

The Historical Background
of
Sardou's "Thermidor".

by

Noma Riley A. B. 1927.
University of Kansas -

Submitted to the Department of
Romance Languages and the
Faculty of the Graduate School
of the University of Kansas
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Approved by:

E. Gallo
Head of the Department.

June, 1929.

Table of Contents

I.	The History of "Thermidor"-----	1
II.	The Characters-----	10
III.	Revolutionary Paris-----	43
IV.	The Settings-----	55
V.	The Revolutionary Tribunal-----	65
VI.	Robespierre in "Thermidor"-----	80
VII.	The Events of the 9 Thermidor -----	88
	Conclusion -----	96
	Notes -----	98
	Bibliography -----	110.

The History of "Thermidor."

The History of "Thermidor."

Independent of dramatic or literary consideration, Sardou's "Thermidor" has a history peculiarly interesting in itself. Few plays have gone through more ordeals, or have reflected to a greater extent the influence of outside events than did "Thermidor", from the time when Sardou first began work on it in 1864, until 1891 when, after only two performances at the Comédie Française, its interdiction for political reasons provoked a controversy that "a ébranlé la Comédie Française et failli faire sauter le ministère.⁽¹⁾"

As the title suggests, the play is an historical drama that takes place on the 9 Thermidor, that most stirring and eventful day of the Revolution which witnessed the downfall of Robespierre. It was suggested by the character of Labussière who, though a comparatively little known figure, played a role during the Reign of Terror none the less unusual and interesting, and with him in mind as the central personage, Sardou set about collecting material in the manner that was typical of his procedure in writing

a play of this kind. Memoirs and histories were consulted and annotated, personal reminiscences sought, engravings, maps, prints, and other documents of the time collected. It may be noted here that Sardou was keenly interested in history and archeology, but no period held more fascination for him than that of the French Revolution⁽¹⁾.

Work on the play having progressed satisfactorily, Sardou directed his efforts toward finding the actor best qualified to impersonate Labussière. This was a matter of no small importance, for "Thermidor" was to be his first attempt at the legitimate drama, his reputation previous to that time having been won as a writer of comedy. He finally selected Dumaine, then manager of the Théâtre de la Gaîté, and a contract promising the play to this actor was signed. No sooner had news of the transaction reached the public than M. Camille Doucet, Superintendent of Fine Arts, sent for Sardou and advised him to set aside for a time his play on the Revolution. "I know what you are going to say, he explained, "you are against the Terror, you are against Robespierre. It is useless for you to say so. The very fact of your alluding to the Revolution would be sufficient to make the authorities think your attempt

unseasonable." Doucet's official position enabled him to foresee what the opinion of the Censure would be, and Sardou, persuaded of the sincerity and wisdom of his advice, decided to postpone the production of "Thermidor". Twenty-five years later, reviewing the history of his play in the light of its interdiction in 1891, Sardou was to recall this incident with the observation that "This very "Thermidor" which was thought too revolutionary under the Empire is now considered too royalist under the Republic."

Thus discouraged from presenting his play on the French Revolution, Sardou turned his attention to the writing of "Patrie", an historical drama of the Revolt of the Netherlands, which was given in 1869 with great success at the Porte Saint-Martin. The possibility of producing "Thermidor" was, however, soon brought to the foreground by Raphael Félix, manager of the Porte Saint-Martin, who considered the time propitious for its performance, the government of 1869 being quite different from that of 1867. In fact, Napoléon III had just inaugurated that policy which received the name of "Empire Libéral". Moreover, Sardou was looked upon with favor at Court, for he had been made an officer of the Legion of Honor following the success

of "Patrie". The conferring of this favor was somewhat surprising, considering the care with which he had delineated the frightful character of the Duc d'Albe, an action which was not calculated to secure the good graces of the Empress, who was not only Spanish by birth, but whose sister was besides the Duchesse d'Albe, having married the heir of that name.

The general situation was so encouraging that Sardou resumed work on "Thermidor" and prepared for it to be produced during the winter of 1870-71. In August 1870 the Franco-Prussian war broke out.

Subsequently, it was rumored more than once that the play was going to appear. These reports were groundless for the reason that there was no one to whom Sardou would entrust the part of Labussière except Coquelin. But he was a sociétaire of the Comédie Française, and Sardou was not willing to give the play to that theatre owing to the disturbance which had been occasioned there by "Rabagas". He believed that calumny would not fail to insinuate that he had selected the Comédie Française as a platform from which to provoke political discussion.

Most opportunely for Sardou's purpose, Coquelin, in 1887, quarreled with the Comédie Française and sent

in his resignation. He and Sardou then began negotiations with a view to presenting "Thermidor" at the Porte Saint-Martin. In the meantime, however, attempts were being made to induce Coquelin to return to the Comédie Française, and Jules Clarotie, the director, considered that "Thermidor" offered an excellent occasion for Sardou as well as Coquelin to make a reappearance there.

The fact that the play was to be performed at the Comédie Française necessitated, in Sardou's opinion, some alterations. When completed, it was submitted to the members of the Committee, by whom it was unanimously received. It was afterwards read by the Censure, by M. Bourgeois, Minister of Public Instruction, and by M. Carnot, President of the Republic, who found nothing to say against the views it expressed.

The 23 January 1891 the public rehearsal took place before members of the press and critics, who, according to the testimony of Francisque Sarcey, one of the most experienced among them, saw no promise of potential trouble. The première was given Saturday, 24 January. The play was most capably staged and acted, notwithstanding a little incident which might have interfered with the effect of the closing scene; the

pistol which is aimed at Martial missed fire and he fell as if he had actually received the shot. The audience overlooked this, however, and the curtain fell amidst loud applause. There had been no manifestations whatever of a hostile nature. M. Clemenceau, Sarcy reports, had jested about the length of some of the political harangues in the play, but without expressing any particular animosity.

The next day, however, the performance of "Thermidor" began to assume the aspect and importance of a political event. Writers in several radical journals, M. Clemenceau in "La Justice", M. Pelletan in "Le Radical", M. Henry Bauer in "L'Écho de Paris", and above all, M. Lissagaray in "La Bataille", denounced the play as reactionary and royalist. The result of their agitation made itself evident at the second performance, Monday, 26 January, when the long speech of Labussière in Act I was received with repeated and prolonged hisses by the galleries. Certain scenes of the third act were also interrupted by hisses, interjections, and protests; it became necessary for the police to intervene, but their attempts to restore order were only partially successful and the performance was continued in the greatest excitement and confusion.

Optimists, among them Sarcey, maintained that the third representation, coming as it did on Tuesday, "le soir des abonnés", would witness the end of the disorder, for the Tuesday audience at the Comédie Française is the famous "Tout Paris", and since there would be no places at the disposition of the populace except in the third gallery, a handful of police agents could maintain order.

The third representation of "Thermidor" was not, however to take place at the Comédie Française. To the amazement and dissatisfaction of the spectators assembled there Tuesday evening, it was learned that the play had been withdrawn at the last moment as a result of governmental action taken during the day. The audience, repeatedly demanding in chorus "Ther-mi-dor" refused with emphasis to listen to the plays that had been substituted for it, and after several unsuccessful attempts on the part of Coquelin to appease them the performance was suspended and the money refunded.

These incidents and the ardent polemic carried on in the press, heightened the interest and excitement at the Chamber of Deputies, where on Thursday of the same week the question of the prohibition of the play was debated. The discussion which was most heated

proved that the subject was more profound than it appeared. It involved not only the liberty of dramatic, ^{art} but also the evaluation of the Revolution, and theories of governmental principles. The outcome of it was that the interdiction of "Thermidor" was upheld.

"Thermidor" was presented with success in the important theatres of Europe and America, and since its interdiction in Paris applied only to theatres subventioned by the government, it was revived in 1896 at the Porte-Saint-Martin, the theatre for which it had originally been intended. Coquelin who in the meantime had returned to the Porte Saint-Martin helped to make the fortune of the play. The role of Martial was no longer filled by Marsis who had so brilliantly played the part at the Comédie Française. The interdiction of "Thermidor" had proved a disaster for him. He had given up an excellent position at the Gymnase and the crisis at the Comédie Française seems to have disheartened him altogether. Deeply involved in debt he had fallen ill, and in an attack of delirium had thrown himself from a window, his death resulting September 1891.

This third performance of "Thermidor" in Paris took place amid the greatest calm, and despite the fact

that the famous Convention scene of the 9 thermidor was represented on the stage, it failed to arouse any political excitement. An important alteration in the denouement also had been made: Martial was not killed and Babienne, the heroine, was rescued from the last tumbril by a popular uprising provoked by Martial and Labussière just at the very moment when the Convention was staying the course of the frightful summary executions.

The object of the study of "Thermidor" which follows is to investigate, by means of typical illustrations, and in so far as the material at hand permits, to what extent the play, as regards characters, utterances, settings, and events, rests on verifiable historical data.

The Characters.

The Characters of "Thermidor".

