verſed the outer apartment, deſcended the ſtairs, without any one being able to ſtop him, and reached the court-yard of the Temple. He addreſſed the guards in the moſt pitiful terms of ſupplication, his hands claſped, and throwing himſelf on his knees. "Let me paſs, gentlemen; let me paſs!—I want to "ſpeak to the people—to intreat them not to kill my "papa, the king.—Ah! let me paſs, gentlemen; in "the name of God, do not hinder me!"—His intreaties were vain, and he was compelled to return [m].

The king's piety.

The king returned to his own room in a ſtate of inexpreſſible emotion. When he was ſomewhat recovered, he ſaid to Edgeworth, "Alas! Why do I "love with ſo much tenderneſs, and wherefore am "I ſo tenderly beloved?" He then remained a few minutes in ſilent meditation, ſighing and ſhedding tears. This natural effuſion of ſenſibility being paſt, he began a religious converſation, and aſtoniſhed his confeſſor no leſs by his extenſive knowledge, than by his exemplary piety.

His laſt meal.

At ten o'clock, Clery intreated him, with tears in his eyes, to take ſome ſupper. In compliance with the wiſh of his faithful valet, the king ate a ſmall quantity, and perſuaded Edgeworth to do the ſame.

Deſirous of receiving the ſacrament.

After the meal, the abbé aſked if the king would not deſire to hear maſs, and receive the communion. The king expreſſed the moſt earneſt inclination, but ſuggeſted his deſpair of being able to prevail on the commiſſioners to allow it.—Edgeworth, whoſe zeal was not damped by the inſults he had already undergone, undertook to ſolicit the favor. He judged rightly in expecting it would

Edgeworth requeſts permiſſion to adminiſter it.

[m] This account reſpecting the dauphin is given by many authors, and particularly by Necker (on the Revolution, v. i. p. 106). It is in ſome reſpects improbable, and, notwithſtanding the vouchers, to be conſidered with caution; but it is ſo intereſting, that I did not think the omiſſion of it juſtifiable.

not

pot be granted without conſiderable difficulties, and many injurious reflections. On his firſt application, one of the commiſſioners ſaid, "There are exam-"ples in hiſtory of prieſts who have mixed poiſon "with the hoſtie." Suppreſſing his indignation at this reflection, Edgeworth calmly replied, "I have "been ſufficiently ſearched to ſatisfy you, but, to "obviate all doubts, you yourſelves may furniſh me "with the hoſtie." The council took time to deliberate, and at length agreed to the requeſt on two conditions; firſt, that the prieſt ſhould reduce the demand to writing, and ſign it; and ſecondly, that the ceremony ſhould conclude before ſeven o'clock the next morning. Edgeworth acceded to theſe propoſals, and immediately went to impart the tidings. The king received them with gratitude, and proſtrated himſelf in thankſgiving to God for the mercy. He then made his preparatory confeſſion, that he might receive the ſacrament the next day.

The king ſleeps.

Edgeworth, ſeeing the king much exhauſted, prevailed on him to lie down, and himſelf lay in Clery's bed. With a perfect conſciouſneſs that his laſt moment was rapidly approaching, the king ſlept the ſleep of innocence, calm and undiſturbed. Exempt from the terrors of conſcience which would have haunted a tyrant under the ſame circumſtances, he paſſed this his laſt night without agitation and in perfect tranquillity.

21ſt. Receives the ſacrament.

At five in the morning, the king called for Clery to aſſiſt him in dreſſing. He heard maſs, and received the communion with the moſt profound devotion, expreſſing to the abbé his high ſenſe of God's grace in permitting him to retain his faith in religion.

His firmneſs.

The king poſſeſſed a firmneſs and preſence of mind ſuperior even to that of his confeſſor. A noiſe was heard; Edgeworth, apprehenſive that the fatal moment was already arrived, ſhewed ſigns of terror.

terror. The king maintained his wonted ſerenity. It was only the guard reſuming their poſts. His majeſty addreſſed one of them, apparently to make ſome requeſt. The anſwer he received was; "*Ci-toyen, c'étoit bon ça quand vous étiez roi, mais vous ne l'êtes plus.*—That might have been well enough, citizen, when you were a king, but that's not the caſe now." The king turned to Edgeworth, ſaying, "You ſee how I am treated; but nothing can ſhock me now."—At this period he heard footſteps on the ſtairs.—"They are coming," he ſaid without emotion.

Arrival of the commiſſioners.

The commiſſioners of the *commune*, with a conſtitutional prieſt, named Jaques Roux, at their head, came to announce that the hour was at hand. "It is enough," ſaid the king; "I will join you directly; but I wiſh to paſs a few moments alone with my confeſſor." He then repeated his recommendation of his family, and added a requeſt, that Clery might be permitted to attend *the queen*; fearful that the terms in which the wiſh was announced might fruſtrate its execution, he haſtily corrected himſelf, and ſaid, *my wife*. He offered a packet to Roux, deſiring him to deliver it to the commune; but this brutal imitator of Chaumette anſwered, "It is my duty to conduct you to the place of execution, and nothing more."—"You are right," ſaid the king, and preſented it to another commiſſioner, who accepted the charge, and delivered it faithfully.

Benevolence of Edgeworth.

When he was retired with Edgeworth, he ſaid; "All is conſummated. Give me your laſt benediction." That tenderneſs of regard with which he always conſidered his friends, and which extended even to his enemies, had prevented the king from requeſting the abbé to accompany him; but that worthy miniſter voluntarily offered it, and profeſſed his determination not to quit him. This promiſe cheered the king, and added to the complacency with

with which he was prepared to meet his laſt moment.

Departure from the Temple.

The king returned to the room where Santerre was waiting for him, and, in a firm tone, pronounced the word, *Marchons!* Before they came to the ſtairs of the Temple, the king, obſerving that the commiſſioners were all covered, deſired Clery to bring his hat, which he put on. He walked through the firſt court, and found the carriage in the ſecond. Two commiſſioners, Jaques Roux, and another conſtitutional prieſt, named Jaques Claude Bernard, entered the coach. Two ill-looking fellows, belonging to the *gendarmes*, ſtood at the door. One of them entered the carriage; the king followed with Edgeworth, and the other *gendarme* placed himſelf by his comrade [n]. They ſet out between half paſt eight and nine o'clock.

Proceſſion through Paris.

A profound ſilence prevailed among the people. The eſcort conſiſted of twelve hundred men, being twenty-five from each ſection of Paris, ſelected as tried patriots, and expert in military diſcipline. All the ſtreets were, beſides, crowded with national guards. The doors of moſt of the houſes were ſhut, and the police had ſtrictly forbidden any one to appear at the windows. All the acts of authority on that day bore the impreſſion of crime, fear, and violence.

The king arrives at the ſcaffold.

Jaques Roux, ſeated oppoſite the king, fixed his eyes on him during the whole time. As the progreſs was extremely ſlow, the king aſked Edgeworth for a prayer book. The abbé had none but his breviary, which he gave him, pointing out thoſe pſalms which were moſt proper in his ſituation. The king continued reading with great devotion, till he came

[n] From the diſturbed, fierce, and menacing countenances of thoſe two men, M. Edgeworth ſuſpected that they had orders to aſſaſſinate the king in the coach, in caſe of the appearance of any powerful attempt to reſcue him: The public papers of the following day aſſerted that this ſuſpicion was but too well founded. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 273.

to

to the foot of the guillotine, which was erected between the pedeſtal which had ſupported the ſtatue of Louis XV. and the *Champs Eliſées*. He arrived at twenty minutes after ten.

His anxiety for Edgeworth.

The executioners having opened the coach-door, the king, laying his hand on Edgeworth's knee, ſaid to the *gendarmes*, "Gentlemen, I recommend M. "Edgeworth to your protection." They made no immediate anſwer, and he repeated his requeſt with greater earneſtneſs. "I conjure you to take care "that no harm befal him after my death." One of theſe wretches, in a harſh, ironical tone of voice, replied, "Well, well, give yourſelf no farther trou-"ble; we ſhall take care of him."

His hands tied.

The king, having thrown off his coat, was going to aſcend the ſcaffold, when they ſeized his hands, intending to tie them behind his back. As he was not prepared for this laſt inſult, his firſt movement was to repel it with indignation. But Edgeworth, ſenſible that all reſiſtance would be vain, and would expoſe the king to outrages ſtill more violent, ſaid, "Sire, this new humiliation is another circumſtance "in which your majeſty's ſufferings reſemble thoſe "of our Saviour, who will ſoon be your reward." The king's repugnance was inſtantly ſubdued. With a dignified air of reſignation, he preſented his hands. The executioners, drawing the cords with all their force, the king mildly ſaid, "There is no need to "pull ſo tight."

Edgeworth's benediction.

While he was aſcending the ſcaffold, Edgeworth, as if by inſpiration, uttered thoſe remarkable words ſo well known throughout all Europe, "LOUIS, "SON OF ST. LOUIS, ASCEND TO HEAVEN [a]."

The king's ſpeech,

As ſoon as the king came upon the ſcaffold, advancing with a firm ſtep, to the part which faced the

[a] It is not a little remarkable that the agitation of this worthy man was ſo great that he forgot ever having uttered theſe words, though all writers agree in the fact. See Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 275. n.

palace,

palace, he deſired the drums to ceaſe, and was immediately obeyed, in ſpite of the orders they had received. He then pronounced, loud enough to be heard at the garden of the Tuilleries, "Frenchmen, I die innocent of all the crimes which have been imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore God, from the bottom of my heart, to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be ſhed.—"

He was continuing, when the brutal Santerre[p] puſhed furiouſly towards the drummers, and forced them to beat, without intermiſſion. The executioners ſeized their victim, and placed him under the axe of the guillotine. And execution.

Theſe tranſactions, from the time of his reaching the place of execution, occupied only two minutes. Edgeworth remained kneeling on the ſcaffold in a ſtate of ſtupor, till rouſed by the cries of the populace; when he retired to the houſe of Maleſherbes.

As ſoon as the act was done, the people, who had hitherto maintained a profound ſilence, exclaimed, *Vive la republique!* A troop of young men, placed for the purpoſe, commenced a dance round the ſcaffold. A youth, between eighteen and twenty years of age, caught up the bleeding head, and brandiſhing it with ferocious exultation, cried, *Vive la Nation!* Several perſons dipped the points of pikes, pieces of paper, and pocket handkerchiefs in the blood. The king's hair had been cut off, before he aſcended the ſcaffold, and was ſold in ſmall parcels for conſiderable ſums. Theſe latter actions are ſuch as might, in ſome, proceed from mere curioſity, or a worſe motive; in others they were undoubtedly Conduct of the people.

[p] Montjoye aſſerts, I know not on what authority, that Santerre is unjuſtly accuſed of this atrocity; but he does not ſay who it was that ordered the drums to beat. See Eloge, p. 322. n. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 240. n. The aſſertion is contrary to every teſtimony.

the

the genuine diſplay of loyalty, veneration, and pity. The theatres were ſhut in the evening; and the whole city appeared the reſidence of confuſion and diſmay [q].

