

Mozart's "Magnificent Harpist"

Marie-Louise-Philippine de Bonnières de Guines
who became the Duchesse de Castries

By John Solum

It is generally known in classical music that Wolfgang Amadé Mozart wrote his Concerto for Flute, Harp and Orchestra, K. 299, in Paris in 1778 for the French diplomat, the Duc de Guines, and his harpist daughter [1]. Beyond these brief facts and some discussions in the Mozart family letters, little has been written about this harpist and her privileged but tumultuous short life. Surely in the history of music and of the harp, she deserves more than a passing reference.

The harpist, whose full name was Marie-Louise-Philippine de Bonnières de Guines de Souastre, was born January 20, 1759. Her mother was Caroline-Françoise-Philippine de Montmorency. Her father was Adrien Louis de Bonnières de Souastre, the Comte de Guines (1735-1806) [2]. The couple had a second daughter, Marie-Louise-Charlotte, who in 1782 married Charles Philibert Gabriel Le Clerc de Juigné (1762-1819). Marie-Louise-Philippine was educated at Pentémont Abbey in Paris at the corner of rue de Grenelle and rue de Bellechasse in the 7th arrondissement [3]. This was a school attended by the children of many important, powerful families. Thomas Jefferson's daughters, Mary and Martha, attended school there while he was Minister to France from 1785 to 1789.

The Comte de Guines pursued a military and diplomatic career, serving in 1768-69 as France's Minister Plenipotentiary to Prussia where he was received by Frederick the Great. From 1770 to 1776 he was the French Ambassador to the Court of St. James's (King George III), serving in London from November 27, 1770 to August 26, 1771, then from January 13, 1772 to July 31, 1773, and finally from July 10, 1775 to February 26, 1776. Upon his return to Paris, King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette bestowed upon him a dukedom and the title of Duc de Guines. He was a great favorite of the queen, who herself owned a harp. His interest in music was considerable, and he had a reputation as an accomplished flutist. Returning to France from his diplomatic service in London, he brought with him an innovative flute favored by the English with an extended end joint with two additional keys which enabled the flute to play to low C# and low C (middle C on the modern piano), whereas French-made flutes at that time were designed to play only to low D. In composing the flute and harp concerto, Mozart made certain to score the flute to low C in each of the three movements. Such low notes would have been a great novelty to the French and a bragging point for the flutist de Guines.

The Mozart family letters of 1778

Most of what we know about Marie-Louise-Philippine and her father's interest in music is revealed in five letters and a post-script written between April and September, 1778, when Mozart was in Paris, part of the time with his mother, Maria Anna [4]. Two of the letters are from Wolfgang's mother to her husband, Leopold, in Salzburg. One letter is from Leopold to Wolfgang and his mother. Three of the letters are from Wolfgang to his father. What we learn from these letters is that Marie-Louise-Philippine was already an accomplished harpist and at the same time was studying musical composition under a 22-year-old musical genius, Wolfgang Amadé Mozart.

In the first letter from Paris dated April 5, 1778, Maria Anna writes to her husband that Wolfgang *"has to write two concertos, one for the flute and one for the harp, and in addition an act for an opera for the French theatre. Besides all of this he has a pupil, who pays him six livres a lesson, that is, three louis d'or for twelve, though we shan't get the money until they are all finished."* In a subsequent letter to Leopold dated May 14, 1778, she states that Wolfgang *"has got hold of a good family. He has to teach composition for two hours daily to a mademoiselle, the daughter of the Duc de Guines, who pays handsomely and is the Queen's favorite. He is immensely fond of Wolfgang. At the moment Wolfgang has three pupils and could have many more, but he cannot take them on account of the distances. Besides, he really hasn't the time until our affairs are more settled."*

