congratulations of the Chambers except in his own presence, which induced M. Sémonville to say that he would have thought he was abdicating if any other course had been followed.

I dined at the house of M. and Madame Mollien with M. and Madame Bertin de Veaux, M. Guizot, and M. de Vandœuvre. There was much talk of the halting speech of M. Barthe, at the end of which he suddenly came to a standstill, of the extremely poor appearance of the Ministry, and of the almost inevitable possibility of a duel between MM. Thiers and Guizot in the course of a session which will bring up so many burning questions. The two champions will deliver their blows upon the backs of the Ministry, which will probably succumb under their assault. This remark is fairly general, and is not my property. Yesterday nothing more than skirmishing went on.

*Paris, April 26, 1837.*— I hear of discussions in England upon the Spanish question. M. Thiers gave assurances the other day that the English Ministry was ready to leave Spain to its destiny. He deduced, with some fear for the reigning French dynasty, the conclusion that Don Carlos would be triumphant. It is true that this question is concerned with that of intervention, upon which he used to lay so much stress.

The Duchesse d'Albuféra has been greatly agitated by the duel of her son-in-law, M. de La Redorte, who fought the editor of the *Corsaire* on account of an insulting article which appeared two days ago in this wretched newspaper, apparently attacking both the person and the opinions of M. de

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<sup>59</sup> On December 27, 1836, at the opening of the Parliamentary session, another attempt was made upon the life of King Louis-Philippe as he was driving to the Palais Bourbon with three of his sons. The criminal was Meunier, a young man aged twenty-two, who was condemned to death by the Chamber of Peers; but the King eventually secured a commutation of his penalty to perpetual banishment on the occasion of the marriage of the Duc d'Orléans.

La Redorte. The duel was fought with pistols, and the editor was wounded in the hand; it is thought that he will lose a finger. Social distinctions are destroyed by the excesses of the Press.

*Paris, April 27, 1837.*— This morning I saw Madame Adélaïde, who told me that the King had just signed the commutation of Meunier's penalty. She also told me that the Princess of Mecklenburg and her step-mother would reach the French frontier on May 25; on May 28, St. Ferdinand's Day, there would be a birthday celebration for the Duc d'Orléans at Fontainebleau, and the marriage would take place on the 31st.

Our guests at dinner were the Princesse de Lieven, the Duc de Noailles, Labouchère, M. Thiers, and Matusiewicz, who has returned much aged from Naples, of which he gives a bad account, both for its climate and its social resources. Thus the guests were somewhat heterogeneous, which was due to M. de Talleyrand's absence of mind, but all went off very well and the conversation was lively, especially between M. Thiers and Madame de Lieven. She was positively coquettish towards him — I use the word advisedly, because no other would express the fact. M. Thiers gave an account of the Chamber, continually repeating in a special tone of voice which evoked involuntary laughter, "Poor Ministry!" At the same time he patronises the Ministry, though he would never consent, I think, to be patronised at that price. It would suit him to keep the Ministry alive until the next session, but his success is doubtful, for, as he says himself, an invalid can be kept alive, but not a dead man. In yesterday's session the Ministry equivocated, as usual, and eventually decided against Marshal Soult, which caused much ill-temper on the Left because the Doctrinaires shouted on every side, "Settle it!" "Settle it!" They said that the scene was quite scandalous. After Madame de Lieven took her leave the gentlemen stayed on for some time, and talked of the changes which the schism had introduced into society, even into the neutral body of it. They discussed the influence of the *salons* and of the women who controlled them. M. Thiers classed them as follows: The *salon* of Madame de Lieven is the observatory of Europe; that of Madame de Ségur is purely Doctrinaire, with no concessions; that of Madame de La Redorte is entirely in the power of M. Thiers; with Madame de Flahaut the convenience of the Duc d'Orléans is the general desire, and with M. de Talleyrand the convenience of the King; the house of Madame de Broglie is for the 11th of October and for the concession, though the most bitter of concessions; the cabinet of Madame de Dino is alone guided by the most perfect independence of mind and judgment. My share is thus by no means the worst, though, to tell the truth, it was pronounced in my presence.

The German newspapers announce the death of M. Ancillon, who had been ill for a long time, when the doctor ordered him a draught and a liniment; he explained the matter to Madame Ancillon, who was starting for a concert. When she came back she perceived that a mistake had been made, and a few hours afterwards the invalid was dead. The poor man was unfortunate in marriage. He began by marrying a wife who might have been his mother, then one who might have been his daughter, and finally this Belgian beauty, who was, I think, the worst of the three.

*Paris, April 29, 1837.*— This morning I saw M. Royer-Collard, who spoke of the session in the Chamber of Deputies on the previous evening, when a million had been voted for the Queen of the Belgians. The result, for which he also voted, was doubtless good, but the debate seems to have been very ominous for the Government, and M. de Cormenin by no means received a thrashing, but held the upper hand. The same impression was given to me by two others who were present at the session.

*Paris, April 30, 1837.*— M. Thiers came to see me this morning before the session of the Chamber. He confirmed the general report of the session which discussed the grant to the Queen of the Belgians; but the object of his visit was to complain of the Princesse de Lieven. He has suddenly seen what I had foreseen long ago, that she did not take him seriously, but brought him out and put him forward as an actor. He has too much common sense not to see the ridiculous side of this and not to feel it. He asked if I had noticed it and if others had seen it. I told him that no one had mentioned it to me, but that I thought a little more reserve in his language in a *salon* which he himself called the observatory of Europe would not be out of place. I advised him, however, to remain on good terms

with the Princess, who is really fond of him, and whose wit and easy conversation please him also. I think he found an opportunity the other day of letting drop a few words to her that frightened her considerably. There is no harm in that, as she is a person with whom one must remain upon good terms and yet keep in check.