The king buried.

On the day of the king's execution, an old ſervant of his father, named le Duc, addreſſed a letter to the convention, praying for leave to inter him at Sens, with the reſt of his family. This requeſt was refuſed, on the motion of Chabot, who ſaid, that Louis ought to be buried with other citizens, in the burying place of the ſection where he laſt reſided. Legendre moved, that he might be permitted to cut up the body into eighty-four pieces, and ſend one to each of the departments, and the heart to the convention [r]. The king's body was thrown without ceremony into a ſpace in the church-yard of Saint Mary Magdalen, which was filled with quick lime, carefully guarded till the body was ſuppoſed to be entirely conſumed, and then levelled with the circumjacent ground, that every trace of the ſpot where the monarch was depoſited might be effectually obliterated [s]. His untimely end was honored by a general mourning in England, and moſt other countries in Europe.

Obſervations on his character.

In relating the tranſactions of this unfortunate ſovereign's life and reign, I have had ſo many occaſions to digreſs in order to refute calumnies, and ſo many reaſons for diſplaying the motives of his conduct, that nothing remains by which his character

[q] In relating the proceedings of the two laſt days of the life of Louis, I have principally relied on Bertrand, who drew his information from Edgeworth, and has detailed it with a preciſion, ſimplicity, and elegance, which I am apprehenſive muſt have ſuffered conſiderably by the abridgment. See Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 258 to 277. I have alſo conſulted the Hiſtories: Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 590, et ſeq.; Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 404. et ſeq.; Eloge; Roux's Report to the Commune; and various other documents.

[r] Debates. Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. ii. p. 234. Eloge, p. 304.

[s] Hiſtories. Miſs Williams's Letters in 1793, vol. ii. Montjoye ſays he was buried under the organ in the church. Eloge, p. 330.

can

can be illuſtrated. The efforts of calumny have been ſo great and ſo ſucceſsful, that the evidence of all his friends, and even the reluctant teſtimony of his enemies, have been inſufficient to reſcue his fame from obloquy. The want of firmneſs and courage is the principal fault, and the one moſt generally attributed to him; but that ſeems to reſult from a judgment formed on ſubſequent events, and from not duly conſidering his character in other particulars. The king certainly did not poſſeſs that active courage which prompts reſiſtance, and produces magnanimous efforts; but in all his ſufferings he diſplayed an energetic preſence of mind which demonſtrated that no exertion was too great for him, had his perſonal danger been the only obſtacle. Could Louis have foreſeen the events of the revolution ſo far as they perſonally affected him, it is very much to be doubted whether he would have altered his conduct, whether he would not have ſacrificed his crown and his life rather than have reſorted to meaſures which had a tendency to involve his country in a war, either civil or foreign. Averſe to force, policy could alone prevent the incroachments of faction, and preſerve the exiſtence of royalty. The circumſtances in which he was placed were ſo new, that experience, or any judgment formed on the experience of others, could not avail him. Adviſers were ſo numerous, ſo ſpecious, ſo contradictory, and ſo unſucceſsful, that it is not wonderful that he is cenſured by ſo many writers for not adhering implicitly to their plans. His interrogatory, and his laſt will, remain undeniable teſtimonials of the quickneſs and correctneſs of his judgment, and the ſincerity and goodneſs of his heart. His conduct on the moſt trying occaſions, particularly the various inſurrections which diſgraced the latter years of his reign, denote his magnanimity; and his conduct, from the time his trial commenced till the moment which terminated his exiſtence, forms a picture of excellence

lence almoſt ſurpaſſing humanity, and demonſtrates the tranſcendent benefits of that religious purity which takes the ſenſe of ſhame from premeditated ignominy, which deprives cruelty of its venom, and death of its ſting.

Such was the man whom his ill fate doomed to reign over the French in an age when theſe virtues inſured ruin inſtead of reſpect! Such was the man whoſe murder is ſtill annually celebrated by an inhuman and impious feſtival!

Grief of the queen.

THE eye of contemplation naturally turns towards the unhappy widow of the murdered monarch. On the day of their laſt interview, when the king quitted her, all comfort fled. No conſideration could prevent her pouring forth her indignation in the moſt violent expreſſions againſt his enemies. She diſplayed the moſt poignant grief, and her ſcreams were heard at intervals during the whole night[t]. The next day brought her the melancholy confirmation of all her apprehenſions, and extinguiſhed all hope (if perchance hope faintly glimmered in her mind) of ſeeing her huſband once again. Her firſt act, after his death, diſplayed her ſenſibility, and ſhewed to what an abject ſtate of degradation ſhe was brought. She was obliged to petition the commiſſioners on duty at the Temple for mourning for herſelf and family. This requeſt was referred to the convention, together with another, that Clery might be permitted to attend her ſon. The convention granted the firſt, but adjourned the conſideration of the other demand; and it was never renewed[u].

Jan. 24th She applies for mourning.

Mode of living in the Temple.

In the conflict of parties which enſued from the death of the king to the beginning of June, when the triumph of the Mountain was complete, little

[t] Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 596.
[u] Debates.

attention

attention was beſtowed on the ſurvivors of the royal family. They remained in the Temple under the inſpection of commiſſioners, badly attended and wantonly inſulted. The inſtruction of the two children formed at once an employment and a ſolace to their elder relatives. The young prince being now conſidered as king of France, was treated with ſuitable reſpect, and ſeated at the head of the table. A magnanimous nation would have conſidered this only as a natural effuſion of parental tenderneſs, or, at worſt, as an unimportant exhibition of inherent pride; but the republicans of France could not forgive, and it formed part of the accuſations againſt both the queen and princeſs Elizabeth [x].

The promiſe of the convention to ſhew its beneficence and juſtice, by taking due care of the royal family, had been treated by Robeſpierre, at the moment it was made, as an inſignificant and ſervile effort of royaliſm [y]; and it was not to be doubted that when his party acquired an unlimited aſcendency, they would act conformably to theſe ferocious ſentiments. Their firſt act of inhumanity was to ſeparate the young prince from his ſurviving parent, and place him under the care of one Simon, a cobler, who was inveſted with the charge of his education. This was done purſuant to a decree of the committee of public ſafety. The agony and diſtreſs of the unfortunate mother may be conceived, but not deſcribed. The fate of her huſband was ſtill freſh in her memory, and her mind foreboded the untimely end which injuſtice and cruelty were preparing for her ſon [z]. 1ſt July. The queen ſeparated from her ſon.

Having once again directed the attention of the people to the miſerable wrecks of royalty, the lead- 1ſt Aug. Her removal from the Temple.

[x] See their Trials.

[y] Robeſpierre à ſes Commettans, vol. ii. p. 234.

[z] Hiſtories.—When Drouet mentioned to the convention the execution of this inhuman decree, Robeſpierre expreſſed ſurprize that he ſhould name ſuch contemptible people. See Debates, July 7.

ers of the convention were aſſiduous to gratify the inhuman paſſions they had excited, and to purſue the work of cruelty and blood to its utmoſt extent. This became the more neceſſary in order to amuſe the public mind, and divert their attention from the general affairs of the republic, which ſeemed peculiarly unproſperous. When the account of the ſurrender of Valenciennes arrived, Barrere preſented a long report, which he cloſed with two decrees conſiſting of thirty articles. They directed, "That "Marie Antoinette ſhould be referred to the extra-"ordinary tribunal, and inſtantly removed to the "priſon of the Conciergerie,"—and that "*The expence* "*of the two children of Louis Capet, ſhould be reduced to* "*what is neceſſary to keep and feed two individuals.*" In the night when this decree was paſſed, two municipal officers repaired to the Temple to announce and execute it. The queen was in bed; they inſiſted on her riſing; and, at her requeſt, withdrew while ſhe dreſſed herſelf. They then ſearched her pockets, and, deaf to her intreaties, took away all their contents. The principal object of her ſupplication was a pocket-book, which ſhe vainly deſired to preſerve. With much difficulty, ſhe obtained permiſſion to take with her a ſmall parcel, containing a change of linen and other mere neceſſaries. She took a farewel of her daughter and the princeſs Elizabeth, who diſplayed the greateſt ſenſibility and affection; ſhe was refuſed the conſolation of ſeeing her ſon; but preſerved an unabated fortitude. She deſcended into the court-yard, where a hackney-coach was waiting to remove her, with her bundle under her arm. One of the officers tendered his hand to help her into the carriage; but ſhe refuſed his aſſiſtance.

Situation in the Conciergerie.

On her arrival at the Conciergerie, the barking of two maſtiffs threw her into convulſions, from which ſhe did not recover till the morning. Her cell, which was half under ground, was only eight feet ſquare, miſerably furniſhed with a hard ſtraw bed, and very

thin coverings; her diet, ſoup and boiled meat [a]. Soon after her removal to the Conciergerie, ſhe applied to the municipality for a few neceſſaries, which were brutally refuſed; the reaſon aſſigned was, that to grant them was againſt *la ſainte egalité* [b].

Her beauty was quite gone, and her appearance now indicated that grief and agitation had brought her to a premature old age. The adminiſtrators of the police, to gratify a barbarous curioſity, and, perhaps from motives of intereſt, daily introduced into her cell a herd of ſpectators to gaze on the ruins of degraded royalty [c]. 8th Oct. Her trial propoſed.

In this miſerable abode the unfortunate queen had been confined upwards of two months, when the end of her ſufferings approached. Billaud de Varennes made a motion that ſhe ſhould be immediately put on her trial; andFouquier Tainville, the public accuſer, drew up the act of accuſation. This compoſition was a maſs of abſurd allegations, ſupported by abuſive epithets, and outrageous calumnies. It extended to all the events of her life, prior and ſubſequent to the revolution; and by implication, to ſome acts previous to her arrival in France. It is needleſs to diſcuſs this atrocious and abſurd performance, which charged the queen with the commiſſion of almoſt every crime, as well political as moral, and imputed to her events in which ſhe could not poſſibly have had any influence.

Having been ſummoned before the revolutionary tribunal, this flagitious farrago was read to her, and ſhe was interrogated, and croſs-examined reſpecting the facts alledged. In her examination ſhe diſplayed the utmoſt firmneſs and dignity; ſhe anſwered the queſtions with force and preciſion, and frequently retorted the accuſation on her judges. Counſel, or 14th. Her interrogatory,

[a] Hiſtories. Proceedings and Reports in the Convention.
[b] Reſidence in France edited by Giffard, vol. i. p. 387. n.
[c] See her interrogatory in Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 156.

official defenders, were then aſſigned, and her trial ordered to commence the next day.

15th. and trial. On the enſuing day, ſhe was again brought before this bloody tribunal, and witneſſes called in ſupport of the various charges. Many of theſe were brought from the priſons, and knew that their only chance of eſcaping the charge of confederacy was their making ſuch depoſitions as would ſupport the act of accuſation. Many were examined to prove matters of hearſay and reputed public notoriety; ſome ſwore to converſations with third perſons which were denied by the parties ſaid to have held them, or ſo totally improbable as not to merit the ſlighteſt attention. The official defenders did not make a ſingle obſervation in behalf of their client, or offer any objection to theſe proceedings.