The third letter is actually a post-script (P.S.) to the above letter with the same date (May 14, 1778) from Wolfgang to his father, writing in great detail about Marie Louise Philippine (but never using her name, referring to her only as the daughter of the Duc de Guines). *"I think I told you in my last letter that the Duc de Guines, whose daughter is my pupil in composition, plays the flute extremely well, and that she plays the harp magnificently. She has a great deal of talent and even genius, and in particular a marvelous memory, so that she can play all her pieces, actually about two hundred, by heart. She is, however, extremely doubtful as to whether she has any talent for composition, especially as regards invention or ideas. But her father who, between ourselves, is somewhat too infatuated with her, declares that she certainly has ideas and that it is only that she is too bashful and has too little self-confidence. Well, we shall see. If she gets no inspiration or ideas (for at present she really has none whatever), then it is to no purpose, for – God knows – I can't give her any. Her father's intention is not to make a great composer of her. 'She is not', he said, 'to compose operas, arias, concertos, symphonies, but only grand sonatas for her instrument and mine.'* I gave her her fourth lesson today and, so far as the rules of composition and harmony are concerned, I am fairly well satisfied with her. *She filled in quite a good bass for the first minuet, the melody of which I had given her, and she has already begun to write in three parts. But she very soon gets bored, and I am unable to help her; for as yet I cannot proceed more quickly. It is too soon, even if there really were genius there, but unfortunately there is none. Everything has to be done by rule. She has no ideas whatever – nothing comes. I have tried her in every possible way. Among other things I hit on the idea of writing down a very simple minuet, in order to see whether or not she could compose a variation on it. It was useless. 'Well', I thought, 'she probably does not know how she ought to begin.'* So I started to write a variation on the first bar and told her to go on in the same way and to keep to the idea. *In the end it went fairly well. When it was finished, I told her to begin something of her own, -- only the treble part, the melody. Well, she thought and thought for a whole quarter of an hour and nothing came. So I wrote down four bars of a minuet and said to her: 'See what an ass I am! I have begun a minuet and cannot even finish the melody. Please be so kind as to finish it for me.'* She was positive she couldn't but at last with great difficulty – something came, and indeed I was only too glad to see something for once. *I then told her to finish the minuet, I mean, the treble only. But for home work all I asked her to do was to alter my four bars and compose something of her own. She was to find a new beginning, use, if necessary, the same harmony, provided that the melody should be different. Well, I shall see tomorrow what she has done."*

Wolfgang's father, Leopold, responded in a letter written from Salzburg on May 28, 1778. *"My dear son! I beg you to try and keep the friendship of the Duc de Guines and to win his favor. I have often read about him in the press. He is all-powerful at the French Court. As the Queen [Marie Antoinette] is pregnant, there will surely be great festivities later on, and you might get something to do which would make your fortune. For on such occasions, whatever the Queen demands is carried out. In your letter today you say that you have given the Duke's daughter her fourth lesson and you seem to expect her to be able to invent melodies. Do you think that everyone has got your genius? Let*

her alone. It will come in time! She has a good memory. Eh bien! Let her steal or -- to put it more politely – apply what she has learned. Nothing goes well at first until one gets self-confidence. You have started her off on the right path by giving her variations; so, carry on! If Monsieur le Duc but hears some little composition by his daughter, he will be beside himself with delight. Why, you now have a very fortunate acquaintanceship!”

On July 31st, 1778, Wolfgang wrote a lengthy letter to his father, filling in details of the untimely death of Maria Anna in Paris. In the same letter, Wolfgang writes about the Duc de Guines and his daughter. *“During my mother’s long illness I couldn’t go anywhere – and two of my pupils are in the country – and the third (the daughter of the Duc de Guines) is getting married – and (what is no great loss to my reputation) will not continue her studies. Moreover I shall lose no money, for he only pays me what everyone else does. Just imagine, the Duc de Guines, to whose house I have had to go daily for two hours, let me give twenty-four lessons and (although it is the custom to pay after every twelve) went off into the country and came back after ten days without letting me know a word about it, so that had I not enquired out of mere curiosity – I should not have known that they were here! And when I did go, the housekeeper pulled out a purse and said: ‘Pray forgive me if I only pay you for twelve lessons this time, but I haven’t enough money’. There’s noble treatment for you! She paid me three louis d’or, adding, ‘I hope you will be satisfied – if not, please let me know’. So M. le Duc hasn’t a spark of honor and must have thought, ‘After all, he’s a young man and a stupid German into the bargain – (for all Frenchmen talk like this about the Germans) – so he’ll be quite glad of it’. – But the stupid German was not at all glad of it, in fact he didn’t take it. It amounted to this, that the Duke wanted to pay me for one hour instead of two – and that from égard. For he has already had, for the last four months, a concerto of mine for flute and harp, for which he has not yet paid me. So I am only waiting until the wedding is over and then I shall go to the housekeeper and demand my money. What annoys me most of all here is that these stupid Frenchmen seem to think I am still seven years old, because that was my age when they first saw me. This is perfectly true. Mme d’Epinay said as much to me quite seriously. They treat me here as a beginner – except, of course, the real musicians, who think differently.”*