Sardou, in an interview published in the Fortnightly Review in which he has given exact and interesting details on the subject of "Thermidor", tells how he came to choose Labussière as the central figure of the play, the means and sources he used to complete his knowledge of this character, and where, in his opinion, lies the dramatic interest. He says, "The idea of a play on the Revolution with the actor Labussière as principal factor in the drama dates far back in my mind. This is how the idea occurred to me. In 1864 I was reading out of mere curiosity the "Memoirs" of Fleury who, as you know, was a societaire of the Comédie Française. Those memoirs are not of sterling value from a historical point of view; but I was struck by certain facts which Fleury related concerning the actor Labussière. That man Labussière had been employed by the Comité de Salut Public under the great Revolution, and had in that capacity saved from the scaffold a great number of people condemned to death, by destroying their records. I thought that there was enough matter for a play, and the dramatic interest in my opinion was to come out of

this fact, that the actor could be represented as not being always successful in destroying the records, and having sometimes to substitute others in their stead, thus causing many innocent heads to fall in order to save those which appeared to him more worthy of his sympathy.

"I was so much pleased with the idea that I left no stone unturned until I was in possession of accurate documents concerning Labussière. Provided the main point be true, that is to say, the matter of the records, the other details are of secondary importance. I soon found out particulars taken from trustworthy authority corroborating Fleury's statements. The only thing for me now was to have data connected with Labussière's private character. I thought that some of his contemporaries might still be living. Chance came to my assistance. While reading Labussière's biography in Michaud's dictionary I saw that that very article had been written by Fabien Pillet, who had been employed as chief clerk in the Comité de Salut Public in Labussière's time. Now, my neighbor at Marly, the mayor of the town, was the son of that very Fabien Pillet. I waited upon him, and on my first questioning him he answered,

"Of course, I know Labussière. I was very young at that time, but he used to come so often to my father's house that I remember him very well. He was in the habit even of dining with us without ceremony. He was especially welcomed by us children, for having acted in many theatres he knew a great many games which were a delight to us. Why, of course I know him. More than once he took me on his knee."

"I guessed by what my friend the mayor told me that Labussière was a kind of Bohemian, living according to the dictates of his fancy, always ready to act under the impulse of disinterested motives, and rendering the greatest services with the "désinvolture" of a "grand seigneur" or of a "cabotin." Nothing was truer than the record affair. Labussière had really saved from the scaffold from two to three hundred persons, among whom were Joséphine de Beauharnais, Mesdames de Buffon, de Lafayette, de Custine, la Montansier, and Florian the fabulist.

"I was delighted I had hit upon the very man I wanted and would not rest until I had put him in a play relating to that period of the French Revolution".⁽¹⁾

The particulars of Labussière's career, prior to the period with which "Thermidor" deals, that are given

briefly in the article by Fabien Pillet in the Michaud ^{edition} ⁽¹⁾ dictionary mentioned by Sardou, and presented by the latter in the course of the dialogue of "Thermidor" with more or less elaboration and adaptation for his dramatic purpose are: that Labussière, the son of a Chevalier de Saint-Louis, at the age of fifteen ⁽²⁾ enrolled as a cadet in the regiment of Savoie-Carignan; that his capricious humor and his taste for dissipation ⁽³⁾ soon turned him from a military career; that, returning to Paris, he won a considerable degree of success on the stages of what Pillet designates as "théâtres de société" ⁽⁴⁾; a specific theatre named by Sardou being the Théâtre Mareux, rue Saint-Antoine, ⁽⁵⁾ opened in 1786 as a theatre of amateurs. ⁽⁶⁾

The statements of Pillet that "Il joua avec succès les rôles de niais, ... et acquit dans le monde la réputation d'un plaisant mystificateur" ⁽⁷⁾, have been utilized by Sardou in "Thermidor:" "IL'on pouvait d'autant moins me soupçonner que, m'inspirant de mon dernier rôle chez Mareux... j'ai pris le masque d'un niais affligé d'un embarras de langue." ⁽⁸⁾ Further on, Act II, vi, he says, "J'ai toujours eu le goût de la mystification. Mystifier l'échafaud, tu m'avoueras que ce n'est pas banal."

Sardou assigns as Labussière's reason for leaving the Théâtre Mareux a quarrel with an actor who had denounced one of their comrades, in the course of which,

Labussière, carried away by his indignation, broke to pieces a bust of Marat⁽¹⁾. This action, though not recorded in the Biographie Universelle, is consistent with the account given therein, for Pillet mentions "son esprit vif...surtout quand il s'agissait de ridiculiser les hommes de la Révolution," and the fact that "s'étant trop librement égayé aux dépens des orateurs de section et des comités de surveillance, il s'en fit de redoutables ennemis et il était déjà près de porter la peine de son imprudence lorsqu'il réussit à se faire employer dans les bureaux du Comité de Salut Public."⁽²⁾

At this point in his career, one may turn, as did Sardou, for information to the "Memoirs of Fleury",⁽³⁾ and compare to what extent the role and character of Labussière in "Thermidor" correspond with the account of the memoirs.

According to both, a friend who was connected with the government offered to procure for him a position under the Comité de Salut Public. Labussière, who had reason to believe that his name was inscribed in the catalogue of the suspected, realized that the most secure place of concealment was in the enemy's camp, and accepted the proffered post.

His duties in the Bureau des Pièces Accusatives are enumerated in a corresponding fashion in the play⁽¹⁾ and in the memoirs.⁽²⁾ Through his hands passed the denunciations which formed the groundwork of the arrests, together with the lists styled "états raisonnés," and the notes termed "notes individuelles." To the same office the justificatory documents were likewise addressed and all these papers, which formed the "dossiers" of the accused, came daily under his examination and classification. Labussière, shocked from the very beginning by the injustice of the accusations and the inhumanity of the accusers, soon realized that he could profit by the irregular mode of procedure, the chaos and disorder which pervaded the offices, to hide and later destroy the documents with a reasonable assurance of impunity.

Sardou, exercising a dramatist's privilege, advances the date of the destruction of the dossier of the fabulist Florian to the first day of Labussière's employ in the office,⁽³⁾ thus providing an outstanding case of importance and interest that makes Labussière realize how he can be of service, and influences him to retain his post and save from death many other unfortunate

victims. The destruction of the Florian dossier in reality took place with that of the actors of the Comédie Française, 10 messidor, an II (28 June 1794⁽¹⁾).

His first exploit having succeeded, Labussière set to work with a bold hand, destroying dossier after dossier, until the number mounted to several hundred, among which were those enumerated in "Thermidor", of M^{mes} de Custine, de Buffon, de Lafayette, la Montansier, as well as those of the Comédiens of the Théâtre-Français, including Fleury, d'Azincourt, La Rochelle, Saint-Prix, Vanhove, les sœurs Contat, Devienne, Lange, Mézéray, Raucourt.⁽²⁾

The ingenious way devised by Labussière to dispose of the incriminating papers (which provides much of the action of the first act of "Thermidor"⁽³⁾), the precautions he exercised, the risks he ran, carrying on as he did his work in the very shadow of the offices of the dread committee, his sensations, his joy and exultation at the thought of his "noyades" for the work of deliverance as counterbalancing in a slight degree those of destruction of the Revolution, all this is taken almost verbatim from the memoirs.⁽⁴⁾

The complacent attitude, amounting to tacit complicity, of some of his fellow workers, among them Fabien Pillet,

"qui se fait mon complice en fermant les yeux⁽¹⁾," and Pierre, "notre garçon de bureau⁽²⁾," has foundation also in the memoirs where it is stated: "Several of his colleagues, to their honour let it be spoken, were like himself men of humanity. Most of the clerks in this office had accepted their situations from the same motives which actuated Labussière, namely to screen themselves from unjust accusations suggested by republican vengeance. They averted much mischief if they did not in every instance accomplish the good ends to which their efforts tended."⁽³⁾ Lupin, Labussière's confidant, for whom no exact model is available, easily comes in this group; he appears in the play in somewhat the role which is accorded Pierre in the memoirs.

The elements of an anecdote, which the memoirs say⁽⁴⁾ Florian was fond of relating, have been woven by Sardou into the first act of "Thermidor." At the end of the first act, Labussière and his friends, suspected by the crowd of being spies and counter-revolutionists, are about to be arrested and led to the section by the officer Pourvoyeur when the production by Labussière of his card of identification as employé of the Comité de Salut Public results in a complete reversal of attitude on the part of Pourvoyeur, his insolence being

replaced by abject terror at the thought of having offended an agent of the powerful Comité.