*Paris, May 1, 1837.*— The Duc de Broglie is going to meet the Princess of Mecklenburg at Fulda, on this side of Weimar, not to marry her, but to offer his compliments and his escort. The wife of Marshal Lobau will be the Princess's lady-of-honour.

Yesterday I had a letter from the Archbishop of Paris, who sends me a copy of the answer from Rome, which he had just received, concerning his last difficulties with reference to the archiepiscopal estate. Rome entirely approves his conduct, and leaves him free to conduct any transaction which may satisfy his general interests. This last phrase is distinctly vague. I shall probably go to-morrow afternoon to thank the Archbishop and to learn some further details. He adds in his letter that he is certain that the Government have received an answer similar to that which he communicates to me.

*Paris, May 2, 1837.*— I am assured that the Prussian Minister here, Baron von Werther, will take the place of M. Ancillon at Berlin. He is offering some objection to the proposal, but it is thought that he will accept.

The Marquis de Mornay has been nicknamed the Sosthenes of the July revolution – amusing, but very true.

I have seen M. Royer-Collard, who thought that the law concerning secret funds would pass, but would be a mortal blow to the Cabinet.

Yesterday evening I went to the Court reception held on the 1st of May.<sup>60</sup> There was an enormous crowd, including every type of beauty and ugliness, of well and badly dressed people. The Duc d'Orléans did not appear, as he is suffering from a severe sore throat and inflammation of the eyes. He is wise to take care of himself, as he has only three weeks for that purpose.

I was told at the Château that in a morning session of the Chamber M. Jaubert had positively flayed the Ministry, and that to-day's session might easily end in their overthrow. I hardly think so, as no one is anxious to seize their inheritance.

Rumours are also current of an important victory said to be won by Don Carlos.

Apparently I did not mention what Matusiewicz told me about the new Queen of Naples, concerning whom I asked him many questions. She is the Archduchess Theresa of whom so much was heard last year. He says that she is agreeable, witty, kind, and nice, with no haughtiness or fine manners, and nothing of the princess about her. The King is said to be deeply in love with her.

*Paris, May 4, 1837.*— Yesterday I went to the Sacred Heart to see the Archbishop. I found him delighted with the answer from Rome, and not anxious to make any public parade of it. Whatever formalities the other side might raise, he was anxious to use the liberty given him from Rome to handle the whole question in a pacific spirit; in short, he was calmer and gentler than I had seen him for a long time.

*Paris, May 5, 1837.*— M. Molé, who dined here yesterday, said that his colleague, M. Martin du Nord, would make a kind of apology to-day to the Chamber for his outburst of the day before yesterday. M. Thiers has harangued his forces and calmed their feelings.

The ratification of the marriage contract of the Duc d'Orléans has come to hand from Mecklenburg; the illness of Herr von Plessen, the Mecklenburg Minister, had prevented him from travelling to the spot where the ratifications are to be exchanged, and some delay was feared, which would have been the more prolonged as the Minister has since died. M. Bresson therefore sent a bearer to him with the Act; he was almost at his last gasp when he signed it, and died three hours afterwards.

Herr von Luttheroth says that the portrait of the Prince Royal which he was commissioned to take to the Princess Helena produced an excellent impression. Two attacks of influenza made it

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<sup>60</sup> The birthday of Louis-Philippe.

impossible to finish the portrait of the Princess; in her place I would not send anything. Herr von Lutteroth is full of the delightful qualities of the Princess, although he admits that her nose is by no means distinguished and her teeth rather bad. Otherwise she is admirable, especially her figure, which is charming. When he dined with her her gloves were too large and she wore black shoes which obviously were not made at Paris. The vexatious point is that the Duc d'Orléans has an obstinate cold on his chest; he coughs a great deal and his voice is very weak, but he is taking care of himself, and wisely.

Mecklenburg princesses have no dowry, but when they marry the States vote them two or three hundred thousand francs as a voluntary gift. The Duc d'Orléans has refused this vote, to the great delight, it is said, of the people of Mecklenburg. The Duc de Broglie will be accompanied upon his mission by the Comte Foy, son of the famous General, the Comte d'Haussonville, MM. Léon de Laborde, Philippe de Chabot, and Doudain, the last-named with the title of First Secretary to the embassy.<sup>61</sup>

*Paris, May 6, 1837.*— After a visit from M. Royer-Collard, and as though by way of contrast, I went yesterday morning and waited for a long time at Madame Bautrand's, the famous costumier. I wanted to choose a few things for the entertainments at Fontainebleau, and spent an interesting time over it. In the first place there were the most delightful articles, then there was a crowd of people waiting for some mark of favour, and messages were coming from the Château hastily summoning the great personage. One really might have thought one's self in the rooms of a party leader.

Yesterday evening I had a note from Madame de Castellane written after the session of the Chamber, giving the following account of it: M. Martin du Nord offered a reasonable explanation; M. Augustin Giraud vigorously attacked M. Molé, who returned an admirable reply; M. Vatry challenged the great champions to enter the arena by proposing an amendment; M. de Lamartine, in a wearisome speech entirely off the point, aroused M. Odilon Barrot, who then delivered one of his finest speeches; M. Guizot in his turn made an excellent reply.

I was awakened just now to receive a note from M. Molé, telling me that M. Thiers, shaken and almost converted by yesterday's session, is anxious to overthrow the Ministry and so force M. Guizot to come forward with his friends, with the object of overthrowing him in turn; he adds that M. Dupin reminded M. Thiers of his obligations, telling him that such action would be dishonourable. M. Thiers seemed to waver once more, and announced that he would summon his friends again. M. Molé sends me this news, asking me to discuss it with M. Thiers from Dupin's point of view. He has applied to the wrong person, for the burnt child fears the fire, and I have too keen a recollection of last year's scene to put my hand into a wasp's nest of that kind. I prefer not to meddle with what does not concern me, but in any case to-day's work will decide the case of the Ministry.