The final episode in the relationship of Wolfgang to the Duc de Guines appears in a letter of September 11, 1778, from Paris to Leopold in Salzburg. *“It will be impossible for me to leave before the beginning of next month – or at the earliest the end of the present one, for I still have six trios to compose, for which I shall be well paid. Moreover I must first get my money from Le Gros and the Duc de Guines.”*

From these letters we learn that Mademoiselle de Bonnières was in frequent contact with Mozart for about four months, from early April until around the end of July, 1778. She had forty-eight hours of lessons in musical composition with him; she had her fourth lesson by May 14. Mozart must have composed the Flute and Harp Concerto early in their friendship; he writes at the end of July that the Duc de Guines had the concerto for four months. However, in the April 5th letter his mother referred to two concertos, one for flute and one for harp. Mozart had not yet decided to combine the two into one concerto for both instruments. It would seem plausible, therefore, that the concerto was composed sometime in April of 1778. There is no evidence that it was ever performed by the Duc de Guines or his daughter. The original autograph manuscript is now found in the Jagiellonian Library of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland.

In addition to Mozart’s concerto, Mademoiselle de Bonnières was the dedicatee of 12 preludes

and petits airs for harp, Op. 2, by J. B. Krumpholtz, published in Paris by Sieber in 1778. She was also the dedicatee of a canzonetta, "La Partenza," (1788) by Nicola Antonio Zingarelli.

Paris residence and marriage

Mozart taught composition lessons to Marie-Louise-Philippine at a large private residence in Paris called the hôtel de Castries, located at No. 76 rue de Varenne (now No. 72) on the left bank just two blocks east of today's Rodin Museum and a very short walk from the former Pentémont Abbey. The magnificent residence -- which has been owned by the state since 1946 and still stands as a governmental ministry although it has been architecturally remodeled -- had been owned since 1743 by Charles-Eugène-Gabriel de la Croix, Marquis de Castries (1727-1801) [5]. At the beginning of 1778 he rented out accommodations there to the Duc de Guines and his family. Marie-Louise-Philippine, 19 years old, seems to have wasted little time in befriending the Castries family if she hadn't already known them. She soon married the Marquis de Castries's 22-year-old son, whose name was Armand-Charles-Augustin de la Croix de Castries (1756-1842). He bore the title of the Comte de Charlus. He had been born and raised in the hôtel de Castries. His mother was the daughter of the Duc de Fleury and a grandniece of Cardinal Fleury, chief minister of Louis XV. Thus our harpist, being the daughter of aristocracy, married into aristocracy. The marriage was celebrated on July 29, 1778, in the presence of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette [6]. The marriage contract was signed by members of the royal family including Their Majesties and guaranteed a good dowry to the couple, specifically a gift of 300,000 livres and the promise of a hereditary duchy.