In the memoirs, Labussière, falling under the suspicion of a zealous member (Aillaume) of the revolutionary committee of the section Lepelletier, is conveyed by a passing patrol to a neighboring corps de garde. A great deal of loud altercation ensues; by degrees a crowd collects and several persons enter to inquire the cause of the uproar. Among the number is Pierre, the aforementioned clerk of the Comité. Surprised to find his fellow worker arrested he proceeds to identify. Aillaume is most profuse in his attempts to apologize.⁽¹⁾

But Labussière could not continue indefinitely his work of thwarting the revolutionary tribunal without the result that is stated in "Thermidor", "L'attention est éveillée et quelqu'un qui trouve que, décidément, le désordre est trop grand dans mon bureau, c'est le chef de la police générale, Héron."⁽²⁾ Act III, specific reference is made to the disappearance of the dossiers of the Comédiens Français and to a communication of Fouquier-Tinville on the subject, in which "il fulmine contre le désordre des bureaux, peuplés d'aristocrates."⁽³⁾ This letter appears in the memoirs,⁽⁴⁾ and also in Lumière's

"Histoire du Théâtre Français."⁽¹⁾

There remain as features of Labussière's character and role which may be traced directly to the memoirs, his protests⁽²⁾ that he dare not destroy the dossier of Fabienne, which had been especially designated. He mentions in the memoirs "papers with which I could not venture to meddle."⁽³⁾ Likewise his refusal⁽⁴⁾ to substitute for Fabienne as victim of the guillotine a mother of two children was probably suggested by his words: "In all cases in which I found the heads of families compromised I spared no efforts to save them, without reference to the supposed justice or injustice of the offenses with which they were charged. It appeared to me that to save a father and mother was frequently equivalent to saving a whole family, especially in those ranks of life in which children must depend on their parents' exertions for actual subsistence."⁽⁵⁾

Sardou's conception of Labussière was of "one always ready to act under the impulse of disinterested motives, and rendering the greatest services with the "désinvolture" of a "grand seigneur" or of a "cabotin."⁽⁶⁾ He has him reply to Martial's expression of admiration for his bravery, "Je n'y ai pas grand mérite, n'ayant plus peur. On se passionne pour ces

choses-là, à cause du danger même.⁽¹⁾" This presentation of him is justified by his history subsequent to "Thermidor", for evidently he did not claim any manifestations of gratitude or material reward from those whom he had befriended. According to a note of Lumière, "Le dévouement héroïque de Labussière, qui arracha plus de 1,100 personnes à l'échafaud, demeura cependant ignoré et enseveli dans l'oubli pendant huit années; ce fut seulement par une annotation dans "l'Histoire du Théâtre Français" d'Étienne et Martainville, publiée en 1802, qu'il fut révélé au public. Puis cette note fut complétée par le récit très détaillé, très explicite, de la lettre insérée dans le Journal des Débats, du 5 messidor an IX (23 juin 1802), et attribuée à J. C. Trouvé, ancien rédacteur du Moniteur universel. Dès lors, le nom de Labussière, mis en lumière avec éclat, devint populaire, et celui-ci fut proclamé, dans tout Paris, le sauveur de la Comédie Française.⁽²⁾"

In general, it may be said that Sardou's presentation of the character and role of Labussière can be verified practically entirely from the material the author has indicated as his sources. The part

Labussière plays in direct relation to Fabienne and Martial is evidently invention and elaboration, consistent with what is actually known of him, intended by Sardou to bring out the dramatic interest which he sets forth in the "Fortnightly Review"⁽¹⁾, and which he puts in the mouth of Labussière at the very close of the play, "Ah, bourreaux, vous avoir arraché tant de malheureux et n'avoir pu sauver ces deux-là."⁽²⁾

The character of the soldier Martial probably had no definite model. He presents no distinctive traits, nor does he perform any special deeds that would justify identifying him with any certain historical figure. He has recently arrived at Paris from the frontier, delegated to deliver messages to Carnot and to present to the Convention the flags captured by the victorious French army at Fleurus.⁽³⁾ The closest approximation to a verification of the latter mission is a letter printed in the "Moniteur" as having been read by Barère to the Convention during the session of the 8 thermidor: "Dune-Libre, le 5 thermidor--'J'envoie, citoyens collègues, à la Convention nationale, les emblèmes et les dépouilles de la tyrannie que les vainqueurs de Nieuport ont"⁽⁴⁾

pris sur les esclaves des tyrans coalisés.⁽¹⁾" Nothing is said of the actual presentation of the emblems or of the messenger who delivered them. The report to the Convention on the battle of Fleurus had been made almost a month earlier, 11 Messidor Year II--
 29 June 1794.⁽²⁾ It may be that Sardou preferred to substitute the name of that well-known victory for the less famous one of Nieuport. The custom of bringing back to the Convention the captured flags was an established one. The following note is typical of the manner of presentation: "Aujourd'hui nous venons vous présenter les trente-huit drapeaux du despotisme que nous avons pris en nous emparant d'Ypres. Un adjudant les a traduits à la barre pour servir ensuite au haut de cette voûte comme un monument de l'insolence et de la lâcheté des ennemis de la République."⁽³⁾

As far as has been determined, Fabienne is a fictitious, or at best, a composite character. The name Lecoulteux may be historic, for a Lecoulteux⁽⁴⁾ de la Noraye who is mentioned in the play as a relative of Fabienne's, is cited in Tourneux's "Histoire de Paris pendant la Terreur": "Précis pour les entrepreneurs des bâtiments des ci-devant gardes françaises,

plaignants contre le sieur Le Coulteux de la Noraye, accuse⁽¹⁾." The name of her brother who, "pris parmi les Vendéens, a été fusillé à Nantes,"⁽²⁾ does not appear among the victims of the fusillades in the one list which has been available for consultation.⁽³⁾

Elements of Fabienne's role may possibly have been suggested by the experiences of the Carmelite nun, Camille de Soyecourt,⁽⁴⁾ and by the history of the arrest and trial of the Carmelites of Compiègne.⁽⁵⁾ But the dramatic part she has in the play seems, on the whole, to be Sardou's invention.

Pourvoyeur, the spy, or to designate him by his official title, the "observateur de l'esprit public," might, because of his significant name, at first be thought a fictitious character. He was however, one of the group of officials provided for by a decree of the "Conseil exécutif provisoire,"⁽⁶⁾ 3 May 1793. Caron in his "Paris pendant la Terreur" gives the following information concerning him; "Pourvoyeur était peintre en 1789. Ses affaires périliclitant il dut chercher des moyens d'existence. Il fut nommé observateur le 21 du premier mois de l'an II. Pas d'autres renseignements sur lui."⁽⁷⁾ In a note accompanying this observation Caron calls

attention to the fact that "F. Masson, dans son livre sur "Le Département des Affaires étrangères pendant la Révolution" écrit, 'Pourvoyeur, le fameux agent, recevait 3050 livres par mois.'" Caron comments in this regard, "Il n'y a rien à tirer d'une indication aussi vague; le chiffre de 3050 livres doit avoir été mal ⁽¹⁾ lu."

It was customary for the council to keep memoranda of the efficiency and dependability of their agents. ⁽²⁾ According to their comment, Pourvoyeur was a "faible observateur, ne donnant aucuns renseignements, ou très peu, utiles à la chose publique⁽³⁾."

It is probable that of the agents employed from time to time in the capacity of "observateur", Sardou chose Pourvoyeur because of the coincidence between his name and occupation.

The name of Sanson, the executioner at Paris during the Revolution, is comparatively familiar, but his character and his attitude toward the work he had to perform are not so well known. It is to be noted that the minor part he plays in "Thermidor" is worked out by Sardou with a view to historical accuracy, and coincides with the detailed study on Sanson by Lenotre.

Sanson appears, Act IV, v, in the Cour du Mai, accompanied by his three assistants; their arrival is greeted with shouts of applause by the crowd grouped on the wall above. Sanson seats himself at one of the tables placed in the court and remains there, silent, until addressed by Labussière later in the act.⁽¹⁾ Lenotre, describing the routine and enumerating the duties of a typical day's work of the executioner, mentions his assistants; "En plus des quatre aides que lui accordait la loi, il en avait recruté trois autres qu'il payait de ses deniers, et il était, en outre, secondé par son fils.⁽²⁾" He says further, "Vers trois heures et demie il revenait au palais où sa silhouette était familière aux habitués.⁽³⁾"

In the play,⁽⁴⁾ at the moment when the clerk of the tribunal announces that the roll of the condemned is to be called, the stage directions indicate that "Sanson et ses aides gravissent les marches et sortent au delà de l'arcade où ils restent en vue." From this point Sanson superintends the loading and the departure of the carts. This scene puts into action the words of Lenotre, "Il ne commençait à entrer effectivement en scène qu'au moment où l'on faisait monter sur les charrettes les malheureuses victimes; c'est lui qui

donnait le signal du départ.⁽¹⁾"

In addition to these facts, these impersonal details concerning Sanson, Sardou gives some indication as to his character. He makes him a speaking character, the interpreter of the sentiment of the people toward the executions, Sanson being in a position to judge. The attitude of Paris as a whole, he reports, is one of horror and revolt. With an air "écœuré", he says of himself, "Ah, mais j'en ai assez, moi aussi. Et je voudrais bien t'y voir, avec le métier que nous faisons depuis un mois."⁽²⁾ This presentation of Sanson, who shows feeling and sympathy and who does not hesitate to express his opinion, is in accordance with what Lenotre says of him, "On prétend qu'il était par nature doux et compatissant; on assure qu'il cherchait autant que la chose était en son pouvoir à adoucir aux condamnés les terribles heures qui précédaient leur supplice."⁽³⁾ ...Si l'on scrute la façon peu équivoque dont il manifeste aux autorités sa lassitude et son dégoût, il est bien évident que s'il n'eût été le guillotineur, il eût été guillotiné; il eut à mettre à mort bien des gens qui n'en avaient pas tant dit."⁽⁴⁾

Héron (whose name was not François as is said in "Thermidor", but Louis-Julien-Simon) does not actually

appear in the play, but considerable information is given about him, and his character is fairly well depicted. In regard to his history, Sardou mentions several points, which can be verified. He was an "ancien fourrier des écuries d'Artois⁽¹⁾," "ami de Marat⁽²⁾," "espion de Robespierre⁽³⁾," and "familier de Fouquier-Tinville⁽⁴⁾." That his familiarity with Fouquier was based on common interests is shown by a conversation recorded as having taken place between the two; a conversation which confirms Sardou's portrayal Héron and Fouquier as eager providers of victims for the guillotine: "Héron allait presque quotidiennement rendre visite à Fouquier-Tinville. Ils avaient ensemble des entretiens épiques. 'Nos affaires vont bien, disait l'un, les têtes tombent comme des ardoises. -Voilà comme nous travaillons les têtes, repliquait l'autre; en révolution, il ne faut pas s'arrêter à ces babioles-là.' Et ils se quittaient sur ces paroles: 'Bon, bon, coupons-leur la tête, c'est le moyen d'enrichir la République⁽⁵⁾.'"