*Paris, May 7, 1837.*— I did not go out yesterday morning, and left my door open, so certain visitors came in: M. Jules d'Entraigues, the Duc de Noailles, and the little Princess Schönberg. All were full of the session of the previous evening and of M. Guizot's magnificent speech. He really performed admirably, and aroused the deepest parliamentary emotion in the Chamber.

About five o'clock M. de Tocqueville arrived. He came from the session and had just heard Thiers, who had replied to Guizot. It seems that no one ever showed greater power; it is he who saved the Ministry and secured the passing of the law.<sup>62</sup> He added that Thiers spoke quietly and coldly, seeming to avoid any oratorical effects, and not attempting to outdo his rival in dramatic display, but anxious only to deliver a blow, and he is said to have succeeded.

At dinner our guests were the Duchesse d'Albuféra, M. and Madame de La Redorte, MM. Thiers and Mignet. M. Thiers was well pleased with his day's work, and gave a warm tribute to Guizot, roundly asserting that he would never have been so foolish as to try and eclipse him, seeing that that

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<sup>61</sup> This embassy of honour was sent to meet the royal bride; the meeting took place at Fulda on May 22, 1837.

<sup>62</sup> The reference is to a law concerning the estimates for the secret police fund.

was impossible; he had attempted only to make his position impossible, and that he had done. He then gave us his speech, which seemed to me to be strikingly clear, sensible, and practical. He told me that M. Royer-Collard had almost fallen upon his neck, saying, "You have killed them!"

In the evening I went to Madame Molé's, to a dinner given in return for that which I recently gave when the Electress was present. The only subject of conversation was the session in the Chamber. The Ministry were as pleased as if they had been successful, though there is no possibility that they will triumph. As I came back I called upon Madame de Lieven. She had heard Guizot on the previous evening, but not Thiers in the morning. Thus she had remained entirely under Guizot's influence, which was the more appropriate as he came in himself delighted with the concert of praise by which he has been received; but in reality he felt the blow had been struck. I, who know him well, thought his feelings quite obvious.

As I write I am quite deafened by the noise of the drum which is continually beaten for the great review of the National Guard which the King is to hold to-day. Heaven grant that all goes off well. I am most anxious.

I know that Herr von Werther and Apponyi are but moderately satisfied with the political doctrines expressed by M. Guizot in his speech of the day before yesterday; they were expecting a less limited and less middle-class system. There they were wrong, for M. Guizot's social ideas are alone appropriate to the age and to the country as it is now constituted.

*Paris, May 8, 1837.*— I should be delighted if the last piece of news I have heard were true, that the Grand Duchess Stephanie is to marry her daughter to the Duke of Leuchtenberg; there would then be no possibility of her marrying one of our princes, and I should be equally pleased because I am not anxious to see among them a nephew of the Prefect of Blois.<sup>63</sup>

The day before yesterday, in the evening, I met the Marquis of Conyngham at the house of Madame de Lieven. He related that the Duchess of Kent, who is always doing tactless things, recently invited Lord Grey to dinner together with Lady Jersey. Their respective rank required that Lord Grey should take Lady Jersey into dinner; Sir John Conroy requested Lord Grey to do so, but he absolutely refused, and Lady Jersey was taken in by some one of lower rank. Both were keenly irritated in consequence.

It seems certain that the Duchesse de Saint-Leu is dying. The physician Lisfranc, who has returned from Arenenberg, says so. The poor woman has mismanaged her life and her position, and she is expiating her fault most cruelly. It is dreadful to survive her eldest son and to die far away from her second son, entirely cut off from her family; this misfortune disarms the severe criticism which one might be tempted to utter concerning her.

Yesterday was held the great review, and all my rooms were filled from eleven o'clock in the morning. From our windows we had a perfect view of the march past, which followed the Rue de Rivoli, and then passed in front of the Obelisk, where were the King, the Queen, the Princes, and a very numerous following. Sixty thousand National Guards and twenty thousand line troops marched past. Previously the King had gone round the ranks within the Cour du Carrousel and on the Esplanade des Invalides. The National Guard shouted "Vive le Roi!" most vigorously, and the line troops still more so. The wind was cold and sharp, but the sun was bright. The King returned to the Château across the garden of the Tuileries. Thus the King's state of siege has come to an end, and a good thing too. We must hope upon the one hand that it will not often be thought necessary to renew this form of proceeding, and that on the other hand some relaxation may be possible of those excessive precautions which spoilt the effect of the show, and which were carried to such an extent yesterday that I have never seen anything sadder or more painful; the embankments, the Rue de Rivoli, the square, and the Tuileries were forbidden to every one except men in uniform, and men, women, children, little dogs, and every living being were driven away; it was a complete desert, and every one

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<sup>63</sup> The Comte de Lezay-Marnesia.

was blockaded in his house. My son Valençay, to get from his house in the Rue de Université to mine, was obliged to go by the Pont d'Auteuil! This state of things was maintained until the King returned to his rooms. All the police were on duty, and the posts of the National Guard were doubled upon every side by a row of police and municipal guards surrounding the royal group. The town looked as though deserted or plague-stricken, with a conquering army marching through without finding a stopping-place or inhabitants.

After our dinner I went to inquire for the Queen and to say farewell to Madame Adélaïde, who is starting for Brussels this morning. There had been a great military dinner of two hundred and sixty people in the Hall of the Marshals; all were in full dress, pleased and animated.

I concluded the evening with Madame de Castellane, where I found M. Molé, who was very pleased with the result of the review.