Military career of her husband

Marie-Louise-Philippine's husband, the Comte de Charlus, pursued a military career, a typical career choice for the French aristocracy. Within less than two years after their marriage, Charlus took an assignment to go to America with a large contingent of French military to help the Americans in the struggle to free themselves from British rule and taxation. On April 3, 1780, he joined Comte de Rochambeau's forces at Brest as second colonel in the Regiment de Saintonge. He was destined to be absent from France and his wife for about 1-1/2 years, until the end of November, 1781. He kept a written journal of the west-bound trans-Atlantic crossing, a valuable historical document which in modern times has been published in both French and English [7]. It begins "*I am twenty-four years old and for a long time I have been filled with desire to know war and to gain under fire a reputation that I could not claim if I stayed in Paris.*" The crossing itself was challenging, departing on a sailing vessel, the Jason, on May 2 and arriving at Newport, Rhode Island, on July 11. For his journal entry of May 2, Charlus poignantly writes, "*Two hours after the departure we began to lose sight of land. I do not think it is possible to experience a more painful moment than that which I felt, my heart was heavy and troubled, I admit that I was in the greatest distress, I thought I was to be separated forever from the persons who are to me the most dear. The greatest sorrow that I could wish to my enemy would be to find himself in a like position.*"

Charlus's military career in America was notable, contributing importantly to the American cause. In October, 1780, Charlus's father, the Marquis de Castries, became the French Minister of the Marine (Secretary of the Navy). As a member of Rochambeau's army of about 5,000 French troops, Charlus participated in the long, difficult overland journey on foot in the summer of 1781 from Newport, R.I., across Connecticut to the Hudson Valley, New Jersey and south to Virginia. They joined forces with General Washington and, together with La

Fayette and the French fleet of Admiral de Grasse, they made a decisive siege of Yorktown, Virginia, which was occupied by the British under Lord Cornwallis. This directly led to the surrender of Cornwallis on October 19, 1781, and the crucial defeat of the British at the hands of the combined French and American forces.

Charlus had two exchanges of letters with George Washington during this campaign [8]. He wrote in French to Washington (“Mon général”) from Philadelphia on March 1, 1781, concerning his willingness to serve as a simple volunteer in the war under La Fayette. Washington’s reply, dated March 23, 1781 from Headquarters, New Windsor, is as follows: *“On my return from Newport I had the pleasure of finding your letter of the 1st from Philade. Convinced that you would not have taken a step in the least disagreeable to His Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, I cannot but be flattered with the Offer you make of attending the Marquis de la Fayette as a Volunteer in the American Army – I wish and hope that every thing may concur to make the expedition perfectly agreeable to you and have the honor to be Sir Yr most obt. and hble Sert.”* On May 12, 1781, Charlus again wrote to George Washington, this time in English, enclosing important letters from La Fayette and urging that they be forwarded to chevalier de la Luzerne. He also included a Portsmouth map. Washington’s reply, dated New Windsor, May 17, 1781, reads, *“I had this morning the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 12th. The dispatches for the Marquis de la Fayette have been forwarded by a servant of his own who was luckily here and just setting out for the southwest. I am exceedingly obliged by the trouble you have taken in making me a Copy of the map of the Country in the Vicinity of Portsmouth. I have the honor to be with great Esteem and personal attachment Sir Yr most obt Serot.”*

Family life in Paris

Charlus was chosen to bring to Louis XVI in France the news of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. He was dispatched by Rochambeau on a fast ship that crossed the Atlantic in 23 days, and he was received by the king. This was the beginning of what should have been a period of relative tranquility for Charlus and his wife. In the next few years, they had three children. Stephanie Louise de la Croix de Castries was born in 1782, Gabrielle Eugénie Louise de la Croix de Castries was born in 1785, and a son, Edmond Eugène Philippe Hercule de la Croix de Castries, was born in 1787 [9]. However, as was so often the case in those times, two of their children died prematurely, Stephanie in 1784 and Gabrielle in 1788. It does not take much to imagine the heartbreak and sorrow at losing their two daughters of such a tender young age.