As is stated in the play, Héron "a épouse avant la Révolution une femme de Saint-Malo⁽⁶⁾." Whether or not his wife "avait fourni au nouveau ménage les moyens

de s'établir⁽¹⁾" has not been determined. But his attempt to "impliquer sa femme dans une prétendue conspiration de Saint-Malo pour se débarrasser d'elle"⁽²⁾ is related by his contemporary and colleague, Sénart, whose memoirs give of him what Lenotre calls "un inoubliable portrait."⁽³⁾ Senart says, "Héron vint me trouver dans le cabinet où je travaillais aux rapports; il me dit d'un ton mielleux: 'Je voudrais vous prier de me rendre un service important, vous le pouvez...Ma femme est une conspiratrice. Elle est complice de Magon-Lablinaye. Elle est de Saint-Malo, et le rapport dont vous êtes chargé offre une occasion certaine que je ne retrouverai plus; il faut mettre son nom dans le rapport. Quand on glisse le nom de quelqu'un dans une grande affaire, cela va; et, sur le nom désigné, on fait guillotiner; il suffit d'indiquer le nom des complices; on fait l'appel, les têtes tombent, et pouf, pouf, ça va."⁽⁴⁾

Sardou further illustrates the vindictiveness of Heron's nature: "Il a fait exécuter Follope, son propriétaire, qui avait l'audace de réclamer ses termes."⁽⁵⁾ Lenotre states somewhat differently: "Le pharmacien, Follope, son propriétaire, est guillotiné sous prétexte qu'il avait chez lui l'argenterie de la femme Sénozan,

aristocrate avérée.⁽¹⁾"

Sardou names as his accomplices and tools, "Mallet, son domestique, et ses sous-mouchards, Coulongeon, Guesneau, Duchesne,⁽²⁾" These four appear likewise in the more extended list of fellow criminals that Senart gives: "L'un se nommait Baptiste Mallet, et était son domestique,..le troisième était un grand coupe-jarrets nommé Duchesne, qui lui servait de domestique, coureur, et mouchard. Il avait pour officiers, sous-chefs, les nommés Guesneau et Coulongeon.⁽³⁾"

No record has been found in the studies and biographies of Héron that have been consulted, of an attempted assassination such as that of which he pretends himself object in "Thermidor." It is true, however, that he lived in constant fear of an attack on his life; his apartment, it is said, was "un arsenal," and he himself "ne sortait qu'accompagné de deux hommes armés jusqu'aux dents."⁽⁴⁾

Fabienne's prosecution by him for a personal grudge under the pretext of an attempt on his life⁽⁵⁾ is the author's invention. Sardou's delineation of Héron thus serves the double purpose of providing historical color and motivating a part of the action of the play.

Bérillon⁽¹⁾ may be considered as a type character; he is a pretended "enragé" who, for expediency's sake has deemed it advisable to simulate enthusiasm for things he does not approve, lest he be suspected of being a "modéré" or "indulgent." To this purpose he has changed his name from Hippolyte to Casca, that of his wife from Jacqueline to "Carmagnole," that of his little son Joseph to "Ça Ira." This fashion of adopting new names, especially those borrowed from the classics or to which was attached some revolutionary significance, was quite widespread. To quote but a few instances of well-known or notorious persons, the Prussian baron Jean-Baptiste Cloots called himself Anacharsis Cloots; Georges Chaumette, the procureur to the Commune of Paris, called himself Anaxagoras Chaumette; and Pierre André Coffinhal, the well-known judge of the Revolutionary Tribunal, took the name of Mucius Scaevola Coffinhal⁽²⁾. The famous juror of the Tribunal, Leroy, renamed himself Dix-Août⁽³⁾, and earlier in the Revolution, "la fille du ministre Lebrun avait été baptisé civiquement: Victoire-Constitution-Jemmapes-Dumouriez Lebrun⁽⁴⁾."

The exaggerated costume of Bérillon is that which

is found to be typical of the "enragés." "Nearly all of them had red caps, with national cockades, while some wore the carmagnole (waist coat with sleeves) and long bright colored trousers, often of red, white and blue material. Many smoked short pipes and carried pistols in their leathern belts; some were armed with spears, others with long clanking swords⁽¹⁾."

Bérillon is an active member of the Revolutionary Committee of his section. According to Ten Brink, each of the forty-eight sections of Paris had its own Revolutionary Committee⁽²⁾; "every committee had a special building where sittings were held and this was always protected by national guards; at the least disturbance the drums were sounded and the citizens armed with guns, hastened to the committee hall⁽³⁾." The committee of Bérillon, because of the agitation at the Convention, is, as he explains, "convoqué d'urgence"⁽⁴⁾.

The members of the committees "accustomed themselves to leave their ordinary work and attend exclusively to so-called state business"⁽⁵⁾. Mme Bérillon reproaches her husband for so doing, "le premier lampiste du quartier, qui n'a pas son pareil pour les quinquets et qui est tout le temps hors de sa boutique pour aller

vociférer avec les autres, au comité de sa section.⁽¹⁾"

She also complains that the committee will profit by the occasion to drink, at Bérillon's expense;⁽²⁾ in truth, an important item in the furnishing of a committee hall was "a stand, covered with bottles and refreshments provided at the expense of the citizens in which the committee members took a very proper interest."⁽³⁾

The pompous style of discourse favored at the meetings was an imitation of that indulged in at the Jacobins, for "the Revolutionary Committees were almost entirely composed of Jacobins."⁽⁴⁾ Lenotre has thus commented on it: "J'imagine que c'est à la tribune des Jacobins qu'ont pris naissance ces métaphores fameuses, dont le succès fut si grand et l'effet si durable qu'elles sont encore présentables aujourd'hui dans certains milieux, telles par exemple, l'hydre de la tyrannie, les droits sacrés d'un peuple libre, etc..⁽⁵⁾" Bérillon recited⁽⁶⁾ in this lofty manner, a few phrases that he has committed to memory. His whole conduct is based, as was that of many others, on the realization that "those who could shout loudest in clubs and committees were best off."⁽⁷⁾

Françoise, also a type character, is a bona fide "enragée." She represents the fanatical, extreme,

revolutionary woman, the "tricoteuse," whose prototypes were legion, and whose portrayal has lent a realistic touch and intensity to so many reconstructions of the period of the Terror.

Identification of Jolibon,⁽¹⁾ "coiffeur", employed at the Conciergerie, has not been made. His part in the hastily procedure of preparing the condemned for the guillotine is, as he states it, to "couper les cheveux des femmes avec les égards auxquels le sexe a toujours droit."⁽²⁾ His dialogue with Labussière is of interest; he explains that he receives no salary from the state, the profit from the sale of the locks of hair taking the place of a fixed remuneration. At first, he continues, "Il y avait de magnifiques chevelures que je revendais jusqu'à deux écus la livre. Mais depuis ces grandes fournées c'est une baisse. Si ça continue j'en serai pour mes frais."⁽³⁾ Lenotre's contribution on this gloomy subject is the most ample available: "Peut-être les valet du bourreau, à qui l'on avait enlevé le "petit bénéfice" des vêtements de ceux qu'ils mettaient à mort, se procuraient-ils une légère compensation dans la vente des chevelures qu'ils coupaient à la Conciergerie au moment de la "toilette;" je n'ai trouvé aucun document à ce sujet

et probablement il n'en existe pas; il est certain cependant que quelqu'un tirait profit de ces chevelures. Le 26 floréal an II, Payan disait, à l'une des séances de la commune: "Il est une nouvelle secte qui vient de se former à Paris, jalouse de se réunir aux contre-révolutionnaires par tous les moyens possibles, animée d'un saint respect, d'une tendre dévotion pour les guillotinéés, ses initiés font les mêmes voeux, ont les mêmes sentiments, et aujourd'hui les mêmes cheveux; des femmes édentées s'empressent d'acheter ceux des blondins guillotinéés, et de porter sur leur tête une chevelure si chère. C'est une nouvelle branche de commerce et un genre de dévotion tout à fait neuf. Ne troublez pas ces douces jouissances; laissons, respectons même les perruques blondes; nos aristocrates serviront du moins à quelque chose⁽¹⁾. And, Lenotre adds, "Voilà quelle fut l'origine de ces "perruques blondes" qu'une opérette célèbre⁽²⁾ mettait naguère si plaisamment en musique. Figaro l'avait bien prédit, 'Tout finit par des chansons'⁽³⁾."