In my wanderings I discovered that the last speech of M. Thiers was gaining an increasing hold on men's minds. It is thought that, without abandoning his general theories, he was pointing to a practical solution which would satisfy all positive spirits; people are much obliged by the fact that in this speech he had twice separated from the Left without hurting their feelings; in short, his clever words have dissipated some of the fears which he inspired and removed some of the obstacles which stood between himself and the power. This impression I have received from many different sides, and except the Doctrinaires and the extremists on the Left every one is feeling it.

*Paris, May 9, 1837.*—Yesterday I had a long visit from M. Royer-Collard, whose admiration for the speech of M. Thiers is at its height. He praises the occasion, the propriety of it, and above all the truth, not only its personal truth – that is to say, its individual sincerity – but its truth with reference to the actual state of opinion, which the speaker alone has correctly appreciated. He said it was one of those speeches over which one could never think too long, which grips the reader more and more, and the effect of which will steadily increase. He admits that the session when MM. Odilon Barrot and Guizot spoke was more interesting to watch, and that the two actors played their parts very well, but that they were merely acting; that they showed themselves good orators, but not statesmen; that both relied upon extremist opinions which were worn out; that M. Guizot in particular was no longer a man of his age, but an *émigré*; and that this point had been admirably brought out by Thiers. M. Royer-Collard thinks the speech of Guizot imprudent and irritating, in which respect he says that Guizot followed his arrogant disposition. In short, he says many things; he says them in my sitting-room, but repeats them in the Chamber, at the Academy, to each and all, and makes it his business to do so. This is very useful to M. Thiers, in whose speech there is something too fine and subtle to be understood without a commentary.

I did not go out after M. Royer's call, but stayed at home to read the life of Raphael by M. Quatremère; the book is lacking in warmth and vivacity, but it is well written. It is most restful at the present time to return to the exquisite art of an age when men of genius were complete, because they possessed every shade of genius, if one may use the phrase. Books of this kind give me an inexpressible longing for Italy.

In the evening I looked in at the Austrian Embassy, where Madame de Lieven told me a large amount of gossip from London. One of her stories was as follows: At the last Levée the King thanked the Turkish Ambassador aloud and through an interpreter for postponing a dinner which he was giving, on account of the death of Lady Delisle, his natural daughter, and thus showing him a respect which his own family had refused; this remark was aimed at the Duchess of Kent. At the last Drawing-room the Queen could not be present, as she was ill, and it was held by Princess Augusta; the Duchess of Kent arrived with her daughter; the King heartily embraced the latter without noticing her mother, and seeing Sir John Conroy in the throne-room he ordered the Chamberlain to send him out. Finally, when the Prince of Linange came to his mother's house, the Duchess of Kent, with his wife, who is not his equal in birth, the King sent Lord Conyngham to the Duchess to say that he would receive his daughter-in-law, but could not permit her to enter his private apartments; the Duchess declined

to receive Lord Conyngham, and sent a message to say that if he came to pay a private call she would see him with pleasure, but that she would not receive him as the King's messenger, and that he need only write down what he had to say. Lord Conyngham then sent her a letter, to which she replied by an epistle of twelve pages, enumerating all her supposed grievances against the King, and concluding with the statement that if her daughter-in-law were not received as a princess she would never set foot in the King's house again. She had several copies made of the letter, and sent them to all the members of the Cabinet. Lord Conyngham, who told all this to Madame de Lieven, in spite of his Whig principles, went on to say that the position of the English Ministry was unpleasant, as their relations with the King were disturbed and they were unpopular in the country, and that the difficulties concerning the Bank and the progress of affairs in Spain were very unpleasant incidents for the Cabinet.

It is settled that the Duc de Coigny is to be knight-of-honour to the Duchesse d'Orléans. He is naturally impolite, his habits are uncivilised, and he has only one hand, so that he will not be able to offer his hand to the Princess. An equally certain appointment is that of the Comtesse Anatole de Montesquiou as first lady to accompany the Princess, and to take the place of the lady-of-honour, whose delicate health will often prevent her from performing her duties.<sup>64</sup> This is an excellent choice. Madame de Montesquiou is forty-six years of age, her reputation is unblemished, she has been pretty and is still pleasant to look upon, her manners are quiet and simple and are the exact expression of her life and character. No better choice and no person better suited for the position could be found.

The newspapers say that a subscription is being raised in the Chamber of Deputies to print fifty thousand copies of M. Guizot's speech. M. Martin du Nord, one of the members of the present Cabinet, has given a subscription, and thus confirmed the generally accepted opinion that he is secretly a Doctrinaire and a traitor to the Cabinet. Thereupon M. Molé went to the King to ask for the removal of M. Martin du Nord or to offer his own resignation. I have not yet heard the conclusion of this fresh complication.

*Paris, May 10, 1837.*— At the time of writing yesterday I had not read the *Moniteur*, which announced the amnesty.<sup>65</sup> I knew that M. Molé had long been anxious to see this measure passed, but I think that the speech of M. Thiers encouraged him in his design and accelerated the execution of it. I have heard people talking of nothing else all day. Men's minds are entirely occupied with it, and their attention is thus diverted from the peerage given to M. Bresson, which again is to be explained by this marriage. What a fortunate man he is! Undoubtedly he is capable, but circumstances have helped him with a speed and consistency rarely found in human destiny. To return to the great event of the amnesty, I will say that high society strongly approves of it, the more so as it has arrived unexpectedly and not been extorted by party importunity; so it is an act of mercy, and not of weakness. The sharp-sighted regard it as another act of hostility to the Doctrinaires rather than an act of kindness to the political prisoners – as much as to say that the measure could not be passed while the Doctrinaires were in office, but now that we have separated from them we hasten to grant it. This will isolate them yet more in the country. I repeat there are people who regard this measure as a consequence of M. Thiers' speech, and even as directly due to his influence. The Doctrinaires are most infuriated, and those peers who are friendly to them announce that all the contumacious persons will come up for judgment, and that the peers will then go off to their country seats instead of taking their places. The following story had a wide circulation yesterday: M. Jaubert, in speaking of the amnesty to M. Dupin, said to him: "It is a little hard that after leaving to us all the odium of the severe measures which we have courageously defended during the crisis and danger we should now be deprived of the credit of showing mercy." M. Dupin replied: "It is very sad, but you have one consolation, namely, that Persil

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<sup>64</sup> The Comtesse de Lobau.