In 1784 Marie-Louise-Philippine’s husband, the Comte de Charlus, was given the title of the Duc de Castries. Henceforth Marie-Louise-Philippine would be known as the Duchesse de Castries. Meanwhile, his father, the Marquis de Castries, had interactions with Benjamin Franklin during the years 1780-82. In the U. S. National Archives are four letters from Castries to Franklin and six letters from Franklin to Castries. Moreover, the Duc de Guines was also personally acquainted with Franklin. On one occasion, on November 21, 1783, he was one of eight men who accompanied Franklin outside of Paris to the Chateau de la Muette to view an experiment of a large manned balloon being launched and flying to a height of at least 3,000 feet into full view of all of Paris [10].

Marie-Louise-Philippine’s sister, Marie-Louise-Charlotte, wife of Chevalier de Juigné, held the title of “dame du palais” to Queen Marie Antoinette during the years 1784-89.

An internet search has not produced any image of Marie-Louise-Philippine. If there ever was a portrait, it has thus far eluded our search. However, there is a printed reference to a portrait bust of the Duchesse de Castries. On the front page of the journal *Mercur de France* of February 28, 1789, is the following poem under the caption "Im-Promptu". "Found at the foot of the Bust of Madame the Duchesse de Castries, during the fete which the Duc de Guines, her father, Governor of Artois, had given to the States of that Province:"

*Ses traits savent bien tout séduire
Les yeux savent tout exprimer;
Mais l'Art ne pouvoit nous instruire
De toutes les vertus qu'elle a su se donner.
(Par un Abonne)*

*Her features know how to seduce everything.
The eyes know how to express everything;
But Art could not instruct us
Of all the virtues she has been able to give herself.
(By a Subscriber)*

French revolution

In this short essay, it is impossible for us to consider the many details of the French revolution which deeply affected the French aristocratic structure, including the Castries and Guines families. Suffice it to say that it involved an overthrow of the *ancien régime*, following riots and the storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789. Soon thereafter a revolutionary political club was formed which ruthlessly promoted radical ideas. Known as the Jacobins, it led to Robespierre and the Reign of Terror of 1793-4, during which time more than 16,000 people lost their lives. The aristocrats who could manage it found safety by going into exile. Those who didn't leave France frequently faced execution by the guillotine, as were the astonishing cases of King Louis XVI (on January 21, 1793) and his 37-year-old wife, Marie Antoinette (on October 16, 1793). She was of Austrian birth (born 1755) and was a daughter of Habsburg Empress Maria Theresa. What a shock this must have been to the French aristocracy as well as to American patriots who fought for American independence. Both Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette had strongly favored the American Revolution and had worked diligently behind the scenes to support the struggle for freedom from British rule.

Life in exile

The Marquis de Castries, father-in-law of the Duchesse de Castries, left France on July 27 or October 20, 1789 and stayed at the estate of Jacques Necker in Coppet, Switzerland, on the shores of Lake Geneva. He arrived there with his family and some friends. The Duchesse de Castries and her three-year-old son, Edmond, left France in 1790, joining her father-in-law at the Château de Coppet. She and her son would soon move to Cologne, Germany. The Marquis also installed himself in Cologne, surrounded by French exiles including of course the Duchesse and her son Edmond, Cardinal Montmorency, and Mme de Mailly, among others [11]. The Marquis, as first minister, directed the cabinet of the King of France in exile. Meanwhile, our harpist's husband, the Duc de Castries, lingered in France. To settle an argument, he engaged in a duel with a friend, Charles de Lameth, on November 12, 1790, in which he slightly wounded Lameth on the arm. As a result, the next day, November 13, the Jacobins stormed his Paris residence, the hôtel de Castries, and ransacked the house. A contemporary engraving shows the household treasures being thrown from the windows and destroyed in the street. Reportedly the Duchesse's piano and harp were destroyed at this time [12]. The Duc de Castries escaped capture by leaving his house incognito with a false passport ("M. Delacroix") with a plan to go to Belgium, thence to the Rhine valley heading south to the safety of Switzerland where he would join his wife and son. Meanwhile, the Duc de Guines

sought exile at Brunswick, Germany, with the Duke of Brunswick. He may have also spent time in exile in England.