Her magnanimity. The queen conducted herſelf with the moſt heroic firmneſs, and diſplayed great preſence of mind. During the firſt hours of the trial, ſhe played with her fingers on the back of a chair, as if it had been a piano-forte. She was frequently obliged to anſwer queſtions put to her, ariſing from the aſſertions of the witneſſes, and to make obſervations on their perverſions and abſurdities. As ſhe made no ſpeech of any length, her eloquence hardly preſents itſelf as a topic of diſcuſſion; but ſhe diſplayed in her anſwers great calmneſs and ſagacity, and frequently gave inſtances of that forcible ſtyle of laconic expreſſion ſuited to inſulted majeſty. Of this I ſhall preſent the following examples, in the words of the report of her examination and trial.

" *Obſervation.* That it was ſhe who taught Louis " Capet that art of profound diſſimulation by which " he had too long deceived the kind French na- " tion, who did not ſuppoſe that perfidy and vil- " lainy could be carried to ſuch a degree."

" *Anſwer. Yes;—The people have been deceived,* " *—cruelly deceived! but neither by me or my* " *huſband.*

" *Q.* By

" *Q.* By whom then has the people been deceived?
" *A. By thoſe who felt it their intereſt; but it* " *never was ours* [d]."

Again.

" *Preſident.* Was it not at *le Petit Trianon* that " you were firſt acquainted with the woman La- " motte?

" *A.* I never ſaw her.

" *Q.* Was ſhe not your victim in the famous " affair of the necklace?

" *A.* She could not be ſo, becauſe I did not " know her.

" *Q.* You perſiſt then to deny that you knew her?
" *A. My plan is not to deny; I have told the truth,* " *and will perſiſt in telling it* [e]."

Further.

" *Preſident.* Do you perſiſt in ſaying that Bailly " and la Fayette were not concerned in your flight " on the night between the twentieth and twenty- " firſt of June 1791?

" *A.* Yes,

" *P.* I ſhall obſerve to you, that in thoſe facts you " are contradicted by the declaration of your ſon.

" *A.* It is eaſy to make a child only eight years " old ſay what one pleaſes.

" *P.* But one declaration alone was not judged " ſufficient—he was made to repeat it at different " times—he has always ſaid the ſame thing.

" *A. Then I deny the fact* [f]."

But theſe inſtances fall far ſhort of one, which though well known and generally repeated, is ſo indicative of the infamy of the court, and of the heroiſm, judgment, and ſenſibility of the unhappy priſoner, that I cannot omit it. In the act of accuſation was a charge in theſe words: " That the widow Capet, " in every reſpect immoral, and *a new Agrippina*, is

[d] Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 153.
[e] Ibid. p. 184. [f] Ibid. p. 189.

ſentence; but, conſcious of having defended herſelf rather with a view to manifeſt innocence, than to avoid condemnation, ſhe bowed in token of ſubmiſſion. Her official defenders declined making any oppoſition; and the preſident having gathered the ſuffrages of his colleagues, pronounced ſentence of death, and immediate execution.

16th. and executed.

It was half paſt four o'clock, when the queen was remanded to priſon, and put into the cell allotted to condemned criminals. At five the *generale* was beat. At ſeven the whole armed force was drawn out, and cannon placed on the bridges and in the ſquares. At half paſt eleven the queen was placed in a tumbril, or dung-cart, with her back to the horſe, a mode of conveyance which, in the old ſyſtem, was reckoned peculiarly infamous. She was dreſſed in a white waiſtcoat with ſleeves, and a white cap, both diſcoloured with ſmoke, and diſgracefully ſhabby; her neck and ſhoulders bare, and her hands tied behind her. By her ſide was ſeated the curate of St. Landrey (a conſtitutional prieſt, with whom ſhe could not communicate) and the executioner. She maintained her wonted firmneſs and courage, and ſmiled contemptuouſly at the exclamations of the mob. When ſhe aſcended the ſcaffold, ſhe looked towards the garden of the Tuilleries with ſome appearance of agitation. The executioner performed his office. Her head was diſplayed to the multitude; her corpſe was interred like that of her huſband, in the church-yard of *la Madelaine*, and the grave filled up with quick-lime [k].

Marie

[k] See Procés des Bourbons, vol. iii. The trial of the queen in Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. and one leſs perfect, publiſhed by the conductor of the Times. Miſs Williams, in her Letters in 1794, vol. i. p. 155. aſſerts, that in returning to the Conciergerie, the queen's firmneſs forſook her;—that ſhe burſt into tears, but recollected herſelf, and promiſed to behave with more firmneſs in her way to the ſcaffold. She further aſſerts, that her countenance in the way to the place of execution evinced marks of agitation almoſt preter-

Marie Antoinette was ſacrificed, to the inhoſpitable rage of the French nation, in the thirty-eighth year of her age. Of her early charms, and their premature decline, I have already ſpoken. The ſyſtem of calumny purſued againſt her was ſo general and ſo extenſive, that to undertake her total exculpation ſeems almoſt Quixotiſm. The principal charges advanced by her enemies are, dilapidation of the finances by her private expences, and by large remittances to her brother the emperor; and matrimonial infidelity. On the ſubject of her private expences the reader is referred to the preceding pages of this eſſay. With reſpect to the ſums tranſmitted to the emperor many aſſertions have been made, without the adduction of a ſingle proof written or oral. Had the fact been ſo, neither kind of proof could have been wanting; the abſence of proof ſupplies the greateſt probability, or rather certainty, that the accuſation was unfounded. Her explanation on this ſubject in the courſe of her interrogatory, is clear, preciſe, and ſatisfactory. It was as follows: Character of the queen.

"*Obſervation.*—Not content with dilapidating, in "a ſhocking manner, the finances of France, the "fruits of the ſweat of the people, for the ſake of "her pleaſures and intrigues, in concert with infa"mous miniſters, ſhe had ſent to the emperor "thouſands of millions to ſerve againſt the nation "which foſtered her.

"*Anſwer.*—Never:—I know this mean artifice "has often been employed to my prejudice; I "loved my huſband too much to dilapidate the

preternatural. Pagès confirms the firſt part of this account (ſee vol. ii. p. 156.); but none of the journaliſts or eye-witneſſes, though ſufficiently ready to have derogated from the character of the queen, have taken any notice of theſe extraordinary facts. I therefore am much inclined to think them more recent fabrications. To Miſs Williams's teſtimony I give little credit; ſhe could not be an eye-witneſs, and is ſo little ſolicitous about truth in her compilations, that, beſides frequently retailing the moſt abſurd calumnies againſt the royal family, ſhe has preſerved a ridiculous and improbable fiction of the king having to the laſt moment of his life entertained hopes of a reſcue!

"treaſure

" treaſure of his country. My brother did not want, " money from France, and from the ſame principle " which attached me to France, I would not have " given him any[1]."

This unfounded accuſation is ſtill further refuted by the contradiction of thoſe from whom it originated, who, while they charged the queen with dilapidations amounting to *thouſands of millions*, implicated her in a diſgraceful trick, which, if ſucceſsful, would have produced only one million of livres (43,750 *l.*) to be ſhared between her and ſix or ſeven ſharpers.

The other point of accuſation, matrimonial infidelity, is ſupported by aſſertions ſo numerous, that individuals are fearful of expreſſing doubts on a ſubject which ſeems ſo ſtrongly advanced. The nature of the charge reſiſts the demand of evidence from thoſe who detail it; yet it might be ſuppoſed from the number of inſtances adduced, (for there was hardly a courtier of figure or a traveller of conſequence that was not ranked among her favorites,) that ſome proof would in the courſe of the revolution have come to light. But even on her trial, though the fact was alledged in the moſt indecent terms, the proof was not attempted. The circumſtantial evidence is decidedly on the other ſide; for if we lay no ſtreſs on the fidelity and courage with which the queen, in the moſt trying ſituations, fulfilled the duties of wife and mother, ſtill it appears impoſſible that ſhe ſhould have been beloved as ſhe was by her huſband, had a ſingle fact advanced againſt her been true, or the ſuſpicion in any wiſe founded. That ſhe could have conducted her intrigues in private is impoſſible; becauſe from the moment of her arrival in France to that of her death, ſhe was ſurrounded with ſpies and enemies. If the ſlighteſt of theſe accuſations had been true, it is not

[1] Queen's Trial by the conductor of the Times, p. 2.

poſſible

poſſible that ſhe ſhould have retained to his laſt hour the warmeſt affections of a king, who united with the moſt inflexible virtue, the higheſt ſenſe of honour, and the greateſt horror of impropriety[m]. Could the queen in ſuch a caſe have poſſeſſed the eſteem and affection of the unſullied and uncalumniated princeſs Elizabeth, ſo firmly, that on the celebrated twentieth of June, ſhe offered to loſe her own life for her protection? The queen's own declaration at the time when ſhe was pleading for her fame, without hope of her life, is remarkable, and convincing from its genuine appearance of candor and virtuous defiance. Speaking of *Trianon*, the ſuppoſed ſeat of her voluptuous revels, ſhe ſaid: "I wiſh more than any one, *that every thing which* "*took place there may be made public*[n]."

The princeſs Elizabeth's treatment of the dauphin.

AFTER the removal of the queen to the priſon of the Conciergerie, the children of Louis were left under the care of their aunt, madame Elizabeth, who endeavoured by acts of kindneſs and attention to alleviate the miſery of their condition. She was careful in imparting to the young prince ſentiments of religion, humanity, and forgiveneſs. She always treated him with ſo much reſpect, that the commiſſioners on duty at length thought it neceſſary to reprehend, and finally to remove the children to ſeparate apartments[o].

Severities of government.

The princeſs was now compelled to perform the moſt menial offices herſelf. She dreſſed the ſcanty meal allowed her, and ſwept the floor of her priſon

[m] The reader is requeſted to recollect the king's conduct towards du Barry, and judge by that if he would have connived at impurity in his own wife.

[n] Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 124. Some hints for this exculpation of the queen are taken from Playfair. See Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 583.

[o] Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 51.

with

with her own hands! The people ſeemed to have forgotten that ſhe exiſted, and to have conſigned her, without conſideration, to the brutality of her jailors.

The princeſs called as a witneſs.

She was called as a witneſs on the trial of Bailly, to prove ſome facts relative to the tranſaction of the *Champ de Mars*, but declined giving any teſtimony. Her anſwer to the queſtion put to her by the preſident of the tribunal was, "You know that "the blood of your ſovereign pardons, but does "not accuſe [p]?"

16th May 1794. Deputation petition for her death.

In the enſuing ſpring, Robeſpierre meditated the deſtruction of the Cordeliers; and with his uſual policy, reſolved to occupy the public with ſome other event to hinder the friends of his victims from exciting commotions to revenge their fate. With this view, two days after he had denounced the conſpiracy of the Cordeliers, and obtained the arreſt of their principal members, a deputation from the ſection of the Pantheon, tutored for the purpoſe, attended at the bar of the convention, and required that "the impure remains of the family who but-"chered the people on the 10th of Auguſt, ſhould "fall under the avenging and protecting ſword of "the law[q]."