<sup>65</sup> On the occasion of the marriage of the Duc d'Orléans an amnesty was granted by ordinance dated May 8 to all who were in prison for crimes or political delinquencies.

will order the medal to be struck." (M. Persil is a Doctinaire and Comptroller of the Mint.) The saying is a smart one. Those who approve the amnesty also urge, and with some reason, that it will obliterate the ill-effect produced by the excessive precautions on the day of the review.

Yesterday I was at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, where Sigalon, who has just arrived from Rome, had placed the magnificent copy of the *Last Judgment* of Michael Angelo, that masterpiece which is fading, like all the frescoes in the Vatican. The copy is the same size as the original, and forms the background of a hall, to which has been given the form and dimensions of the Sistine Chapel. It is the most beautiful and surprising thing that can be imagined. I was quite overwhelmed. Variety, richness, and boldness of composition are so combined that one rests stupefied before the power of such genius. In the same room have been placed casts of different statues by Michael Angelo which also have arrived from Italy, and complete one's admiration for this great man. The statue of Lorenzo de' Medici and the statue of Day and Night are admirable. We then saw the charming gateway to the castle of Anet and the beautiful door of the castle of Gaillon, both masterpieces of the Renaissance; then came the interior courtyard, adorned with fountains and fragments of ancient work, which was very fine. The building in itself is in excellent style; it contains fine models of all classes and ages of art, which will be added to. They form a collection as curious as it is interesting, and add a new attraction to Paris.

Thence we went on to the new Church of Our Lady of Loretto. It seemed to me extremely heavy and full of motley ornaments, and had it not been for some fine pictures I should have found little agreeable to look at. It is said to be in the style of the Italian churches, which I do not know; but to judge from this specimen I would rather say my prayers under the lofty, bold, and austere vaults, the hewn stone and Gothic arches of Notre-Dame and of Saint-Etienne du Mont, than amid the glaring colours of this Southern imitation. We finished our wanderings by a visit to the Church of the Madeleine. The interior at present is in exact correspondence with the outside, and it seems that Calchas is about to sacrifice Iphigenia upon it, to such an extent have mythological subjects apparently pervaded this fine building. They are already beginning to gild the arches and the capitals of the columns, pretending that the white stone, though it is much enriched by different kinds of marbling, is too cold to the eye. Thus they are preparing a disagreeable contrast between the outside and the inside. I cannot understand the vagaries of Christian worship.

In the evening at Madame de Lieven's house I saw Berryer, who does not yield to M. Royer in his admiration for M. Thiers' speech. I heard that M. Martin du Nord had given way upon the question of his subscription for printing Guizot's speech, as upon other points. For one who calls himself a member of the Opposition, he does not seem to oppose very strenuously.

*Paris, May 11, 1837.*—Yesterday I had a call from the excellent Abbé Dupanloup. We were mutually anxious to meet, in the interests of Pauline, before the general departure for the country. As usual, I was touched and pleased by his kind and spiritual conversation. We talked of our hope that the amnesty will inspire the Government with courage to reopen the Church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, the closing of which is the greatest scandal of the July revolution; seeing that acts of mercy extend from Ham to the Republic and to la Vendée, continued vindictiveness towards the church and to leave the Cross broken would seem to me most inconsistent. The church should be reopened without considering any difficulties that the Archbishop may raise. He should thus be forced to appoint a reliable priest, and then to go and express his thanks to the Tuileries, but he should set to work at once while the effect of the amnesty remains all-powerful; at such a moment there is no fear of any movement in the district, and this action would only be the strongest answer to the Doctinaires, whose tactics are to represent the amnesty as the price of the compact made with the Left. To reopen the Church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois would restore the balance. I think it would be a politic move as well as a religious restoration; if we delay too long the religious newspapers and people will begin to cry out, with reason, against the injustice of it, and any later action will seem like a concession to their complaints; then the Opposition will pounce upon it and foment irritation with the measure.

Everything, therefore, should be quite spontaneous, the religious restoration no less than the royal mercy. I think they will take the matter in hand; it should have been done already, in my opinion.

*Paris, May 14, 1837.*— The *Moniteur* of yesterday, heaven be praised, contains an ordinance by which the Church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois is to be restored for worship. I am delighted. The Baron de Montmorency, who came to see me in the morning, had dined yesterday at the Château, where the Queen wept with joy at the news.

In the evening I went to pay a farewell visit at the Hôtel de Broglie, where the amnesty was very unfavourably received, as Madame de Broglie is very anxious to fortify Princess Helena in her Protestantism.

I then went on to the Duchesse de Montmorency, where I heard very bad news of the Prince de Laval. He had caught a slight cold and had taken no care of himself, but had gone to the races at Chantilly in very bitter weather. His malady grew worse, and now causes great anxiety. I should be grieved indeed if any misfortune happened to him, for in spite of his absurdities and foolishness he has a good heart and is a good friend.

I finished the evening with Madame de Castellane. M. Molé came in and told us that the Archbishop, accompanied by two of his Vicars-General, had called upon him that evening and upon the Keeper of the Seals after a visit to the King. It seems that his appearance in the Ministerial *salons* made a great sensation. Before his visit the Archbishop had quietly had the church blessed. Mass was said there this morning. A week will be spent in necessary repairs, and next Sunday the new vicar will be installed. As M. Dupanloup has refused this post, the choice has fallen upon M. Demerson, the priest of Saint-Séverin, undoubtedly the most distinguished ecclesiastic in the diocese. He is the confessor of Madame Andral, and the friend of her father. M. Royer-Collard has often spoken to me of him and thinks a great deal of him.