Jolibon, continuing his speech, illustrates the difficulty of realizing a profit in his occupation by means of a particular case, the circumstances of which are of significance from the point of view of dramatic

(1)
foreshadowing. He complains of "celles qui nous frustrant. Ainsi la ci-devant princesse Monaco; croirais-tu qu'hier, après sa condamnation, elle s'est déclarée enceinte. Tu sais que dans ces cas-là il y a sursis à l'exécution pour la constatation légale. Elle voulait en profiter pour couper ses cheveux avec un fragment de vitre et les envoyer à ses enfants. Des cheveux admirables! Ce matin elle est revenue sur sa déclaration et elle va partir tout à l'heure. Mais je suis floué tout de même." (2)

Every detail of this unusual case corresponds with the account given by Wallon, (3) who adds besides the princess's letter to Fouquier-Tinville. (4)

Later in the act, (5) other cases in which a similar declaration had resulted in a stay of execution are cited by Labussière, who sees in this strategy the only means of saving Fabienne from the guillotine. These cases, also authentic, are those of Mme de Saint- (6) Pern, Mme Malicorne, (7) and Mme Saint-Aignan. (8)

Historical evidence for the following characters is available, chiefly by reason of the fact that they appeared as witnesses in the trial of Fouquier-Tinville which, held during the spring of 1795, resulted in his conviction and execution, 7 May 1795.

Tavernier is designated in the *dramatis personae* as "huissier au tribunal", but he appears in the play rather in the role of clerk, as it is he who draws up the stay of execution for Fabienne. ⁽¹⁾ This character was "Charles-Nicolas Tavernier, age 38, clerk to the registrar of the Tribunal, residing Rue de la Monnaie." ⁽²⁾ At the trial he gave damaging evidence against Fouquier, testifying that the latter on one occasion had thus spoken of the executions, "La dernière décade n'a pas mal rendu, il faut que celle-ci aille à quatre cents, à quatre cent cinquante. Allons, il faut que ça marche." ⁽³⁾

Simonet, "huissier," appears in the list of "huissiers" in "Le Tribunal Révolutionnaire." ⁽⁴⁾ In "Thermidor" he volunteers to go to ask Fouquier-Tinville whether, in view of the recent developments at the Convention, the last carts should be dispatched. Another employee of the Tribunal intervenes, however, stating that he has already received from Fouquier ⁽⁵⁾ the order to proceed. The episode, in this form, has been recast by Sardou to a slight extent, in order to provide a swift, dramatic scene, and to eliminate an extra exit and entry; for we find that in reality Simonet did go in quest of Fouquier for explicit orders:

"Comme Fouquier sortait de l'audience à trois heures et demie il rencontra dans le corridor, l'huissier Simonet. Celui-ci l'avertit qu'on battait la générale dans la rue Saint-Antoine et qu'il y avait peut-être danger à faire sortir les condamnés pour les conduire au supplice. Fouquier, qui était pressé, car il allait dîner à l'île Saint-Louis⁽¹⁾, répondit que ce n'était rien, qu'il fallait procéder comme à l'ordinaire."⁽²⁾

Debusne, the "lieutenant de gendarmerie"⁽³⁾, was Louis Francis Debusne, age 48, lieutenant of national police, serving at the Tribunal." In "Thermidor" it is he who is in charge of the detachment of gendarmes who conduct the tumbrils to the guillotine, and it is he who kills Martial when the latter attempts to stop the last cart that is carrying away Fabienne⁽⁴⁾. It is affirmed by many historians⁽⁵⁾ that the last cart was attacked, but it was owing to the efforts of Hanriot and gendarmes rather than to those of Debusne that the final "batch" of victims was delivered to the guillotine. But that Debusne formed part of the escort and in some way supervised the trip is shown by the fact that it was he who made a report of the execution to Fouquier-Tinville: "Le lieutenant Debusne

qui avait accompagné les condamnés du jour jusqu'au lieu du supplice, vint rendre compte, vers huit heures du soir, que l'exécution avait eu lieu avec le calme ordinaire.⁽¹⁾

Carnot is presented in "Thermidor" in a favorable light. Labussière says of him, "Celui-ci est un vrai patriote⁽²⁾;" and Martial lends to him this remark, "Va défendre la République à la frontière, tandis qu'ici nous allons tâcher de la sauver.⁽³⁾" It is not necessary to consider that Sardou may have been influenced in his presentation of this character by the fact that Carnot's grandson was, at the time of the performance of "Thermidor", President of the Republic, for Carnot has often been separated from the terrorists, and as a matter of fact, Aulard, though he does not entirely agree with the popular view, in his study "Les Responsabilités de Carnot", defines, "le rôle que la postérité lui a laissé, c'est-à-dire le rôle d'un patriote qui a consenti à siéger un instant à côté de Robespierre, de Couthon, et de Saint-Just, pour sauver la France par ses combinaisons militaires, et non pour partager les fureurs de ces ⁽⁴⁾ "tyrans."

Concerning Carnot, Sardou says, "A Wattignies,

il a fait le coup de fusil, comme un simple soldat.⁽¹⁾"
 Carnot did in fact give ample proof of his bravery
 and skill at the battle of Wattignies.⁽²⁾

As for the relationships between Robespierre and Carnot, they are , according to the play, most unfriendly; Carnot has further increased his enemy's hostility and suspicion because, "il vient d'envoyer en Belgique les trois quarts des canonniers parisiens,⁽³⁾ tout dévoués à la dictature de l'Incorruptible."
 Couthon, at the Jacobin club, 6 thermidor (24 July), though not openly accusing Carnot, protests this action: "Je passe à un fait important et qui coïncide parfaitement avec les trames de nos ennemis. Depuis longtemps l'on dégarnit Paris de ses hommes, de ses armes, et de ses munitions. Pourquoi est-il parti, il y a huit jours, des canonniers de Paris, de ces bons et intrépides défenseurs de la Patrie?" Syas interrompt en annonçant que demain il en partira encore quatre mille. Un membre fait part que tout ce matin, chez le commissaire des mouvements des armées de terre ⁽⁴⁾ (Pyle) il a eu dans ses main la liste des canonniers qui doivent partir de Paris. Couthon demande que la députation qui doit aller au Comité de Salut Public et à la Convention soit chargée de dénoncer

ce commissaire." Bouchez and Roux interpret this situation as does Sardou: "Tout ce qui fut dit contre Pyle dans la séance du 6 thermidor tombait indirectement sur Carnot. C'était en effet par les ordres de ce dernier que Paris était dégarni d'armes et de soldats. Pyle ne jouait en cela que le rôle d'exécuteur. Carnot travailla avec beaucoup d'ardeur au renversement de Robespierre."

Finally, according to "Thermidor", Robespierre remembers with resentment that "Carnot l'a pris un jour à la gorge en le traitant de despote ridicule." Sardou has repeated this same episode, in a more detailed form, in a comment on the interdiction of "Thermidor." "My disappointment is somewhat mitigated when I think that history will note this interesting fact, that during the great Revolution, Carnot the elder said one day to Robespierre, shaking him by his shirt collar, " I know that I am in your way, and that you want my head. But you shall not have it, ruffian, I am not afraid of you," and that it was forbidden, one hundred years after, under the presidency of the grandson of the same Carnot, to stigmatize the crimes of that Robespierre." Record of a scene of this nature between Robespierre and Carnot has not been found.

The "Histoire Parlementaire" tells, however, of a quarrel between Carnot and Saint-Just which has a close resemblance to the above account: "Il (Carnot) était depuis assez longtemps brouillé avec Saint-Just avec lequel il avait eu une violente dispute dans le sein du comité de Salut Public au commencement du mois de floréal. L'objet de cette querelle avait été d'abord l'administration des armes portatives. Alors Saint-Just passa à l'administration des poudres et salpêtres et reprocha amèrement à Carnot la négligence avec laquelle cet établissement était conduit, négligence telle qu'il n'y avait pas à Paris un seul grain de poudre de fabrique. Carnot repoussa les inculpations de Saint-Just, en le traitant lui et ses amis "d'aspirer à la dictature et d'attaquer successivement tous les patriotes pour rester seuls et s'emparer du pouvoir suprême avec leurs partisans." La-dessus Saint-Just entra dans une grande colère; il s'écria que la République était perdue si les hommes chargés de la gouverner se traitaient ainsi de dictateur; qu'il voyait bien le projet de l'attaquer mais qu'il se défendrait. "C'est toi, ajouta-t-il, qui es lié avec les ennemis des patriotes, et apprends que je n'ai que deux lignes à écrire pour faire un acte d'accusation et te faire guillotiner dans deux jours."

-Je t'y invite, dit Carnot, je provoque contre moi toute la sévérité, je ne te crains pas, vous êtes des dictateurs ridicules.⁽¹⁾"

Lécrivain, "commis-greffier au tribunal", is identified by a note of Lenotre's: "Un peintre, Lécrivain, a succédé à Paris-Fabre dans l'emploi de greffier en chef."⁽²⁾

Courvol whom Chateuil depends on to reserve good places at the Convention is also mentioned by Lenotre: "Courvol had been usher to the Assemblies since the opening days of the States General and was therefore an official of much experience."⁽³⁾

Revolutionary Paris.

Revolutionary Paris.