The Castries family eventually settled in Germany in the comfortable town of Eisenach, which coincidentally happened to have been the birth place of Johann Sebastian Bach. However, both the Duc de Castries and his father, the Marquis de Castries, remained deeply involved with the French émigré community in western Europe [13]. The Duc de Castries's regiment was put in British service on August 1, 1794. In June, 1795, the regiment consisted of 306 soldiers and 50 "on command" with 107 officers and 174 under-officers of which many were of the royal army. The Marquis de Castries, since 1783 a maréchal of France, was called to Verona to direct the cabinet of Louis XVIII who had been proclaimed king after the death of the Dauphin on June 8, 1795.

Death of the Duchesse de Castries

The Duchesse de Castries died on October 9, 1795 at age 36 in Eisenach. While the medical cause of her death is not known, reportedly it was as a result of her suffering and privations of exile [14]. Her only sister had already died on April 2, 1792. The body of the Duchesse de Castries was laid to rest in St. George's Church in Eisenach. There is no indication of the exact location of her tomb in the church. A crypt at the base of the bell tower contains the remains of 21 nobility all of whom had died before 1741. A large memorial tribute to the Duchesse, written in both French and German, is found carved in stone on the left-hand wall of the entry vestibule of the historic church. The tribute includes a heartfelt statement by her husband, her father, and her father-in-law. Their introductory statement is in bold capital letters and is both dramatic and poetic:[15]

"Virtues, graces, talents, charm, spirit, reason, sweetness, goodness, equality, filial piety, marital love, maternal tenderness, all disappeared! You know only her immortal soul. . . She will speak to you only if you have hearts worthy of hearing her. And you take her away by these experiences of her last sentiments, her last wishes."

The Duchesse must have been aware of her approaching death. She wrote a touching personal farewell, which is also engraved on the wall in both French and German:

"I ask M. de Castries to be in charge of the execution of my dispositions: I have always done justice to his loyalty, to his frankness. I hope that his son will have the sentiments for him, the respect that he owes him. I will regret not having lived long enough to be the witness and, inspired by all, my power to that child all that the goodness, friendship, the conduct of his father have been so well engraved in my soul. I pray for the happiness of Edmond; so that he always behaves with honor. If the course of my life had attained the moment of his marriage, I should have occupied myself with making this union sweet, and if the circumstances should have allowed him to be married by his choice and reciprocated, I would have preferred this convenience to any other. If he doesn't find his happiness within himself, I urge him not to disturb him. I recommend to my only child, and for all of his life, attachment to his duties; he alone makes good children, good wife, good father, good subject, good master, good friend. He alone guides and supports in all situations.

*"I know my handsome father * * a tender farewell, and – endeavored always to render him a tender attachment. He was always allied to me by esteem, veneration and taste. His simplicity, his virtue, his sweetness, and his affection for me, made him dear to me. May he live a long time for the happiness*

which surrounds him.

"My beautiful mother, model of sweetness and equality, also has a claim to my sentiments, to my regrets. I would have liked to render to each one in this house the quantity of sweetness and goodness that I receive from them. I am afraid that I have been more passive than active about them.

"I beg my other relatives and all my friends to receive my most tender farewells. I recommend to them my adorable father, whom I constantly love and loved in the world. Oh that they take pains to render happiness for the remainder of their respective lives. I beg him to try. It's the kind of consideration that I ask of him. Oh that we might reunite. I keep the hope."

Following the above statement, her father-in-law, her father, and her husband wrote an epitaph in which her husband confides that his official duties called him away from her in her last moments and he was not able to be with her at the time of her death. His memorial speaks of *"his veneration, his constant devotion for her, a union so sweet, so much happiness."*

The memorial tablet concludes with a statement that the family would create a charitable foundation in her memory. On the anniversary of her death the foundation would give a certain quantity of bread and meat to the poor people of the city of Eisenach. A recent inquiry made at St. George's Church revealed that no such foundation exists today -- not surprising considering that Eisenach for years had been under the governance of the Nazi regime and then under Soviet occupation. Any funds which might have been set aside for this charitable purpose would have long ago disappeared.