*Paris, May 15, 1837.*— Yesterday evening I was at the Tuileries. I found the King delighted with a visit that he had paid in the morning to the Botanical Gardens to see the new hothouses they have been setting up. He was well applauded as he went by; in short, he seems to have grown young again. Everybody about him is well pleased. He went there without an escort, and spent two hours walking with the Minister of the Interior and of Education, with the Prefect of Police and one *aide-de-camp*. The crowd kept on increasing, and these gentlemen, who saw all the horrible faces from the Rue Mouffetard and that quarter thronging round the King, were dying with fear, but the King was delighted, and it was impossible to induce him to go indoors. He was most heartily cheered by all the crowd. I think, however, that it would not be advisable for him often to make such trials of his popularity.

*Paris, May 16, 1837.*— The Prince de Laval is not getting on well. He has been bled a second time, and the doctors say that his condition is serious.

It is possible that M. Dupanloup is ambitious; I do not know him well enough to be positive. He is gentle, discreet, moderate, with a knowledge of the world, a fine command of language and conversational tact, and, in short, possesses every quality which the spiritual director of a society personage should have. All his penitents and all their mothers think a great deal of him. But this does not exclude ambition. I know that he lays great stress upon keeping apart from politics, but when confronted with the Archbishop he committed the venial sin of urging him to go to the Tuileries and of going with him to the incumbent of Saint-Roch, whose curate and friend he is. But the robe of ambition is like the chameleon's skin, the colours of which change according to the observer's position. I can therefore answer for nothing except that he has refused two important livings at Paris. I know that the Archbishop secretly destines him for the Madeleine when that living becomes vacant, and, in fact, it is a society parish which will suit him best.

*Paris, May 18, 1837.*— Yesterday morning I was with Madame Adélaïde, where I saw the King. Every one at the Château is busy with preparations for the marriage and for the journey from Fontainebleau, which is to be a splendid affair. I am delighted, and should be still more so if I had

not heard that not only the mothers but also the daughters are expected. I have done my best to have my daughter excused, to avoid the infinite vexations which I foresee, but M. de Talleyrand came in to Madame in the middle of our discussion, and instead of supporting my views he opposed me. It is very annoying.

*Paris, May 19, 1837.*— The death of the poor young Count Putbus is a very sad event for his family and for the unfortunate Countess Buol. I am very sorry for her, and her husband seems to me to be wanting in feeling and tact. In his position with reference to his wife, he may separate from her with as much uproar as he pleases, but if he will not do so from pecuniary considerations he should behave himself quietly or at least humanely. In any case I assert that for her it is better to lament her lover as dead than faithless, and that, unhappy as she is, she would be still more so if Count Putbus had abandoned her. A woman's danger when she finds her lover faithless is that she may be roused to vengeance and may lose those illusions which shelter her, not only against faults, but against hardness of heart and frivolity, properly so called. Death leaves us all our illusions, and even encourages them.

*Paris, May 21, 1837.*— M. de Talleyrand, M. and Madame de Valençay, Pauline, and myself are invited to stay at Fontainebleau throughout the festivities – that is to say, we are to come on May 29 and to stay till June 3, inclusive. This is a favour, as nearly everybody else has been invited at successive intervals of twenty-four hours.

One of my German friends, a canoness, and a clever and intelligent person,<sup>66</sup> writes to me as follows concerning the Princess Helena of Mecklenburg: "The most amiable, the best educated, the kindest of the German princesses is to adorn the throne of France. I am sure that she will please you greatly. She is as cheerful as a child of fifteen, with as much sense as a person of thirty. She combines the charm of every age."

The Marquis de Praslin and the Duke of Treviso are the two knights-of-honour in subordination to the uncivilised Duc de Coigny, who will lead them.

*Paris, May 22, 1837.*— The Duc d'Orléans will first go to Verdun, to see without being seen, and then to Melun to be seen. Henry IV. in disguise went to the frontier to see Marie de Medici at supper, and Louis XIV. did the same at Fontarabia.

Among the persons invited to Fontainebleau there is one who certainly could not have been forgotten, in my opinion, and this is the great Mlle. Palmyre, the famous dressmaker. The fact is that she has been working upon a pattern sent from Mecklenburg, but I am by no means certain that this pattern is a good one or well made. Thus the eighty dresses of the trousseau may fit badly, and it is just as well to have some one there to make readjustments when necessary. Merchants, workmen, omnibuses, and post-chaises are all in confusion; the expenditure, the orders, and the activity are inconceivable. It is impossible to get anything, and tradesmen certainly have not the right to complain, for every one is on the move. A crowd of foreigners have also arrived at Paris, most of them English.

The Werther family have resolved to leave immediately after the marriage of the Prince Royal, without waiting for the festivities, for Herr von Werther has agreed to take M. Ancillon's place. They are very good people, who will be regretted at Paris, and who are also very sorry to leave.

*Paris, May 25, 1837.*— For the 29th and 30th, the days of arrival and marriage, the Marshals have been invited to Fontainebleau, with the officials of the two Chambers, the Ministries of October 11, February 22, September 6, and all the present Cabinet. I have always said that Fontainebleau was a chronological castle. It was resolved not to go further back than October 11, to avoid the necessity of inviting M. Laffitte. All the chief presidents of the courts have also been invited, and of the Diplomatic Body Herr and Frau von Werther,<sup>67</sup> M. and Madame Lehon.<sup>68</sup> The rest are invited for the other days, two at a time.