One phase of the local color in "Thermidor" is contributed by allusions to current plays, the majority of which are of the political tenor, popular, or rather prescribed by law,⁽¹⁾ at that time. The first of these allusions occurs early in the play; the fisherman who figures in Act I describes a performance he has witnessed, "hier soir, au Théâtre de la Cité. Ah, c'est ça qui respire le plus pur patriotisme... Figurez-vous un mari qui découvre que sa femme regrette l'ancien régime et qu'elle pleure le tyran. Alors, qu'est-ce qu'il fait? Il la dénonce au comité de sa section, qui envoie la femme à l'échafaud. On applaudissait...L'auteur, le citoyen Pompigny, est venu en carmagnole, saluer le public et nous dire, avec émotion: 'Citoyens, on fait toujours bien quand c'est le cœur qui conduit la plume. Je suis sûr qu'il n'y a pas, dans la salle, un mari qui ne soit prêt à imiter mon héros.'⁽²⁾" The play performed at the Théâtre de la Cité, 8 thermidor, was in fact "L'Époux Républicain,"⁽³⁾ drame patriotique en deux actes par Maurin de Pompigny,⁽⁴⁾ but the demonstration described in "Thermidor", which

parallels almost word for word, the account given in Lecomte's "Histoire des Théâtres de Paris," took place at the première, 26 pluviôse an II (14 février).⁽¹⁾

Labussière's former profession of actor and his still active interest in things theatrical afford Sardou the occasion to refer to five additional plays. Three of this number belong to the répertoire of the Théâtre Mareux. The "Moniteur" does not include in its announcement of "Spectacles" those of the Théâtre Mareux, and no list of the plays performed there has been available, so the verification of Sardou's statements as to presentations there is not possible. Record exists, however, of all the plays mentioned, by reason of their performance at other theatres, especially at the Théâtre de la Cité.

Labussière recalls, "mon dernier rôle au Théâtre Mareux, celui du niais dans le "Désespoir de Jocrisse."⁽²⁾ Lecomte in his history of the Théâtre de la Cité records the performance "le 4 octobre an V du "Désespoir de Jocrisse ", comédie-folie en deux actes par Dorvigny."⁽³⁾ and adds the following notation, "Créé sur le théâtre de Montansier le 22 novembre 1791, par Baptiste cadet, cet ouvrage fut repris pour Brunet qui rendit avec talent un rôle auquel son nom resta des lors attaché."⁽⁴⁾

The second play of the repertoire of the Théâtre Mareux to be spoken of is "Le Vous et le Toi" by Aristide Valcour, to be performed, Mme Bérillon says, that evening, 9 thermidor. Information concerning this play is likewise to be found in Lecomte's list of programs of the Théâtre de la Cité. He cites: "29 novembre an II, 'Le Vous et le Toi', opéra vaudeville en un acte par Aristide Valcour--pièce où se donne carrière un républicanisme excessif, mais bien faite, ornée de jolis couplets et qu'un franc succès accueillit justement⁽¹⁾."

The third and last play of the Théâtre Mareux is "Le Mari Coupable" par la citoyenne Villeneuve", which according to "Thermidor" was to be given "dans quelques jours." The record of it in Toumeux's "Histoire de Paris pendant la Terreur" is: "Le Mari Coupable", comédie en trois actes en prose, par la citoyenne Villeneuve, (pseud. de Cizos-Duplessis). Représentée pour la première fois sur le Théâtre de la Cité, le quatrième complémentaire l'an II, (20 sept⁽²⁾ 1794)"

The statement of Mlle Brault that "avant-hier (7 thermidor) au Théâtre de la Cité, j'ai vu une pièce attendrissante, 'D'Olban, ou le Cri de la Nature', is

inaccurate; the schedule of the "Moniteur" gives no such play for that day⁽²⁾ or for the several days preceding.

The spectacle announced in the play⁽²⁾ for the Théâtre de la République, 9 thermidor, is the "Néron et Epicharsis" of Legouvé. This is confirmed by the "Moniteur"⁽³⁾. Mll. Brault looks forward to the performance, and Labussière agrees that it should prove interesting, for "il y aura des allusions."⁽⁴⁾ His remark recalls that the premiere of this play had been accompanied by a significant demonstration centering about Robespierre: "Robespierre was in a box, Danton, with a bodyguard of friends, was seated in the orchestra. An actor spoke the words, "Death to the tyrant"; there was applause from the floor of the house. Legouvé relates that Danton, turning towards Robespierre, shook his fist at him. White with rage and fear, his teeth clenched, his hands twitching convulsively, Robespierre sat brooding on his revenge."⁽⁵⁾

The words of greeting in common usage during the Revolution, "Salut, et fraternité", with the phrase, "ou la Mort" which was often added, are employed, with a slight change, by Labussière in a sinister sense.

To the departing words of Françoise and her companions, "Salut et fraternité", he adds, "gracieusement"--"Et la mort." The effect produced is: "Seconde d'étonnement, puis rire général⁽¹⁾." Aulard in a study of the popular mottoes of the Revolution discusses these words which he says, "...l'usage populaire détourna de leur sens héroïque pour leur donner plutôt un sens menaçant... Il n'est pas douteux que sous la Terreur les mots furent pris ainsi, etsurtout dans l'autre sens, dans le sens d'une menace de mort contre les aristocrates⁽²⁾." Chamfort commenting on them says that truly, "La fraternité de ces gens-là est celle de Caïn et Abel."⁽³⁾

It can be reasonably surmised that Sardou received from Camille Desmoulins's "Vieux Cordelier" (number III) the inspiration for part of Labussière's long tirade⁽⁴⁾ which contains the bitter indictment of the Terror. In view of the interdiction of "Thermidor" this scene is the most significant in the play, for it is the one which occasioned the hostile demonstration and subsequent governmental ban. This stirring speech reproduces not only the general theme expressed in the "Vieux Cordelier", but echoes its tone, parallels its phraseology and repeats its very words. A comparison of a few sentences from each will suffice to show the

resemblance. Labussière draws a picture of a terror ruled city, "où toujours et partout le mot "suspect" te guette, te harcèle, te menace, te denonce. Tu vas à Vincennes sans passeport, "suspect". ..mais ne te hâte pas trop d'en réclamer un, car, alors, "suspect", tu veux donc fuir...Tu vas par les rues, silencieux et la tête basse, c'est donc que tu blames! "Gai", c'est donc que tu railles. "Inquiet" c'est donc que tu as quelque raison de craindre. Tremble même d'avoir peur. ...Suspectes, la bienfaisance et la charité. Ne porte pas le deuil de ton père supplicié, affectation d'anticivisme: la mort⁽¹⁾." Camille Desmoulins had said, "...Il n'y eut qu'un pas pour changer en crimes les simples regards, la tristesse, la compassion, les soupirs, le silence même.. Il fallait montrer de la joie de la mort de son ami, de son parent... On avait peur que la peur même ne rendit coupable. "Fuyait-on la popularité et se tenait-on à l'écart,,suspect. Étiez-vous riche? il y avait un péril imminent que le peuple ne fût corrompu par vos largesses..suspect. Étiez-vous d'un caractère sombre, mélancolique, ou négligemment vêtu: ce qui vous affligeait, c'est que les affaires publiques allaient bien,..suspect."⁽²⁾

Labussière, in his speech denouncing the Terror, mentions several facts concerning the guillotine. His brief review of its different sites begins at the time of its location at the place de la Révolution (place Louis XV⁽¹⁾) at the moment when, he says, "L'échafaud menaçait de devenir impopulaire." "Les commerçants de la rue Honoré se sont plaints qu'à l'heure où passait le funèbre cortège le quartier se faisait désert, leurs boutiques étaient vides."⁽²⁾ This is attested by many authorities, but it is Lenotre's statements that most closely parallel Sardou's: "Peu à peu, le quartier Saint-Honoré se lassa du spectacle quotidien qui lui était offert. Le passage des charrettes paralysait entièrement le commerce à certaines heures de la journée. Dès que le sinistre cortège approchait les boutiques se fermaient; la rue appartenait à la plus vile populace."⁽³⁾

Verification of the next remark made in the play that, "Le jour de la Fête de l'Être Suprême, sur la place de la Révolution les huit boeufs qui traînaient le char des Arts et Métiers refusaient d'avancer, offusqués par l'odeur du sang dont la place était imprégnée", is not available in the material at hand; but that the place de la Révolution presented a horrible aspect and

that such an occurrence as Sardou describes might very possibly have marred the ceremonies of the Fête is evident from Lenotre's statement that "Autour de l'échafaud le sol était toujours imprégné de sang,"⁽¹⁾ and that "Le 26 germinal, la trésorerie a payé au citoyen Prud'homme la somme de 52 livres pour avoir fourni de l'eau et du sable pour laver et couvrir de sang des victimes péries place de la Révolution, la veille de la fête en l'honneur de l'Être Suprême."⁽²⁾

It is recorded in "Thermidor" that, "Subitement on l'a transportée (la guillotine) à la place de la ci-devant Bastille. Puis sur de nouvelles plaintes, à la barrière du Trône-Renversé, au confins de la ville, presque dans les champs." These facts are correct, for we find that after the fête de l'Être Suprême "la guillotine fut d'abord dressée sur la place de la Bastille; mais elle n'y resta qu'un jour;...et le 25 prairial an II, jugea-t-on convenable de transporter l'échafaud à l'autre extrémité de Paris, à la barrière du Trône-Renversé."⁽³⁾