Her act of accuſation.

The life of this truly amiable princeſs had been ſo virtuous, ſo beneficent, ſo exempt from blame, that it was a matter of ſome difficulty to frame her act of accuſation. It contains many general allegations, couched in the moſt indecorous and inſulting language; but nothing which applied particularly to the conduct of the princeſs, except a charge that ſhe had dreſſed the wounds of ſome *fédérés*, whom the Marſeillois had wantonly attacked on their arrival in Paris; that ſhe had ſent her diamonds to the count d'Artois, and that ſince the death of the king ſhe had treated the young prince with diſtinctions due to royalty [r].

[p] Derniers Regicides. [q] Debates.
[r] See the Act of Accuſation. Procès des Bourbons, vol. iii. p. 171.

It

It is aſſerted by many writers, and confidently believed, that one ſingle anſwer decided the fate of the princeſs. That, having replied to the queſtion of the preſident of the revolutionary tribunal, "I am "aunt to the king," ſhe was immediately declared guilty [s]. Her interrogatory conſiſted of ſeveral queſtions. Her anſwers were frank and obviouſly true; but the preſident, after malignant and vain endeavours to pervert her meaning and refute her aſſertions, at length petulantly obſerved, that her plan of defence was *to deny every thing*. As a laſt effort, he interrogated her, "Whether ſhe had not com- "forted her nephew with the hopes of ſucceeding "to his father's throne?" She anſwered, "I have "converſed familiarly with that unfortunate child, "who has more than one claim to my affection; "and I gave him all thoſe conſolations which ap- "peared to me likely to reconcile him to the loſs "of thoſe who had given him birth." This anſwer was conſtrued as an acknowledgment of a plot "to "build up the wrecks of a ſubverted throne, by "deluging it with the blood of the patriots." On this obſervation, without hearing a ſingle witneſs, the princeſs was condemned [t]. 16th May. Trial;

Four and twenty perſons were tried at the ſame time, and condemned for the ſame conſpiracy. They were all, except one woman, who declared herſelf pregnant, guillotined the ſame day. The princeſs was executed laſt. Her conduct on her trial, and till the moment of her death, was calculated to prove before a tribunal of atheiſts the firmneſs and compoſure which religion can communicate to a mind naturally timid. She fell at the age of thirty [u]. and execution.

[s] See Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 503. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, p. 637.

[t] See her Interrogatory Procès des Bourbons, vol. iii. p. 171. Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 52.

[u] Procès, &c. vol. iii. p. 185. Les Derniers Regicides.

THE

Beauty of the dauphin.

THE beauty and juvenile graces of the dauphin are mentioned in the higheſt terms by perſons who had the beſt means of judging on the ſubject [x]. Theſe qualities, however, were ſo far from producing their uſual effect in his favor, that it is not improbable they added the incitements of fear to malignant cruelty, and contributed to embitter his lot and ſhorten his days.

Severe motions againſt him.

The young prince was early marked out as a victim by the republicans. His education had been the topic of many conteſts [y]. When the trial of the king was in agitation, the child, whoſe tender years precluded the poſſibility of ſharing in his pretended crimes, was nevertheleſs doomed to participate in his puniſhment. Mailhe ſaid in his report, "Louis "Charles ought to be guarded with the utmoſt "ſtrictneſs, till the day when tyrants hurled from "their thrones might carry their inſignificance "where they thought proper, and excite no more "intereſt than Dionyſius did at Corinth [z]." Such was the language ſpoken in a legiſlature which braved the united arms of all Europe, and yet affected to apprehend ill conſequences from the liberation of a helpleſs infant.

Obſervation.

But even admitting that a ſolicitude for the public ſafety might make the republican rulers too cautious in preventing every interruption of the national peace, what ſentiment could prompt the ſubſequent cruelties which brought this unfortunate child to an untimely grave, and diſplay unparalleled meanneſs and malignity in thoſe who invented and thoſe who ſanctioned them?

Hardſhips of his impriſonment;

When the prince was parted from all his female relations, he was committed to the care of Simon a cobler, who was appointed his tutor. This wretch rigidly enforced the parſimonious decree of the

[x] Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 40. Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. i. p. 201.

[y] Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 248.

[z] See Mailhe's Report, 7th Nov. 1792.

legiſlature,

legiſlature, which reduced the food of his charge to a bare ſufficiency for the ſuſtenance of nature, and endeavoured to poiſon his mind with the principles and language of the *ſans-culottes*, and to impair his faculties by the habit of early intoxication. The affected fears of conſpiracy and eſcape were employed as the means of increaſing the torments of the unhappy orphan. His guards were accuſtomed to knock many times in the night at the door of his apartment, and exclaim with a terrific voice, "Capet! are you there?" The child, waking in terror, anſwered, "Yes, here I am."—"Come hither "then, and let me ſee you," exclaimed the guard. Upon which the innocent object of this wanton perſecution was obliged to riſe and ſhew himſelf naked at the wicket. The guard then gave him leave to retire to bed, and he lay trembling and dozing till the ſame ſcene was repeated. The offices of cleanlineſs were totally neglected. He could not, like his female relations, ſupply the deficiency of attendants by his own exertions. His chamber was diſguſting through accumulated filth; his fleſh was never properly waſhed, and his hair was matted for want of being combed. His health appeared obviouſly to decline; and from long ſuffering, and the abſence of hope, his mind would probably have been no leſs impaired than his body.

continued after the fall of Robeſpierre. 2d Dec. 1794.

After the fall of Robeſpierre it might have been expected that the rigor of the child's fate would have been ſoftened; but the *reign of terror* and the *reign of virtue* were to him alike. Four months after the deſtruction of the tyrant, a deputation from the committee of general ſafety attended at the bar of the convention, to repel with indignation an aſſertion advanced in the *Courier Univerſel*, importing that "the committee of general ſafety, perſuaded "that no one ought, merely becauſe he was the ſon "of a king, to be degraded below humanity, had "appointed three commiſſioners, men of probity "and knowledge in the place of Simon; two of "them

" them charged with the education of the orphan, " and the third to take care that he did not, as " formerly, want neceſſaries." This imputation rouſed the anger of the committee, which was declared by its orator, Mathieu, " to have been a " ſtranger to every idea of meliorating the captivity " of the children of Capet, or of appointing them " inſtructors. The committees, and the conven- " tion," he added, " know how to ſtrike off the " heads of kings, but they know not how to edu- " cate their children." In the courſe of the ſame month, Lequinio declared that France would never be at peace while the offſpring of the tyrant remained among them, and moved that the committee of government ſhould deviſe the means of ſending the ſon of Louis out of the territories of the republic. This was decreed; but no ſteps were taken to put the decree in execution.

9th June 1795. His death. Suſpicion of poiſon.

Death at length delivered the legiſlators from their embarraſſment, and their victim from his woes. As ſome ſuſpicions were entertained that his fate had been accelerated by poiſon, three ſurgeons were commiſſioned to open him. They made a vague report, tending to prove that he died of a ſcrophulous complaint; but there are many reaſons to believe that he was poiſoned. The expediency of deſtroying the direct heir to the crown was a motive, and the untimely death of the three ſurgeons, Duffault, Doublet, and Choppart, is a ſtrong corroborating circumſtance. The fact is affirmed by republican as well as royaliſt writers [z], and becomes unqueſtionably credible, if we believe the aſſertion of Charrette, the Chouan chief, that, in order to induce him to lay down his arms, the government engaged, by a ſecret article, to reſtore the ancient monarchy, in the perſon of Louis XVII.[a]

[z] See Pagès, vol. ii. p. 407.

[a] For the preceding facts, beſides the Debates, I have conſulted Necker on the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 84. the new Annual Regiſter for 1795, p. 212. 247; Les Derniers Regicides, &c.

JEAN SILVAIN BAILLY.

THE name of Bailly ſtood in the foremoſt ranks of celebrity in the early days of the revolution; it fell afterwards into oblivion, and was only brought again to light for the purpoſe of exciting the popular vengeance againſt the man who had ſhared moſt largely the idolatry of the people. He, like many others, abandoned the ſafe and quiet ſhore of loyalty and obedience, to adventure on the boiſterous ſea of popular commotion, became convinced of his folly too late, and was ſhipwrecked in his attempt to regain the haven.

1725. Birth, education, and purſuits.

Bailly was born at Paris; his father was a wine merchant in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine. He had an uncle who was keeper of the pictures in the royal cabinet, and ſome other relations who held places under government. He was at firſt intended for the church, but on the death of an uncle, who left him a competency, he renounced his firſt intention and ſtudied for the bar. This profeſſion, however, was no more congenial to his taſte than the church, and he devoted himſelf principally to the ſtudy of natural philoſophy. He publiſhed ſeveral works which procured him a ſeat in the three academies, and recommended him to the notice of the court, from whom he received a penſion of ten thouſand livres (437 *l.* 10 *s.*) a-year, and apartments in the Louvre[b].

Penſion.

[b] Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 231; Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, 160. 606. Montjoye ſays, that his emoluments amounted to twenty-five thouſand livres (1093 *l.* 15 *s.*) a-year. Eloge, &c. p. 116. n.

1789. Member of the conſtituent aſſembly.

Bailly was an active member of the ſocieties formed by the corruption of free-maſonry, which abounded in France, and contributed ſo much to haſten the revolution [c]. At the aſſembling of the ſtates general, he was returned member of the *tiers-etat.* In this ſituation he entered warmly into the views of thoſe who were deſirous to humble the ſuperior orders, and degrade the ſovereign, views which he purſued with the moſt unrelenting eagerneſs. Before the junction of the three orders, he was choſe a preſident or dean of the *tiers-etat*; he filled the office with all the parade and inſolence of inflated ſelf-importance, which he had an opportunity of diſplaying on the day of his nomination. It had been the cuſtom, when a deputation was ſent from either of the two higher orders of the king, that his majeſty received them in perſon, but when one was ſent from the *tiers-etat*, they were received by the keeper of the ſeals, who carried their requeſts to the king. This cuſtom was derived from antiquity; but in the preſent diſpoſition of the *tiers-etat*, it gave umbrage, and to break through it they framed a meſſage of ſmall importance, required the preſident to inform the king, that the commons acknowledge no intermediate channel of communication between themſelves and his majeſty, and deſired to know when he would receive them in perſon. This meſſage was tranſmitted as uſual through the keeper of the ſeals, on the very day the dauphin died at Meudon. The king returned for anſwer that he could ſee them neither that evening or on the morrow, and that he could not, in his preſent afflicted ſtate, fix a time for their attendance. This meſſage was written in his own hand, but the ferocious aſſembly, deaf to the voice of nature, and blind to every object but the point they wiſhed to attain, perſevered in their demand, and the king,

3d June. Preſident of the tiers-etat.