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<sup>66</sup> Fräulein Sidonie von Dieskau, of whom mention will be made later on the occasion of the Duchesse de Talleyrand's journey to Germany.

<sup>67</sup> Baron Werther was Prussian Minister at Paris from 1824.

I must mention an incident concerning Madame Molé, who vegetates rather than lives. The other evening at the Duchesse de Montmorency's people were saying how sorry the Werthers were. She asked why. "At leaving Paris, of course." She replied: "But to go to Fontainebleau is not very sad nor very tiring." "But, madame, Herr von Werther is going to Berlin to take the place of M. Ancillon." "Oh, then M. Ancillon is coming here?" I do not think that after such an experience any one will accuse M. Molé of betraying diplomatic secrets to his wife.

The Queen of England has written a charming letter to the French Queen concerning the marriage of the Prince Royal, and, in view of her close relationship with Princess Helena, has sent her a magnificent Indian shawl, one of the most beautiful that has ever come out of the wealthy storehouses of the Company. It is said to be a marvel. I shall see it at Fontainebleau, where the wedding presents will be displayed.

*Paris, May 26, 1837.*— The King of England held the last Drawing-room seated; since then he has felt worse, and people are anxious about him. It is said that he wished to live long enough to thwart the desires of the Duchess of Kent, by not leaving her to act as Regent for a single day, and the Princess Victoria attained her majority two days ago.

They say that anarchy is at its height at Madrid, and also that Don Carlos is at his wits' end.

The Duc de Broglie and the gentlemen of his suite are writing enthusiastic letters about the Princess Helena. All say that she has a very pleasant appearance; all seem to be in love with her, and cannot speak enough of her delightful manners, while she is said to be excellently dressed. The trousseau, which has been ordered here, is said to be very magnificent.

*Fontainebleau, May 30, 1837.*— Writing here is a feat of some ingenuity. The weather was too fine yesterday, and a great storm followed; it burst in the morning, and cleared ten minutes before the arrival of the Princess, who was received in bright sunlight and with much emotion. Her arrival was a fine spectacle; a family scene amid the most royal splendour. The Princess showed much emotion, no embarrassment, nobility and grace, and was equal to the occasion. I do not know if she is pretty; she is so gracious that people have not considered that point. She reminds one a little of Madame de Marescalchi, but is of a much more German type, while the lower part of her face recedes a trifle. She has beautiful hair, a good complexion – in short, she looks very well, and the Prince Royal is well pleased.

Pauline never left my side even at dinner, to which I was taken in by the Baron von Werther. He was placed between the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg and myself. M. de Talleyrand was far from well yesterday, yet by force of will he kept a smiling countenance. I was very anxious about him the whole time.

Until to-morrow we shall number two hundred and eighty at table. Yesterday the day began for me at half-past five in the morning at Paris, and finished here at one o'clock at night. At ten o'clock I must be fully dressed for the Queen's mass.

*Fontainebleau, May 31, 1837.*— The two most exhausting days have passed, for which I thank heaven, as I have been trembling the whole time for M. de Talleyrand, who has been so incredibly rash as to undergo these severe trials. However, he has seen everything, and has come through with little more than fatigue.

Those who wish to be correct follow the Queen to her private mass in the morning. Pauline has just taken me into a charming little chapel, in memory of Louis VII., the Young.

The two German princesses were not visible yesterday for the whole morning. The time before dinner was filled up by walks, for those who were tempted, of whom I was not one, and the inspection of the wedding presents for the rest, of whom I was one. The presents and the dresses are most fine and magnificent, especially the case by Buhl which contained the shawls, which was one of the finest things I have seen. The whole was exhibited in the rooms of the Queen Mother. The diamonds are

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<sup>68</sup> Comte Lehon was Belgian Minister.

beautiful, and the jewels numerous, in different styles, but there are no pearls. The Duc d'Orléans does not like them, and the Princess can also wear the Crown pearls.

The royal family dined in private. Madame de Dolomieu and General Athalin presided at the table of two hundred and eighty guests in the Diana Gallery. Pauline was again near me at dinner, and M. Thiers on the other side.

At half-past eight the civil marriage took place in the room of Henry II., a superb spectacle in the most beautiful surroundings imaginable, and magnificently lighted. The Chancellor, M. Pasquier, who was recently appointed to this post, was in his ermine robes at a great red and gold table, around which stood all who were witnessing the ceremony, with the bridal pair in front of him. We made our way there in procession. Then we went on to the great chapel, ornamented with the shields of France and Navarre. The exhortation given by the Bishop of Meaux<sup>69</sup> was both short and well weighed. Unfortunately, in the case of mixed marriages many ceremonies have to be omitted which would add to the picturesqueness of the scene. The priest of Fontainebleau, who is the famous Abbé Lieutard, and hitherto one of the chief opponents of the present Government, assisted the Bishop, and even claimed to do so as a right. The hall, which was arranged as a Protestant church, could hardly hold us, and the crowd was suffocating; the exhortation of the pastor, M. Cuvier, was very long and very dull, going back to the creation of the world, with continual references to procreation. It was puritanism itself. Before the blessing he asked the bride permission to perform a duty with which he had been entrusted by the Biblical Society, and offered her a Bible, in which he urged her to read constantly. I thought the act quite out of place at such a moment, and very disrespectful to the Queen, who is making a great sacrifice from the religious point of view.

The Princess was perfectly calm the whole time; I noticed no nervousness, and less emotion than at the time of her arrival. She was perfectly well dressed. Unfortunately she has no colour, and thus wants a certain lustre, but in spite of her thinness she is graceful and charmingly simple. Her feet are long and well made and her hands are white and delicate; in short, she is a person of much attraction.