However, this brave, talented woman is memorialized for posterity not only with the engraved tablet at St. George's Church in Eisenach but, most importantly, with Mozart's Concerto for Flute and Harp. Each performance, broadcast, and recording of this sublime work may be regarded as a glorious manifestation of her love of music, a part of her life which continues to give beauty and inspiration to all who will listen. What greater tribute could be bestowed upon any person?

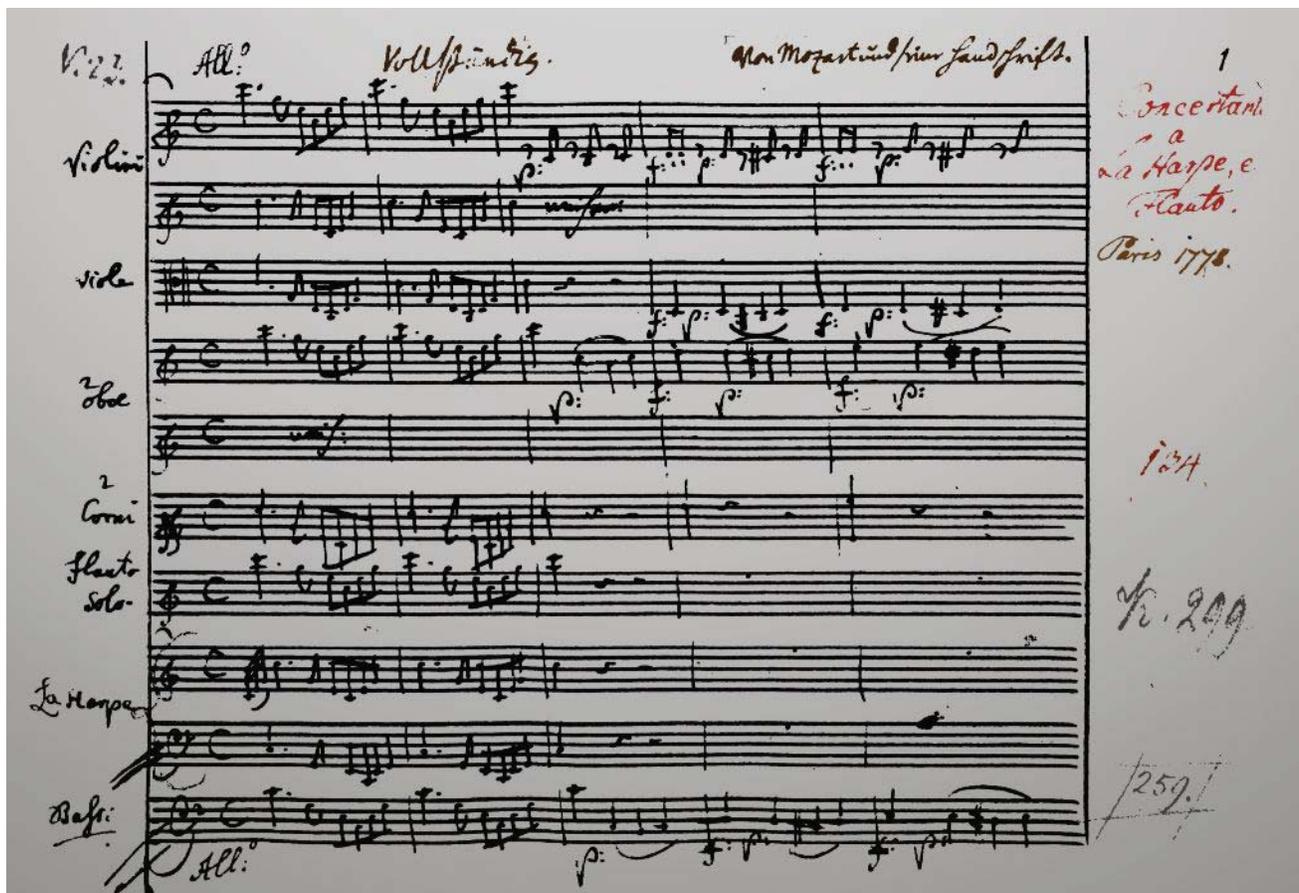
Afterword

The Duchesse de Castries's husband left Germany on November 18, 1795, about five weeks after her death, taking his regiment to Yarmouth, England. In 1796 he went with his regiment to the Channel Islands of Guernsey and Jersey, then in 1797 to Portugal where he remained until 1800. On July 17, 1805 he married an Irish woman, Mlle. Elisa Loghlan, sister of the Countess of Barrymore [16]. The couple had a child, Armand-Charles (1807-1862). The Duc did not return to France until 1814. He died on Jan. 19, 1842 at the hôtel de Castries in Paris and is buried in Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris, 13th division, 8th ligne, Y24. Edmond, the son of the Duc and his first wife, our harpist Marie-Louise-Philippine, married Claire-Clémence-Henriette Claudine de Maillé de la Tour-Landry on October 29, 1816. Upon the death of his father in 1842, Edmond became the 2nd Duc de Castries and died childless in 1866. There are, therefore, no direct heirs to the harpist Duchesse. Her father, the Duc de Guines, died in 1806 and her mother, the Duchesse de Guines, died in 1810.

Footnotes

1. Guines is pronounced “gheen”.
2. See Benjamin Franklin Papers @ www.franklinpapers.org.
3. See *Papiers de Famille* by the Duc de Castries (René de la Croix de Castries, 1908-1986), (Paris, Editions France-Empire, 1977), p. 199.
4. *The Letters of Mozart and His Family* (New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1966), translated by Emily Anderson, quoted here and later in the text, p. 519, 538-9, 541, 586-7, 615.