[c] Robiſon's Proofs of a Conſpiracy, p. 50. 403.

fearful

fearful of worſe conſequences, was obliged to receive them the next day between eleven and twelve o'clock. The deputation, twenty in number, with Bailly at their head, waited on the king; he was their ſpokeſman, and concluded an addreſs on the ſtale ſubject of the union of the orders, with hypocritical aſſurances of attachment to the perſon of his ſovereign, and concern for his loſs; aſſurances, which had they been founded, would have ſpared the monarch a mortification which wrung from his boſom the pathetic exclamation, "Alas! then there are no "fathers amongſt the members of the *tiers-etat*[d]!"

Bailly continued in this office of dean of the *tiers-etat*, till that body voted themſelves a national aſſembly, and then he was made proviſionally preſident for four days only[e]. At this time occurred that famous tranſaction, which ſet the *tiers-etat* completely above the other two orders, and ſhewed the king himſelf that he had no reſource, either in his private virtues or the loyalty of his people, againſt a combination the moſt ſubtle in its contrivance and fatal in its effect. Necker, alarmed at the obſtinacy of the *tiers-etat*, and having in vain propoſed plans of accommodation, prevailed on the king to proclaim a royal ſitting, at which a ſyſtem of government was to be preſented to the three orders, with directions for their conduct towards each other in reſpect to the verification of powers. The outlines of this plan had been communicated, and the faction who ruled the aſſembly were doubly anxious to prevent its taking effect. They had prevailed on the majority of the clergy to join with them, but on the day appointed for that purpoſe the royal ſitting was

17th June. Preſident of the aſſembly.

[d] Moore's View of the Cauſes and Progreſs of the French Revolution, vol. i. p. 183. Eloge Funebre de Louis XVI. par M. Monſjoye, p. 141. Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 352. Wilde's Addreſs to the Friends of the People, 486.

[e] Impartial Hiſtory of the French Revolution, vol. i. p. 85. Debates.

20th June. Oath in the tennis-court. proclaimed. When Bailly preſented himſelf at the door of the hall he was refuſed admittance, and informed that no perſon would be permitted to enter the hall of the *ſtates general*; he replied, that "he "would give an account of the proceeding to the "*national aſſembly.*" The deputies were already aſſembled in various groupes about the gate, a report was circulated that a diſſolution of the aſſembly was intended, which produced much clamour, and many pointed animadverſions; at length the preſident, accompanied with the ſecretaries, returned to the hall, and demanded all the papers belonging to the aſſembly; having received them, he went with the reſt of the deputies who were aſſembled, to a neighbouring tennis-court, and after many inflammatory harangues, they all took an oath never to part till the conſtitution was completed. It rained violently, and the mob, which was continually increaſing, expreſſed high indignation at the inconvenience ſuſtained by the repreſentatives of the peo-

21ſt. ple, which they attributed entirely to the court. The king was at Marli; when he returned on the morrow, he wrote to M. Bailly with his own hand to inform him that the royal ſitting could not be held till the 23d, and intimating his deſire that no meeting of the national aſſembly ſhould take place in the intermediate time; but the aſſembly were too impatient to effect the propoſed junction with the clergy, to accede to any hints of delay, and too much intoxicated with the applauſe of the people to forbear any indulgence which circumſtances could ſupply.

22d. They repaired to the tennis-court to meet the clergy, but found it occupied by an immenſe multitude, as deſirous to be ſpectators of the ceremony as they to perform it. Diſappointed here, they repaired to the *Couvent des Recolets*, and requeſted the uſe of the church. The monks declined accommodating them, though in a manner which could convey no offence.

They

They now converted the apparent embarraſſment of their ſituation into an additional claim on the admiration of the multitude. They returned therefore to their own hall, where, as they reaſonably expected, they were refuſed entrance; finally they went to the church of St. Louis, where they were admitted without heſitation, and thoſe members who had not yet taken the oath adminiſtered in the tennis-court, then received it. After the performance of this ceremony, they were joined by the clergy, who deſcended in form from the choir, and being received with open arms by their new aſſociates, proceeded to the verification of their powers, as did two nobles, the firſt ſeceders from the reſolutions of the majority of their peers[f].

On the 23d of June, the day of the royal ſitting, Bailly was active and ſtrenuous in his remonſtrances with the Marquis de Brézé, againſt the indignity offered to the body over which he preſided, by detaining them under an out-houſe in a ſhower of rain, while the ſuperior orders took their ſeats. He was the firſt, after the king's departure, to indicate a contempt and defiance of his orders, till then unheard of, by declaring to Brézé, who came to remind the aſſembly of his majeſty's injunctions for their adjournment, till the next day, that "the "national aſſembly received commands from no "perſon." This act of oppoſition was ſo daring as to throw aſtoniſhment even into that factious body; they remained ſilent, and probably the preſident would have been left alone to bear the effects of his temerity, had he not been ſuccoured by Mirabeau, who, after a ſpeech full of invectives againſt the maſter of the ceremonies, ſaid, "the aſſembly ſat "there by virtue of the will of the people, and "would not be expelled but by the point of the "bayonet."

23d. Royal ſitting.

[f] Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 89. Moore's View, vol. i. p. 219. Pages. Hiſtoire Secrete de la Revolution, vol. i. p. 107. Arthur Young's Travels, p. 115, 116.

" bayonet." This ſtep reſtored the courage of the aſſembly, and Bailly, relieved from the embarraſſment of his ſituation by the unanimity of his colleagues, ſaid to the marquis, " the aſſembly decreed " yeſterday that they would continue their meeting " after the royal ſeſſion; I can make no alteration " in that decree;" and authorized Brézé to carry that meſſage to the king [g].

Bailly's popularity.

To the tranſactions of theſe memorable days Bailly principally owed his popularity. The junction of the orders was by many aſcribed to him, becauſe he was preſident; the people aſſembled at his door and hailed him with ſhouts and acclamations [h]. Though his proceedings muſt have been peculiarly gratifying to the Orleans faction, yet there is no reaſon for ſuppoſing Bailly particularly attached to them; he was a member of the *Club Breton*, but it is not apparent that he was connected with the cabinet of the *Palais Royal* more than with that of Verſailles; a fact which, though it eſtabliſhes the independence of his character, does not take away the odium from the brutality of his behaviour in many inſtances, his conſpicuous ingratitude, and the ſiniſter means he uſed to degrade the king, and alienate from him the affections of the people. Bailly was deſirous, above all things, of popularity; his diſintereſtedneſs and independence were ſubſervient to that wiſh, and though his mind led him to a connexion more pure than that of Orleans (la Fayette), he was not ſufficiently endowed with integrity to prevent his countenancing and even participating many of the crimes which diſgraced his country.

14th July. Mayor of Paris.

After the murder of Fleſſelles, he was elevated to the rank that unfortunate man had held; but the title of *Prévôt des Marchands* was aboliſhed, and that

[g] Moore's View, vol. i. p. 231. Hiſtories.
[h] Anecdotes, &c. vol. vi. p. 232; Pagès, vol. i. p. 118.

of

of mayor of Paris ſubſtituted. He is ſaid to have owed this elevation to the intrigues of Orleans and Mirabeau, who were anxious to attach to their party the men of letters, and thought this homage paid to an individual of their claſs a tempting allurement [i]. He, however, aſcribed his new dignity to his own merit alone, and his vanity was proportionably augmented. He gave his ſervants a kind of livery, reſided in a ſuperb hotel, and ornamented the pannels of his carriage with three golden bees, an affectation which demonſtrated that he was in no reſpect ſuperior to the vain-glorious mob of upſtarts [k].

17th. Behaviour to the king on his entry into Paris.

In virtue of his office, he was appointed to regulate the ceremony when the king entered the capital; he did this in a manner which diſplayed his pride, and proved his anxiety to deprive the monarch of all reſpect and perſonal conſideration. Though it was notorious that the royal family entertained fears very juſtly founded, that the aſſaſſination of the king was projected, he would not allow him the comfort and protection of his faithful *gardes du corps*; he forbad them to enter the city; at a certain diſtance from Paris the royal carriage was met by a detachment of the national guard, incorporated with the treacherous *gardes Françaiſes*; the *gardes du corps* were obliged to return to Verſailles, and the king, to whom the plot to aſſaſſinate him had been mentioned, was left thus guarded, or rather expoſed, to purſue his cheerleſs journey to the city, during which the cuſtomary effuſion of loyalty, *Vive le Roi!* was omitted, and by order of the mayor and la Fayette, the national guard and the attending mob ſcreamed out *Vive la Nation*. At the entrance of the city, at a place

[i] Hiſtories. Playfair's Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, 158.

[k] Apologie des projets des Chefs de la Revolution, p. 298. Anecdotes, &c. vol. vi. p. 232.

called *la Barriere des Conferences*, the inflated mayor, with the ſmile of ſelf-gratulation, preſented the keys to the king, with that quaint and well-known obſervation, "Theſe are the identical keys which were "preſented to Henry IV. when that monarch *re-*"*conquered* his people, but in the preſent inſtance "the people have *re-conquered* their king." At the *Hotel de Ville* he placed on the brow of the unfortunate monarch that degrading cockade, the colours of which were calculated to impreſs on his mind the triumph and popularity of Orleans, who wiſhed to ſupplant him on the throne[1].

22d. Intercedes for Berthier and Foulon.

Bailly had ſoon an opportunity of proving by experience, that the reſtraint of law being once withdrawn from a licentious populace, eloquence and wiſdom would exert themſelves in vain; he ſaw it in the ill-ſucceſs of his earneſt mediation for Berthier and Foulon, who were ſavagely butchered in ſpite of his interceſſion.

30th July. Receives Necker.

At the return of Necker to Paris, Bailly attended with the repreſentatives of the commune, and made him a complimentary oration. He, doubtleſs, hoped, from the recall of this popular miniſter, that his office would be freed from many difficulties. He expected the reſtoration of plenty and tranquillity, the formation of a conſtitution, and the confirmation of his authority, with the reduction of the royal prerogative. Short-ſighted, vain, and ſelf-ſufficient, he readily credited the popular outcry, without perceiving the malice of thoſe by whom it was raiſed. Incapable of diſcerning the intrigues of the Orleans faction, he fancied that all the miſeries of which the people complained originated with the court, and that, if left to his own free agency, he could prevent every diſaſter. He made ſome exertions to this

[1] Hiſtories. Hiſtoire de la Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 81. Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 192.

effect,

effect, but they thwarted the views of the duke of Orleans, and raiſed conſiderable clamor [m].

Though his ſituation furniſhed him with the means of better information, he was totally ignorant of the projected inſurrection of the 5th of October; he conſidered it a ſpontaneous movement of the people, and was aſtoniſhed when he heard that the *poiſſardes* had threatened his life, together with that of la Fayette, not knowing that his office was coveted for a more able individual, and more decided partiſan. On the 6th of October, when the royal family came to Paris in the evening, and when, after the fatigue and diſturbance of that and the preceding day, it was obvious that they required repoſe, the vanity of Bailly, who was directed to receive them at the Hotel-de-Ville, induced him to make a long, impertinent harangue, in which, amongſt other atrocities, he called that day a *beautiful day*. He did worſe; from a motive which can hardly be ſoftened into negligence or miſapprehenſion, he miſrepreſented the words of his unfortunate king, with a view to prevent any impreſſion of kindneſs. The king ſaid that he came with joy and confidence to reſide in his good city of Paris: the mayor repeating the words to the people aſſembled, omitted the expreſſion, *with confidence*, which alone conveyed any compliment to them. The queen, aware of this intention, exclaimed, loud enough to be heard by all preſent; "You "omit, M. Bailly, the king ſaid, *with joy* AND CONFIDENCE." Confuſed at this detection, he ſaid to the by-ſtanders, "Gentlemen, you hear it from the "queen's own mouth, which muſt give you much "more pleaſure than to learn it from mine." He again waited on the royal family the next day at the Thuilleries, and made them an hypocritical harangue on the joy and affection which was felt by all Paris on ſeeing them inhabit the palace of their anceſtors: he

5th Oct. Ignorance of the intended inſurrection.