After all these ceremonies we separated. I went to look after M. de Talleyrand, about whom I was anxious, and whom I found very well. M. Molé came in, in a bad temper. It is indeed strange that throughout this affair he has obtained no favours of any kind.

*Fontainebleau, June 1, 1837.*— There is no political news to be learnt here. The Princes are absorbed in themselves; M. de Salvandy, the only Minister on duty near the King, is in the same state. Curiosity is turned away from politics, and there is enough here to arouse it and satisfy it.

Yesterday was spent as follows: After lunch came a very long drive in the forest; twenty-six carriages, each with four horses, the great royal coach with eight horses, and then eighty riding horses, all conducted by the richly liveried servants of Orléans, were assembled in the great courtyard of the Cheval Blanc, and provided a general opportunity for excursions. We hastened to follow the King and to traverse the most beautiful parts of the forest. Many sightseers who were seen galloping most imprudently among the rocks joined the royal procession, and gave the wood an animated and charming aspect.

I forgot to say that lunch had been preceded by a mass said by the Bishop of Meaux in the great chapel. Every one was there, including the royal family and the Duchesse d'Orléans. I should have been glad yesterday, when there was no mixed marriage to consider and when only the King's mass was being said, if the service had been finely rendered with appropriate music. Instead of that there was nothing of the kind; there were no clergy and not a sound of music; even the bell for the moment of elevation was forgotten. Methodists display much more trickery in their pretentious simplicity and their affected and solemn speech; but at mass, where the words cannot be heard, outward show is

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<sup>69</sup> Mgr. Gallard.

necessary, with incense, music, flowers, gold, and bells, and all that can stir the soul by uplifting it to God without the necessity of hearing the words pronounced.

Many people have gone and others have come, including the Turkish Ambassador,<sup>70</sup> who sat by Pauline at dinner. The theatre hall has not been restored, and looks faded; the orchestra, which was not from Paris, was abominable; Mlle. Mars has grown old, and no longer played her parts properly; the other actors were very poor, and the choice of plays was not happy. These were *False Confidences* and *The Unexpected Wager*. The Princess Royal was in the great box at the back of the hall, between the King and Queen. She listened attentively, but her face does not express her feelings, and does not change. She is always gentle and calm to the point of immobility, and makes no gestures, which is a mark of distinction. Perfect repose gives a sense of dignity, and when she walks or bows she does it with perfect grace.

M. Humann, when he went away yesterday, was run away with by the post-horses down the hill of Chailly. He jumped out of the carriage, bruised his face, and put his shoulder out.

*Fontainebleau, June 2, 1837.*— Yesterday was not so full as the preceding days, as after mass, lunch, and the gathering after lunch, we were left with a few hours' freedom. I spent them with M. de Talleyrand or in the town. M. de Talleyrand went to see Madame Adélaïde, to whom he wished to give a piece of news which reached us from the Bauffremont family, who were interested by it, and which, to speak truly, has produced a sad effect here. It is the announcement of the marriage of the Count of Syracuse, brother to the King of Naples, with Philiberte de Carignan. This young person is the granddaughter of the Comte de Villefranche, the prince of the house of Carignan who married, in a fit of folly, the daughter of a boat-builder at St. Malo, Mlle. Magon Laballue. The Sardinian Court only consented to recognise the marriage on condition that the children of it should enter religious orders; the revolution destroyed this obligation, and the son entered the army and married Mlle. de La Vauguion, sister of the Dowager-Duchess of Bauffremont, who was burnt to death in 1820. It was only after her death and the accession of the present King of Sardinia that the last two children were recognised as princes of the blood and treated as such. The eldest daughter was married before this concession to a private individual of high family, the Prince of Arsoli, a Roman family. Philiberte, the daughter and granddaughter of marriages contested or doubtful, thus becomes Princess of Naples. The marriage, by licence, must have taken place the day before yesterday with much haste and precipitation. The displeasure it will cause here is obvious. The King of Naples is at the bottom of it.

Yesterday after dinner we went to hear Duprez in part of the opera *William Tell*, and the Esslers danced in a pretty ballet. I was surprised that the Princess Royal never lost her calm, even at the most exciting points of Duprez' acting. I never saw a movement of her head, a gesture, or any greater animation in her face. The same was true during the ballet, which I can better understand.

*Fontainebleau, June 3, 1837.*— M. de Talleyrand started this morning with Pauline. They wish to keep me here until to-morrow. No one could have been surrounded with greater regard and attention than has been shown to M. de Talleyrand; he was quite overcome as he went away. The King and Madame Adélaïde have insisted that he shall return to Paris for next winter, but I do not think that he will give up his project of going to Nice.

Pauline's stay here has done her no harm. She has always behaved perfectly and pleased me much. She was delighted to be in the same room with me. Her dress was in excellent taste, and she has gone away very pleased to have been here, but also glad to go and in no way dissipated in heart or mind.

Nearly every one has gone, and only those on regular duty and intimate friends remain. I am starting to-morrow at the same time as the Queen and the Duchesse d'Albuféra, who came here yesterday. The country drive was very pretty, animated and popular. We then went into the prettiest

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<sup>70</sup> His Excellency Mohammed Nouri Effendi.

part of the forest, called the Calvaire, whence there is an admirable view. From the depths of the ravines over which we hung singers who had been stationed there raised their song. It was delightful, and the weather, wonderful to relate, lent such a charm to the drive that it was prolonged. We eventually returned past the large vine arbour and the canal.

After dinner we had a tiresome comic opera, *The Flash*, followed by *The Caliph of Bagdad*, for which the King had asked as an old favourite. It was very late before this was over, and as I stayed up with M. de Talleyrand my sleep was cut short, the more so as his early departure obliged me to be ready in good time. The King and Madame came to say good-bye to him in his room. After lunch the King amused himself by showing the Château to three or four guests. I was delighted both with the Château and with our guide.

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