5. *Le Maréchal de Castries*, by the Duc de Castries (René de la Croix de Castries)(Paris, Flammarion, 1955), p. 177. The final “ies” of Castries is not pronounced.
6. *Papiers de Famille*, p. 199.
7. *A Middle Passage, The Journal of Armand-Charles Augustin de la Croix de Castries, Duc de Castries, Comte de Charlus and Baron Castries*. Edited by Sydney W. Jackman (Boston, The Boston Athenaeum, 1970). The journal is also found in its original French in *Papiers de Famille*, pp. 350-367.
8. See *Papers of George Washington*, Library of Congress, or [www.founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-05706](http://wwwFOUNDERS.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-05706) and 05794.
9. *Le Maréchal de Castries*, p. 172.
10. See Benjamin Franklin et al, *Report on the Montgolfier Balloon* www.franklinpapers.org/franklin/yale;jsessionid=72F5142B7B4C5535367251BF1FF404.
11. *Le Maréchal de Castries*, p. 190.
12. *Ibid*, p. 177
13. *La Vie Quotidienne des Emigrés*, by the Duc de Castries (René de la Croix de Castries)(Paris, Hachette, 1966), p. 120.
14. *Papiers de Famille*, p. 214.
15. Translations of memorial tablet texts from French to English are by the author.
16. *Papiers de Famille*, p. 239.

Illustrations 1-6



1. A page of Mozart's autograph score of his Concerto for Flute, Harp and Orchestra, K. 299, (Jagiellonian Library, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland)



2. Adrien Louis de Bonnières de Souastre, Comte de Guines, father of Marie-Louise-Philippine de Bonnières de Guines, drawing by Louis Carrogis, c.1760 (Musée Condé, Chantilly, France).



*Plünderung des Hôtels de Castries in der Vorstadt S^t Germain zu Paris
den 13 November 1790.*

3. Engraving of the plundering of the hôtel de Castries, Paris, 13 November 1790.
(Collection of the author.)



4. St. George's Church, Eisenach, Germany, burial site of the Duchesse de Castries.
(Photo by the author.)



6. Portrait of Armand-Charles-Augustin de la Croix de Castries, Comte de Charlus, husband of Marie-Louis-Philippine. (Les Amis de Château de Castries.)