6th. Receives the king. His ſpeech and conduct.

[m] Hiſtories, particularly Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 200. Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 157.

well

well knew, at the time, that the palace was intended for their priſon, that the joy of the city was exultation in ſucceſsful treaſon, and that the affection of the people was but a term for inſolence and contempt [n].

Exerts himſelf to ſupply the capital.

But when la Fayette came to ſtate the information he had gained on the night of the 5th, his ſuſpicions reſpecting Orleans, and on the true cauſes of the ſcarcity and popular commotion, the mayor was anxious to co-operate heartily with him in the removal of theſe evils. He exerted himſelf to the utmoſt of his power to take away all reſtraints from the ſupplying of the capital, and to procure a ſufficiency of grain, in which by the aſſiſtance of the intrepid and diſcerning Vauvilliers, and by the abſence of Orleans, he ſucceeded during the remainder of his mayoralty.

19th. Receives the thanks of the aſſembly.

On the firſt ſitting of the aſſembly in Paris, he attended with the compliments of the *commune*, and was honored with a vote of thanks and approbation.

21ſt.

The capital, after the departure of the duke, remained in a tolerable ſtate of quiet, the murder of François, the baker, excepted, which produced the famous martial law in which Bailly heartily coincided.

1790.

Yet he did not renounce his factious principles; his attachment to la Fayette led him to adopt all his meaſures, and he was amongſt the moſt active, both by his countenance and authority, to diſturb the ſittings of the club called the Friends of Monarchy [o].

May. Preſents a medal to the king.

He preſented to the king a bronze medal, ſtruck in commemoration of the 6th of October, with this legend, "*J'y ferai déſormais ma demeure habituelle.*" He accompanied this preſent with the following obſervations—"Sire; your majeſty, at your entrance "into Paris, ſaid, '*I intend for the future to make it* "'*my chief place of reſidence.*' The city of Paris has

[n] Hiſtories. Alſo Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. ii. p. 275. Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 197.

[o] See Hiſtorical Sketch of the French Revolution, p. 311.

"cauſed

" cauſed theſe words to be engraven on the bronze,
" as they are already engraven on the hearts of all
" our fellow-citizens [p]."

Bailly was the author of the ſcheme preſented to the aſſembly for a confederation, when the king and people ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the law not yet promulgated, and to maintain a conſtitution not yet formed. This pompous abſurdity was to be performed the 14th of July, in honor of the anniverſary of the capture of the Baſtille. The *Champ de Mars* was the place fixed on for the exhibition, but the ſhortneſs of the time allowed to make the neceſſary preparations ſeemed an inſuperable obſtacle to its completion: this, however, was conquered by the ardent genius of the French nation; the whole city of Paris, male and female, noble and plebeian, maſter and ſervant, turned out into the field, and performed with incredible diligence the neceſſary labors. The ſacred retreat of the convent and monaſtery was violated with impunity, and nuns and monks, whoſe vows obliged them to a ſecluſion with which ſuch an act was incompatible, were forced from their retreats by thoſe who pretended ſtill to reſpect religion, and who were preparing for one of its moſt ſolemn ceremonies. The national guards, the ſtrangers whom curioſity had attracted, every one was employed, and barely two hours before the commencement of the ceremony the preparations were completed. The ceremony is well deſcribed by Dr. Moore [q].

5th June. Propoſes confederation.

" The day of ſuch vaſt expectation at laſt arrived;
" the amphitheatre was formed with an altar in the
" middle, the throne of the king, a magnificent pa-
" vilion, and commodious ſeats for the queen and
" royal family, and the triumphal arches through
" which the various proceſſions were to paſs,
" were finiſhed only two hours before the proceſſion
" began. At day-break the citizens began to flock

14th July. Deſcription of the confederation.

[p] Anecdotes, &c. vol. i. p. 201.
[q] View, vol. ii. p. 158.

" to

"to the amphitheatre, which, it was ſaid, was of "ſufficient extent to contain above three hundred "thouſand." (Other authors ſay four, ſome ſix hundred thouſand, beſides an incredible concourſe who crowded the circumjacent hills and eminences, to the extraordinary amount, according to their accounts, of three millions of people[r].) "On the "preceding night, ſome of the diſtricts had diſtri-"buted tickets of admiſſion to the wives and daugh-"ters of the moſt diſtinguiſhed or moſt favored ci-"tizens; and no leſs than four thouſand of the na-"tional guards were ordered on duty at the field of "the confederation. This produced diſcontent and "murmurs. It was ſaid that all the citizens had an "equal claim to a place in the amphitheatre; that "thoſe who went firſt had a right to their choice of "every place, except ſuch as were deſtined for the "perſons in ſome public office; and the guards ap-"pointed on ſervice at the Champ de Mars de-"clared, that they would not oppoſe the entrance "of any citizen, whether he had a ticket or not. "When theſe declarations were known, the muni-"cipality thought proper to order it to be proclaim-"ed in the middle of the night of the thirteenth, "that the tickets which had been diſtributed were "entirely uſeleſs; which made great numbers reſort "to the amphitheatre by break of day; and the "guards, inſtead of oppoſing their entrance, endea-"voured to amuſe them during the long interval till "the ceremony ſhould begin, by military evolutions "and dancing the carmagnole on the plain.

"The great proceſſion conſiſted of a band of mu-"ſic, a body of national guards, cavalry as well as "infantry, led by M. la Fayette, and followed by "the electors of the city of Paris—the principal "members of the municipality—the deputies to the "national aſſembly—the deputies from one-half of

[r] See Rabaud's Hiſtory, p. 188. Pagès, vol. i. p. 355. Miſs Williams's Letters from Paris in 1790.

"the

" the departments into which France had been di-
" vided—a deputation from the army and fleet,
" headed by two marſhals of France—the deputies
" from the other half of the departments—and a
" body of horſe and foot belonging to the national
" guards, with a band of muſic, cloſed the proceſ-
" ſion, which was rendered more ſplendid by the
" banners belonging to the various claſſes of which
" it was compoſed, and by the martial airs which
" were played in the intervals between the univerſal
" exclamation of *Vive la Nation!* which, from time
" to time, pierced the air. The different bodies
" which formed the proceſſion had particular places
" aſſigned to them. Thoſe for the members of the
" national aſſembly were to the right and left of the
" king's throne.

" Two hundred prieſts, dreſſed in garments of
" white linen bound with the national-coloured rib-
" bons, ſtood on the ſteps of the altar, which had
" been raiſed for the purpoſe of adminiſtering the
" oath, for which function the committee of the
" commune appointed the biſhop of Autun, a man
" of talents, and one of the moſt ancient families in
" France, and a zealous promoter of the revolution.
" When he was about to celebrate the maſs, which
" preceded the pronunciation of the oath, the ſky
" became obſcure with clouds; a ſtorm of wind took
" place, and was followed by a deluge of rain. The
" biſhop proceeded to the celebration of the maſs
" without any regard to the ſtorm; after which he
" pronounced a benediction on the Oriflamme or
" royal ſtandard of France, and on the eighty-three
" banners of the departments which waved around
" it immediately before the altar.

" The king had been appointed, for that day only,
" ſupreme and abſolute commander of all the national
" guards in France. He named M. de la Fayette
" as his delegate to perform the functions; ſo that
" la Fayette was for this day not only commander

" in chief of the national guards of Paris, but high " conſtable of all the armed men in the kingdom, " which probably was a greater number than ever " had been in any kingdom in the world before. " M. la Fayette, as their repreſentative, took the " oath firſt. When he left the bottom of the throne " where he had hitherto ſtood, and moved towards " the altar for that purpoſe, the trumpets began to " ſound; a vaſt band of martial muſic continued to " play while he aſcended the ſteps of the altar. In " the view of the multitude who filled this immenſe " circus around, he laid the point of his ſword upon " the Bible which was on the table of the altar, and " raiſing his other hand towards the ſky, the muſic " ceaſed; an univerſal ſtillneſs enſued; and he pro- " nounced, 'We ſwear to be ever faithful to the " nation, to the law, and to the king; to maintain, " to the utmoſt of our power, the conſtitution de- " creed by the national aſſembly, and accepted by " the king.' The trumpets beginning to ſound as " ſoon as he had finiſhed, were drowned in the ac- " clamation of *Vive la Nation!* All the members of " the national aſſembly then ſtanding up, the preſi- " dent pronounced the oath in his own name and " that of his brethren; which was, in like manner, " followed by muſic and acclamation.

" When the king himſelf aroſe, a great body of " the national guards preſſed near the throne, which " they ſurrounded with raiſed arms, while he re- " peated, *Moi, roi des Français, je jure d'employer* " *tout le pouvoir qui m'eſt délégué par la loi conſtitu-* " *tionelle de l'etat, à maintenir la conſtitution décrétée* " *par l'aſſemblée nationale et acceptée par moi, et à faire* " *exécuter les loix.* 'I, king of the French, ſwear to " employ all the power that is conſigned to me by " the conſtitutional law of the ſtate, in maintaining " the conſtitution decreed by the national aſſembly, " and accepted by me, and in enforcing the execu- " tion of the laws.' A ſignal being given that the

" king

"king had taken the oath, the air reſounded with "alternate peals of artillery and ſhouts of the peo- "ple; and thus ended a ceremony, which, notwith- "ſtanding the good intentions of many who took the "oath, has been conſidered as the grandeſt and moſt "extenſive act of perjury that heaven and earth was "ever witneſs to. The rain prevented the king from "leaving the throne and walking to the altar, where "it was expected he would have taken the oath. "This circumſtance was afterwards mentioned in "the ſeditious groups in the Palais Royal, and at "the Jacobin ſociety, as a proof of the king's aver- "ſion to the conſtitution, and his unwillingneſs to "take the oath; but only proves, what a variety of "circumſtances indeed demonſtrated in the courſe "of the revolution, that there was a diſpoſition to "calumniate the king, and pervert the moſt inno- "cent and natural parts of his behaviour into "crimes." Some of the moſt petulant ſpectators of the ceremony were ſo deſirous that the oath ſhould be taken on the altar, that they applied to la Fayette to induce him to repeat it: The anſwer of the general is characteriſtic of his own levity and of that of his hearers; "*Mes enfans*, My lads," ſaid he, "an oath is not an opera ſong, that it is to be "encored [s]."