The guillotine, says Labussière, was received in its new location the same gloomy, hostile silence that had characterized the attitude of the inhabitants of the rue Saint-Honoré. The reaction of disgust and horror would be even more pronounced at the sight of the executions at the barrière du Trône-Renversé, for it was there that

were taken the "fournées", and there that perished the victims of the so-called "conjurations des prisons." Sardou climaxes the paragraph on the guillotine with the exclamation, "Pense qu'en quarante-neuf jours la rue Antoine a vu passer plus de treize cents condamnés,"⁽¹⁾ exclamation which finds repetition in "La Guillotine," "La guillotine resta en permanence à la place du Trône jusqu'au 9 thermidor; elle y dévora treize cents victimes en six semaines!"⁽²⁾

The destruction wrought at Notre-Dame by the revolutionists is mentioned in the play, "L'autel, les beaux ornements sacrés avaient disparu, et la nef, louée à des marchands de vin, était encombrée de tonneaux vides."⁽³⁾ The work of demolition at the cathedral had been indeed considerable: "Le Conseil Général Révolutionnaire arrête 'que l'on démolira toutes les statues de saints et de rois qui se trouvent au portail de la ci-devant métropole, présentement temple de la Raison'. On abat le clocher comme "contraire à l'égalité." The edifice was to be sold and entirely demolished but "une formalité oubliée empêche heureusement la conclusion du marché et on se borne à transformer la cathédrale en magasin pour recevoir le vin des émigrés que les sectionnaires n'avaient pas encore bu/"⁽⁴⁾

References to the difficulty of obtaining food supplies of which the fisherman complains when he says that one must "se lever à quatre heures du matin pour aller faire la queue au pain et à la viande...et pour ce qu'on attrape apres six, sept heures de station"⁽¹⁾, occur repeatedly thruout Caron's "Paris pendant la Terreur". The fact that "les paysans ne veulent plus apporter leurs denrées; on les pille aux barrières"⁽²⁾ also finds plentiful verification: "Les marchés sont très peu approvisionnés. A peine les paysans sont-ils arrivés que des harpies, sous l'habillement de femmes se jettent sur eux et leur enlèvent leurs marchandises. Après ils disputent sur le prix et il arrive fort souvent que ce malheureux ne peut pas reconnaître celle qui a sa marchandise."⁽³⁾

Act IV, Labussière speaks of "Les aboyeurs à quarante sous par jour"⁽⁴⁾. The existence of this class constituted a problem brought upon the government by its own action. These "insulteurs à gages" were the result of a decree of 5 September 1793, definitely adopted the 9 September, "...accordant une indemnité de quarante sous par séance aux citoyens qui y assisteraient et justifieraient n'avoir pas d'autres moyens de vivre que le travail de leurs mains."⁽⁵⁾

The following observation in this regard shows that the "observateurs" realized the disadvantages of this provision: "Le decret qui accorde une indemnité aux sans-culottes pour assister aux assemblées de sections occasionne des tumultes et des troubles⁽¹⁾."

Nor is it necessary to seek further than the optimistic, or at least impartial reports of the "observateurs" to find that the beggars, the "mendiants" who Labussière says were everywhere in Paris,⁽²⁾ presented another problem: "Les mendiants forment une classe excessivement dangereuse; ils sont payés par les aristocrates pour demander l'aumône aux patriotes. Il est instant de soustraire aux regards du public ces malheureux dont la vue est un sujet de reproche contre la Révolution dans la bouche des malveillants."⁽³⁾

There are several references in "Thermidor" to the excessive heat that characterized the month of July 1794, and the day of the 27 July, 9 thermidor, in particular. One reads in the stage setting for the first act, "Les grands arbres, déjà jaunés par les grandes chaleurs". Lupin and Labussière speak of "Le soleil qui est diablement chaud",⁽⁴⁾ and the fisherman complains that "Il fait si chaud qu'il n'y a plus moyen de dormir. Les boiseries de ma chambre craquaient cette nuit."⁽⁵⁾

Lenotre remarks in like manner: "Les légumes dans les jardins et les champs furent grillés. Les meubles et les boiseries craquaient; les portes et les fenêtres se déjetaient."⁽¹⁾ In Act IV, Labussière makes another reference to the weather: "Il y a de l'orage dans l'air. Il pleuvra ce soir."⁽²⁾ This remark is of interest for we find that the version of "Thermidor" presented in 1896 at the Porte Saint-Martin, and which it has been noted above differs somewhat from the one given in 1891 at the Comédie Française, ends with the following tableau:—"La barricade dressée par le faubourg Antoine, l'arrivée de la dernière charrette, les gendarmes désarmés par les femmes, et, quand on croit tout fini, la pluie, une vraie pluie qui mouille et qui inonde les planches."⁽³⁾

The Settings.

The Settings of "Thermidor."

The settings for Acts I, III, IV, of "Thermidor" represent respectively a corner of old Paris, an apartment at the Tuileries, and a court of the Conciergerie, the latter two places being memorable for their association with events of the Revolution. How strongly settings of this nature appealed to Sardou, the extreme degree to which he valued exactitude in regard to them, and his competency to attain this exactitude, have been noted by many of his commentators. He has said of himself in his preface to Georges Cain's "Nooks and Corners of Old Paris," in which he reviews the surprising transformations that were fast creating a new Paris on the ruins of the old: "How often have I congratulated myself on having, from the time when I was fifteen years of age, devoted my holiday rambles to ferreting out, in the old quarters of the city now cut through, parcelled up, and destroyed, the slightest vestiges of the past, as if I had foreseen that, within a brief delay, they would be reduced to dust by the demolisher's pick-axe.

"The Paris of Louis-Philippe was very nearly that of the Great Revolution and the First Empire. Each

step in it awoke souvenirs that people thought but little of in my childhood, romanticism being more interested in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and more inquisitive about the massacre of Saint-Barthélemy than about those of September. It looked with tenderness at the old corner turret of the Grève square, but gave no glance at the sign post on the same square where the unfortunate Foulon was hanged. It deplored the disappearance of the Barbette Gate which marked the site where Charles d'Orléans was murdered, but did not suggest going to see, a few steps further, in the rue des Ballets, the post where Madame de Lamballe's corpse was beheaded. Artists, novelists, poets, historians disdained these localities still warm from the Revolutionary drama, some episodes of which they claimed to relate.

"Being more careful, I did not disdain the old stones that were humble witnesses of deeds so great; and thanks to them, I was able to live through the Revolution again on the spot. They were fated to disappear."⁽¹⁾

In fact, none of the scenes in which Sardou places the action of "Thermidor" survives in its entirety, and only a few reminders of the former aspect remain unaltered. Most of the transformations and

demolitions had already taken place at the time when the play was performed, and the rest have since been effected.

For the setting of the first act, the île Louvier, Sardou was called upon to reconstruct a corner of old Paris, for, dating from 1843, the île Louvier no longer existed as an island, the narrow arm of the Seine which separated it from the city having been filled up during that year⁽¹⁾. Larousse, describing the island as it was before being joined to the mainland, says that it was situated "en face de l'Arsenal, dont elle n'était séparée que par la route appelée autrefois le Mail, et par un bras de Seine assez étroit⁽²⁾." Maxime du Camp adds that it was "réunie au quai des Célestins par le petit pont de Grammont."⁽³⁾ Sardou locates the island in like manner in reference to the Seine, the Arsenal, with the pont de Grammont visible in the background⁽⁴⁾; he mentions the quai du Mail in the dialogue⁽⁵⁾. In the distance is seen "la perspective de la berge du port Saint-Paul...couronnée par les clochers de Saint-Gervais, de Saint-Jean, et par le campanile de l'Hôtel de Ville." Here also Sardou had to apply his knowledge of old Paris, for though the church of Saint-Gervais still existed, the church

of Saint-Jean (en Grève) had been torn down in 1838, "pour l'agrandissement de l'Hôtel de Ville⁽¹⁾," and the Hôtel de Ville itself was destroyed in 1871.

No mention has been found of "bateaux-lavoir" at the Île Louvier, though such establishments were numerous along the Seine⁽²⁾. The only information as to the purpose the island served is given by M^xime du Camp: "Au commencement du dix-huitième siècle, elle fut acquise par l'administration municipale sans but déterminé; elle était louée à des marchands de bois qui y créèrent des chantiers importants, sorte de docks des bois⁽³⁾"flottés". This may explain the "piles de bois entassées dans l'île" which Sardou's description calls for.