This great day which had no other object than the excitement of enthuſiaſm, fortunately, and contrary to all expectation, terminated without miſchief.— Bailly gave ſome umbrage to the captors of the Baſtille, or, more probably, they were excited by the agents of Orleans to raiſe diſcontent againſt the mayor; it was at the period ſpeedily forgot, but it was brought again to light, and made the ſubject of grievous accuſation againſt him in the day of his adverſity [t]. He was now at the height of his popula- His popularity.

[s] Miſs Williams's Letters in 1790.

[t] See his examination on the trial of the queen, Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. *ubi ſup.*

rity;

rity; the Pariſians, overjoyed at an exemption from the horrors of famine, and looking up to him as the cauſe, paid him great marks of reſpect; they placed tranſparent paintings of him and la Fayette by the ſide of the ſtatue of Henry IV.

His name inſcribed on the pillar at Genon.

In the courſe of this year, the inhabitants of Genon, a village of Franche Comté, erected on the road ſide a column, of white ſtone, which they conſecrated to liberty. On the ſide facing the road which foreigners muſt paſs to arrive at Genon, was this inſcription: "Stranger, thou haſt touched this "land; thou art free." On two of the other ſides were inſcriptions, the one denoting the time when the column was erected, and by whom; the other deſignating certain individuals and public bodies as a diſgrace to humanity! On the fourth ſide were inſcribed the names of certain popular characters, who were deſcribed as the "love and admiration "of the French nation;" and of this number was Bailly [u].

Steps taken to deſtroy his popularity.

But the return of the duke of Orleans, for which the pageant of the 14th of July had furniſhed a pretext, occaſioned a ſpeedy decline of Bailly's popularity. The verſatility of the French character would probably have produced this effect, unaided by any particular circumſtances; but Orleans, anxious to have the proviſions of the capital again at his diſpoſal, was aſſiduous in his efforts to remove Bailly, that he might place a creature of his own in the mayoralty [x]. His character received the firſt injury in conſequence of his granting an order for arreſting the deputies from the military inſurgents at Nancy, an affair which was much miſrepreſented by the Jacobins, and cauſed him to be implicated with Bouillé and Montmorin. Theſe ill impreſſions were much increaſed by his exertions againſt Marat and Hebert,

Auguſt.

[u] Anecdotes, &c. vol. vi. p. 339.
[x] Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 108.

in

in which he diſplayed raſhneſs and ſelf-ſufficiency, without either courage, addreſs, or perſeverance [y].

The club Breton, of which he was a member, had, ſince the removal of the national aſſembly from Verſailles to Paris, aſſumed the title of Jacobin, and was diſgraced by ſo promiſcuous an acceſſion, that many of the moſt reſpectable members ſeceded, and formed the club of the Friends of Monarchy, his activity in the ſuppreſſion of which has been already mentioned. But when, after the return of the duke of Orleans, the tribunes were conſtantly filled with his creatures, whoſe clamours decided every queſtion, he was himſelf obliged to give up his ſeat, and formed one of a ſociety called the Club of 1789, more ſelect indeed than the Jacobins, but profeſſing nearly the ſame principles. It became afterwards obnoxious to the violent party, and Bailly, through fear of riſking his popularity and ſafety, only twice attended their meetings [z]. Seceders from the Jacobin club.

Before the eſtabliſhment of this latter club, the favorites of the Jacobin ſociety had made a conſiderable progreſs in vilifying his character, and repreſenting him as the devoted ſlave of ariſtocracy. His influence had already ſo much declined, that his remonſtrances with the mob to permit the departure of the royal family to Saint Cloud, were treated with diſregard, and his perſon with contempt [a]. 1791. 18th April. Exerts himſelf in favor of the royal family.

It was probably his interference in this affair that gave riſe to the aſſertion that he was privy and acceſſary to the king's eſcape: A malignant accuſation, amply contradicted and diſproved by his own evidence, by the teſtimony of the queen, and by the 20th, 21ſt June. Suppoſed privity in the king's eſcape.

[y] The Conduct of France towards Great Britain Examined; by Miſes, p. 221. Conjuration de d'Orleans.

[z] See Hiſtorical Sketch, p. 310. and Bailly's examination on the trial of the queen; Jordan's Political State of Europe, vol. v. p. 168.

[a] Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 234.; Impartial Hiſtory, vol. i. 407, &c.

facts mentioned in his Memoir, preſerved by Pagès [b]. But this accuſation was not brought forward till ſome time after the fact [c]. His popularity received its mortal wound when he read the proclamation in the *Champ de Mars*, which authorized the ſoldiers to fire on the people: this ruined him in the eyes of the factious Pariſians, and turned all their eſteem and friendſhip into diſguſt. He had now diſcovered the folly and error of giving to the people, numerically, too great a ſhare in the conduct of government; too great a power of reviſion, cenſure, and degradation of the executive branches; and was deſirous to carry his weight over to the other ſide of the queſtion; but his weight was gone. The *beautiful day* he had ſo zealouſly admired, had changed the hearts of the people, and in endeavouring to bring them back to a ſenſe of loyalty and reſpect for the laws, he not only preached to the winds, but drew the ſtorm on his own head. Inſignificant, degraded, and deſpiſed, he continued in the mayoralty till the diſſolution of the conſtituent aſſembly; and then, la Fayette having reſigned the command of the national guard, he reſigned his office, but in retiring he conferred a ſignal ſervice on the capital by preventing the deſigns of Petion, his Jacobin ſucceſſor, to revive the horrors of famine [d].

17th July. Proclaims martial law.

29th Nov. Reſigns.

Lives in retirement.

From the period of his reſignation he lived in a ſtate of privacy for near two years, purſuing his literary and philoſophical reſearches, and never interfering in politics, except by his attendance at the Feuillans, which club was ſoon diſperſed by the violence of the Jacobins; and never ſoliciting public notice except when he was called on to anſwer ſome inculpation, as, for inſtance, that of being acceſſary

[b] See Trial of the Queen, *ubi ſup.*; Pagès, vol. i. p. 418.; and Appendix, No. IV.

[c] The firſt trace I find of this accuſation is his letter to the convention, 15th December 1792.

[d] See the Hiſtories; alſo Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. iii. p. 152.

to the king's flight, and an abſurd denunciation by Fauchet, for permitting cartridges to be iſſued inſcribed with his name as mayor, after his retreat from office; but this malevolent accuſation was not ſanctioned even by the Jacobin party [e]. 28th Jan. 1792.

But even the unobtruſive conduct of Bailly did not ſecure his immunity. The republicans could not forgive; the maſſacre of the *Champ de Mars* was indelibly fixed in their memory, and vengeance frequently demanded on the head of Bailly. At length Chaumette denounced him to the *commune;* he was ſnatched from his retreat, and caſt into the priſon of the Conciergerie. He bore his fate with ſingular fortitude and even gaiety. Well acquainted with the ferocity of his judges, and their contempt of forms, he never indulged a deluſive hope of acquittal, and therefore never permitted his ſpirits to ſink into abjectneſs, or flutter with unavailing agitation. He was cited before the revolutionary tribunal as a witneſs on the trial of the queen, and delivered his teſtimony in a manner which does him honor [f]. His examination was ſo conducted that a caſual inſpection would lead the reader to ſuppoſe he was the culprit, and not the witneſs. On his return to the Conciergerie, which he did not expect, as he had ſuppoſed that his own trial was coming on, he rubbed his hands, and ſaid to his companions with a ſmile, "*Petit bon-homme vit encore.*—The little good man's "alive yet." He then employed himſelf in compoſing the *memoire* relative to his examination, which Pagès informs us no bookſeller dared to expoſe, or hawker to vend, and which, for the curious illuſtrative matter it contains, I have given in the Appendix [g].

Is committed to priſon.

His fortitude.

Examined as a witneſs on the queen's trial.

Compoſes his Memoir.

At length he was condemned to death, and his execution was attended with peculiar circumſtances

11th Nov. 1793. Executed, after great inſults and cruelties.

[e] Debates.
[f] Trial of the queen, *ubi ſup.*
[g] Hiſtoire Secrete de la Revolution, vol. i. p. 419.

of barbarity. He was put in a cart with his hands tied behind his back, and drawn ſlowly towards the *Champ de Mars*, where the guillotine was erected expreſsly for him. In the cart was placed a red flag; the day was rainy, and during a long and ſlow progreſs, this unfortunate man experienced every inſult a wanton mob could inflict. They ſpit on him, pelted him with mud, ſtruck him, tore off pieces of the flag, and having drenched them in mud, dabbed them in his face. On his arrival at the *Champ de Mars*, they forced him to get out of the cart, and walk round the field, overwhelmed with inſults and cruel deriſions; they next compelled him to ſet fire to a pile on which the red flag was burned, and while it was conſuming, plunged his head in the ſmoke. The guillotine was taken to pieces and removed to a dung-heap near the river, and though the unfortunate ſufferer was old and feeble, the pieces were piled on his back; but his exhauſted frame not permitting the effort of carrying them, he fell under the burden, and muſt have periſhed in the mire, had he not been relieved. His preſence of mind never forſook him during theſe ſevere trials; he ſaw the guillotine erecting, and heard the abuſe of the populace without emotion. One of them, intending to aggravate his miſeries, exclaimed, "You tremble, Bailly."—"'Tis with cold, then, "my friend," anſwered he with unruffled ſerenity. At laſt the executioner releaſed him from his agonies. Bailly fell a victim to that licentiouſneſs and depravity which he himſelf had contributed to excite by teaching the people that the conqueſt of a virtuous, beneficent, and unreſiſting monarch was a ſubject of exultation, and that the 6th of October 1789 was a *beautiful day* [b].

[b] See Memoires d'une Detenu, p. 53.; Tableau des Priſons ſous Robeſpierre; Miſs Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. i. p. 240; Pagès, vol. i. p. 419.

The

His character;

The character of Bailly, though not entitled to applauſe, does not deſerve unqualified cenſure. He diſplayed great treachery in the manner of acting the Tennis-Court ſcene, and behaved with wanton barbarity and upſtart inſolence towards the royal family: Even when he was aiming to repreſs the licentiouſneſs of the mob, he made a weak attempt to obtain popularity by poſting a placard that the riots of the *Champ de Mars* were excited by the ariſtocrats [i]. He was ſo inflamed with the ſpirit of perſecution which actuated the philoſophers againſt prieſts, that he made ſlight oppoſition to the diſgraceful inſults offered by the populace to well-meaning and unoffending women, and even declared, that if it depended on him, the Catholic religion ſhould be annihilated in France [k]. His reſolute exertions to ſupply the capital with bread demonſtrate that he would have been uſeful, had he confined himſelf to his proper ſphere. He retired from office impoveriſhed by the loſs of his penſion, and without an adequate proviſion; a fact which proves his integrity and diſintereſtedneſs. Indeed from the whole tenor of his conduct, it appears that he ſuppoſed himſelf to be labouring for a laudable end, though he was culpably careleſs about the means, and often miſled by his vanity, which was counterbalanced only by a ſmall ſhare of judgment.

and publications.

His *Hiſtory of Aſtronomy* is highly commended; he alſo wrote *Letters on ancient and modern Aſtronomy*; *A Report on Meſmeriſm*; *A Memoir on the Hoſpital called the Hotel Dieu*; and was the ſuppoſed author of a pamphlet called *Luxury is the Scourge of the State* [l].

[i] Mercure Politique du 18 Fev^r 1792.
[k] Barruel's Hiſtory of the Clergy, part i. p. 72. 113.
[l] Anecdotes, &c. vol. vi. p. 232.

BENOIT.

IN the preſent and the following ſketches, I purpoſe to deſcribe the ſtate of the priſoners in Paris during the tyranny of Robeſpierre. I have choſen for ſubjects to introduce the narration, two men decidely oppoſite in character and principle, though of the ſame name; the one keeper of the palace of the *Luxembourg*, at that period converted into a priſon; the other gaoler, firſt of the *Luxembourg*, afterwards of the *Carmes*. In deſcribing the treatment of the priſoners, every circumſtance or anecdote does not literally apply to the *Luxembourg* or to the *Carmes*; but the identity of name and contraſt of character in theſe two gaolers, afford an opportunity of diſplaying, in one point of view, the beſt and worſt periods of detention; and ſpare the neceſſity of again recurring to ſo diſagreeable a topic [m].

[m] The authorities I have conſulted are contained in four ſmall duodecimo volumes, containing a variety of tracts relating to this ſubject, intitled "Tableau des Priſons ſous Robeſpierre." Of theſe ſome are anonymous, ſome avowed, particularly a number of facts collected by Réal, and "Memoires d'un Detenu, par Honoré Riouffe." Miſs Williams's Letters of 1794, of which I have alſo availed myſelf, are principally compiled from theſe publications; all her Anecdotes of perſons in the various priſons are merely tranſlated; and in her accounts of Briſſot and his co-adjutors, and the general turn of her political narrations and reflexions, ſhe has implicitly followed thoſe who came into power immediately after the fall of Robeſpierre, particularly the writers above mentioned, Louvet and Freron. I have alſo derived information from Montjoye's "Conjuration de Robeſpierre." "Les Crimes de Robeſpierre & de ſes Principaux Complices." "L'Etat de la France;" and "Suite de l'Etat de la France, par M. le Comte de Montgaillard." "Tench's Correſpondence." And "A Reſidence in France," edited by J. Gifford.

Benoit

Benoit was a native of the village of Chamberlen, in the county of Neufchatel in Switzerland; by religion a proteſtant. Before the revolution he held the poſt of concierge, or keeper of the palace of the Luxembourg, and after that æra continued for ſome time in the ſame office. He was upwards of ſeventy years old; and his generous and ſoothing attentions, his efforts to ſoften the lot and diſſipate the chagrin of thoſe whom the tyranny of the times conſigned to his charge, procured him the appellation of *le bon Benoit*. Under his ſuperintendance the priſoners paſſed, according to the circumſtances which regulated the decrees of the day, the golden, ſilver, and brazen ages of their captivity; they experienced the iron age under the dominion of his name-ſake and his compeers. Account of Benoit;

The Luxembourg was, at firſt, uſed as a priſon for the deputies of the convention accuſed of federaliſm; but after paſſing the law which ordained the arreſtation of ex-nobles, the relations of emigrants, &c. it became a place of detention; at firſt for the ſuperior order of ſuſpected perſons, afterwards for them and *ſans-culottes* indiſcriminately. A great party of the Engliſh were alſo confined there. his humanity; and ſtate of the priſoners.

The firſt night of their arrival the priſoners were obliged to accommodate themſelves as they could. They had no beds; the ladies ſtretched their tender limbs on the rough floor, covered only with cloaks, great-coats, and ſuch conveniences as could be immediately procured; while the gentlemen nodded in chairs, or lay down on the bare boards. Afterwards they were provided, by order of the legiſlature, with a flock bed, mattraſs, and bolſter.

The humane Benoit abated much of the diſagreeableneſs of their ſituation by his judicious mode of diſtributing the priſoners into apartments, which he did with a feeling regard to age, ſtation in life, country, and even caſual prepoſſeſſion. The priſoners, thus aſſociated, ſoon formed ſuch regulations

as enabled them to be cleanly without interference or compulſion, and prevented thoſe who were moſt unruly from diſturbing the others.

The morning was devoted to ſuch buſineſs as the nature of their ſituation required. The priſoners ſwept the rooms, made the beds, and performed other domeſtic duties. Theſe occupations, if they provoked regret when compared with the elegance of preceding years, were yet of uſe in diſpelling *ennui*, and giving ſome energy to action. At firſt, the priſoners were permitted, according to their circumſtances, to order dinners from their own hotels, or from the tavern; thoſe whoſe penury did not afford ſuch gratification, were fed gratuitouſly by their more opulent aſſociates. In the afternoon, they received the viſits of their friends and relations; not in their own apartments, but in a common room, where, as the diſpoſition of the parties or their external connexions led them, they formed lively or ſolemn groups; ſome repeating with the loud laugh and airy geſticulation of thoughtleſs hilarity, the jocular petulancies which their ſituation excited, and "*making villainous jeſts at their own undoing.*" Some indulged the tranſporting ſenſations ariſing from the punctual diſplay of matrimonial, filial, and fraternal affection; conſecrating by experience the maxims of genuine philoſophy, and diſplaying the calm fortitude of minds unruffled by guilt. Others, giving way to more gloomy thoughts, lamented, in pathetic terms, their loſt honours, diſmantled caſtles, plundered coffers; regretted the divulſion of the matrimonial tie, recently knit, and its felicities in their moſt captivating and impreſſive æra. Parties were made for the evening, at which, as the inclination of the company prevailed, tea, cards, extempore compoſition, ſcandal, muſic, or gallantry, beguiled the paſſing hour. Gallantry gained ſo ſtrong ground at the Luxembourg, as to make that priſon the talk of Paris; the French writer in deſcribing it ſays,

ſays, "*L'amour avait le plus de part dans le choix* "*des ſociétés. Les Anglaiſes, moins vives, mais auſſi* "*tendres que les Françaiſes, ſe rangèrent à leur tour* "*ſous les drapeaux de la galanterie.*" This circumſtance drew on them the reproaches of the adminiſtrators of the *commune* in terms too groſs for repetition. The viſits of theſe adminiſtrators, ordinarily ſelected from the dregs of the people, and characteriſed by the vulgar inſolence, the filth, the language, and the ſentiments of Cordeliers, was the great ſource of terror to the priſoners during the firſt ſhort period of their captivity, which may be termed their *Golden Age*.

The increaſing number of priſoners, which, Miſs Williams ſays, a ſingle week augmented from one hundred to a thouſand [n], produced regulations not favourable to the comforts of the parties. Benoit continued his benevolent regulations in point of aſſociation, and the amuſements of the evening were ſtill permitted; but the number of *ſans-culottes* was much increaſed, and became burdenſome; the viſits of the adminiſtrators became more frequent, their manners more haughty, and their commands more capricious. Sometimes, from a pretended love of equality, they would order a total change of apartments; ſometimes a perfect equalization of diet; with ſeveral other vexatious reſtrictions which the forbearance of the poorer priſoners, who were called *pailleux*, or ſtraw-lodgers, could with difficulty prevent from being carried into execution. A ſtill more afflicting regulation was that which prevented the acceſs of perſons out of doors.

This deſtroyed many hopes and many ſenſations of pleaſure; but ſtill they occaſionally preſented themſelves in the gardens; and looks and attitudes conveyed thoſe ſentiments which the parties were forbidden to utter. Still the journals of the day were

[n] Vol. i. p. 22.

allowed;

allowed; and the priſoners ſtill enjoyed the liberty of purchaſing or procuring ſuch proviſions as they liked; and the liberalities of their friends were faithfully conveyed to them. On the whole, this period might be called their *Silver Age*.

The progreſs of the revolutionary government brought with it additional rigours and diſquietudes. The priſons became crowded with ſpies, who rendered ſociety ſuſpicious and unſafe, threw danger into the innoxious meetings of the evening, which tended to their ſuppreſſion; and, during the day, behaved to the ex-nobles, the aged, and the prieſts, with ſuch turbulent violence, as to render their retreat into their own rooms the only means of avoiding rudeneſs and perſonal injury. All communication from without was forbid; the confined were no longer permitted to look through the windows towards the gardens to receive the diſtant ſalutations of their friends; they could neither write nor receive letters but under the inſpection of officers appointed for that purpoſe; they were forbid to communicate with each other except in public; and the privilege of ſending to a tavern, or to their own houſes for victuals, was refuſed them. A *traiteur* was eſtabliſhed in the houſe, who ſold, at an enormous price, adulterated wine, bad meat, and garden-ſtuff which famine could not tempt or compel a perſon to touch. A law was at length made, by which the adminiſtrators of the police were directed to take from the ſuſpected priſoners, all goods of a certain deſcription; as knives, razors, ſciſſars, and in general, every thing metallic; and all money and aſſignats, amounting in value to upwards of fifty livres (2 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.*). This order produced a ſearch which was conducted in a manner diſguſting to the male, and inſupportable to the female priſoners; and in which rapacity, immodeſty, and the coarſeſt brutality were combined. This privation took from the captives the pleaſure of aſſiſting the *pailleux*, and inforcing their good

good behaviour by acts of munificence. It took from the rich the ſatisfaction they had often enjoyed of aiding thoſe who had been confined, and whoſe innocence was at length acknowledged, in re-eſtabliſhing themſelves in the world, and carrying home happineſs and eaſe to their deſponding families. The priſoners now trembled for their fate, and dreaded another ſecond of September. Every day ſome new ſeverities were announced, or ſome new mortifications to be endured. Wilcheritz, the adminiſtrator, who had preſided at the robbery, called a viſitation, added, by his myſterioufneſs, to their terrors. When they inquired at what time their property would be reſtored, he anſwered, "When there is a peace." When they requeſted of him to let them have the journals to know the ſtate of public affairs, "Patience;" he would cry; "Juſtice is juſt; this "durance will not endure; patience °." One extraordinary circumſtance attended this privation of property, namely, that the mechanics were permitted to have their tools to work with all day; and the barbers their razors to ſhave the priſoners, on condition that they reſtored them to the turnkey at night. The promiſe that the money ſhould be reſtored to the owners was never meant to be performed, as there was no inventory made, or any acknowledgment of the ſums which had been taken away; and moſt of the perſons plundered were intended to be guillotined without delay.

° WILCHERITZ was a Pole by birth, and cobler by trade; made, during the reign of Robeſpierre, an adminiſtrator of police; in which employ he exerciſed, at the priſon of the Luxembourg, the moſt inſatiate rapacity, accompanied with the utmoſt aggravations of plebeian inſolence. He robbed, inſulted, and threatened the priſoners without mercy or reſerve, taking from them their money, jewels, cutlery, and every thing made of metal, even large pins. He made himſelf as ridiculous by his ignorance and oſtentation, as he was deteſtable for his conduct in other particulars. He fell with his patron, being guilloſtined ſoon after the 28th of July 1794, as an accomplice of Robeſpierre.

A ſhort