Sardou prescribes very minutely the setting for the third act of "Thermidor", the office of Labussière in the pavillon de Flore at the Tuileries. It is well that he has done so, for, as Lenotre says, "Les Tuileries n'existent plus, le souvenir de leur distribution intérieure se perd chaque jour, et, nous le répétons, quelque incroyable que puisse paraître une telle assertion il n'existe nulle part de plans détaillés du palais."⁽⁴⁾

Sardou tells in his article in the "Fortnightly Review" the fortunate chance that led him to visit,

in 1870, with the settings for "Thermidor" in mind, several historic scenes of the Revolution. Having first summarized the reasons which had determined him to resume work on the play in 1869 after a lapse of two years, he continues: "Things went on so rapidly that I had to see the scene painters soon after. I remember going with Cambon and Robecchi to visit the principal places where my drama was supposed to have taken place. It is in this way that with the authorization of Pietri, the Prefect of Police, I took a sketch of the room which was occupied at the Conciergerie by Fouquier-Tinville, of the green drawing-room at the Hôtel de Ville where Robespierre had his jaw shattered by a pistol shot; and of Louis XVI's room at the Tuileries where the Comité de Salut Public used to meet. The very year after, that part of the Conciergerie, the Hôtel de Ville, and the Tuileries were a prey to the flames. Indeed the Porte Saint-Martin where my play was going to be performed met with the same fate. You see now with what extraordinary events my piece is connected."⁽¹⁾

It can be concluded that Sardou, having surveyed these locales with a view to incorporating them in his play, has reproduced as accurately as can be expected

the office of Labussière, which was located in the immediate vicinity of that of the Comité de Salut Public; Labussière says, "Le Comité de Salut Public siège à quelques pas de mon bureau." Moreover, that Sardou, in 1870, could obtain a correct idea of what this part of the Tuileries was like in 1794 is provable: "Cette aile du château avait subi peu de modifications, sinon sous le rapport de la décoration intérieure, jusju'en 1870."

In the absence of plans which would show the exact disposition of Labussière's office in reference to the other apartments of the Tuileries, the discussion limits itself to the following points: that the offices of the Comité du Salut Public, including that of Labussière, were located in "le pavillon de Flore, dit de L'Égalité... au rez de chaussée et à l'entresol sur le jardin; that one passed through "un corridor sombre" to reach them; Martial says to Labussière, "J'ai eu bien du mal à te trouver dans ces corridors mal éclairés par des quinquets."

The setting of Act IV, omitting minor details of furnishing such as "bancs de bois, chaises, tables, etc" is thus described: "La petite cour d'entrée de la Conciergerie, telle qu'elle est encore aujourd'hui; à droite du grand escalier du Palais de Justice, dans

la cour du Mai. À gauche, premier plan, l'arcade, la grille et les marches par lesquelles on monte de la petite cour à la grande. Au-dessus règne le mur bas qui se relie à l'arcade de gauche et flanque le grand escalier. Au delà, on p^{er}çoit à droite la colonnade du pavillon central, en, ^{en} ~~en~~ face, par-dessus l'aile du Palais qui fait retour vers la place, la Sainte-Chapelle sans sa flèche."

The accuracy of this setting, where were enacted some of the most poignant scenes of the Revolution, has been vouched for by Lenotre: "Je me souviens de la singulière surprise-j'allais presque dire de la déception, qu'éprouvèrent les spectateurs du Théâtre Français à la répétition générale de "Thermidor." On savait que le dernier acte du drame de M. Sardou se passait à la Conciergerie, et chacun s'attendait à voir le traditionnel décor des vieilles tours dressant leurs noires silhouettes au bord de la Seine, des sombres bâtiments à petites fenêtres grillées, solennels, maussades, jamais ensoleillés, qui donnent si sévère allure au quai de l'Horloge.

"Le rideau se lève... Quel étonnement. La scène représente une petite cour carrée, d'architecture moderne, régulière, froide, mais point sinistre; au fond se dressent les colonnades actuelles du Palais

de Justice; même l'on aperçoit, à travers une arcade la grille d'honneur qui l'élève si noblement en bordure du boulevard du Palais. Ça, la Conciergerie? Et à l'époque révolutionnaire! Je sais des gens qui n'en sont point revenus.

"Rien de plus exact cependant. La grande cour d'honneur du Palais de Justice, la cour du Mai, comme l'on l'appelle depuis des siècles, n'est point, à la vérité, fort pittoresque; ses façades régulières, quoique de haut style, ont tout juste la banalité nécessaire à un monument officiel. Seul, l'immense perron, avec ses larges paliers et ses élégantes lanternes est une conception imposante et vraiment belle. Quand on a gravi les marches de ce perron, si l'on s'approche de la corniche basse qui borde le palier supérieur, l'œil plonge dans une petite cour située en contre-bas donnant sur la cour du Mai par une arcade fermée d'une grille. Dans cette petite cour, qui n'a point de nom, était, à l'époque de la Révolution, l'entrée de la Conciergerie.⁽¹⁾"

The background, showing the Sainte-Chapelle "sans sa flèche", is correct, for we find that the present spire (by Lassus) is the fourth, "the first by Pierre de Montereau, became unsafe from age, the

second was burnt in 1630, the third was destroyed in the Great Revolution.⁽¹⁾"

The statement, "la petite cour d'entrée, telle qu'elle est encore aujourd'hui," true in 1891, is no longer so; Lenotre says, "On a bouleversé l'ancienne entrée de la Conciergerie, pour y établir la buvette des avocats."⁽²⁾

The reconstitution of life and atmosphere in and about this part of the prison, as given by Sardou, is also exact. His stage directions call for the presence of Mlle Brault, "la fille du concierge, qui arrose ses capucines; trois gendarmes qui achèvent de dîner autour d'une table placée dans l'angle; deux gardes nationaux, une sentinelle en haut de l'escalier; sur le mur d'appui du haut, deux jeunes sans-culottes; employés de la prison, guichetiers, commis-greffiers, gardes nationaux, et curieux venus de la grande cour. Très agités, les groupes se forment, se reforment. De nouveaux venus descendent à chaque instant, tandis que d'autres sortent. Il y a une même allée et venue à droite, de la cour à la prison."⁽³⁾ Lenotre describes also, "L'étroite cour toujours encombrée de soldats, de geôliers, d'aides du bourreau, d'espions des Comités, de suppliants, de

solliciteurs ou de curieux privilégiés⁽¹⁾."

Later on, the scene grows even more animated; the time is approaching for calling the roll of the condemned and their departure in the carts for the guillotine. The wall of the stairway is now "entièrement garni d'hommes et de femmes de la populace, tout cela bavardant, mangeant, buvant."⁽²⁾

This "claque de la guillotine" as Labussière names⁽³⁾ it, was almost as notable at the Conciergerie as at the guillotine itself. Lenotre says of it, "Le grand perron du Palais était presque continuellement, surtout dans l'après-midi, à l'heure où les charrettes venaient chercher la pâture quotidienne de la guillotine, garni d'une foule de femmes qui semblaient assises à un amphithéâtre, attendant un spectacle favori."⁽⁴⁾

The preparation for the departure of the prisoners is thus described: "Cris de joie de la populace. On entrevoit, au haut des marches, l'arrière d'une charrette, qui vient en reculant jusqu'à la grille. Les aides de Sanson y appliquent un marche-pied, puis attendent; derrière eux, des curieux."⁽⁵⁾ The procession of the condemned from the prison to the carts is portrayed in the same way by Sardou⁽⁶⁾ and Lenotre.

The Revolutionary Tribunal

The Revolutionary Tribunal.

The numerous allusions recurring throughout "Thermidor" to revolutionary justice contribute to form a fairly complete account and to give a vivid impression of the nature and workings of the Revolutionary Tribunal during the Terror. Sardou in the play introduces each in the most effective way and in the place where it will have most bearing on the development of the plot, but for convenience sake they may be grouped in the following general divisions: those concerning the Law of Prairial, to the extreme measures of which Sardou attributes the excesses of the Tribunal; the espionage system which sought out the "suspects"; the procedure at the Tribunal; the events there on the particular day of the 9 thermidor; and the public accuser, Fouquier-Tinville.

Sardou characterizes the law of Prairial as "l'atroce loi de prairial, qui, par un juge impitoyable, te condamne sans enquêtes, ni témoins, ni débats, ni ⁽¹⁾ défense," and which carries the penalty of death, "sans appel, ni recours, ni sursis." ⁽²⁾ Such, tersely and dramatically expressed, were the provisions of this

famous law. Sardou rightly ascribes the responsibility for it to Robespierre; it was he who instigated the drafting of ⁽¹⁾ it, and Couthon who presented it to the ⁽²⁾ Convention.

One phase of the extensive espionage system has been noted in the discussion of Pourvoyeur, one of the "observateurs de l'esprit public." ⁽³⁾ It was not necessary, however, to be appointed as were the "observateurs." The law of Prairial (article 9) provided, "Tout citoyen a le droit de saisir et de traduire devant les magistrats les conspirateurs et les contre-révolutionnaires. Il est tenu de les dénoncer dès qu'il les connaît." ⁽⁴⁾ The recklessness and high-handedness with which the denunciations were made resulted, Sardou says, in one's life being "à la merci d'un valet fripon que tu chasses, d'un débiteur insolvable, d'une femme jalouse." ⁽⁵⁾ In fact these unsubstantiated denunciations led to such injustices that the agents themselves call attention to the fact in their reports: "On se plaint beaucoup des commissaires des sections. On prétend qu'ils reçoivent indistinctement toutes les dénonciations et il arrive qu'un domestique lorsque vous lui refusez ce qu'il demande injustement vous menace

d'aller vous dénoncer et vous dénonce effectivement,
 ce qui met le trouble dans beaucoup de sections." ⁽¹⁾

And again: "On observe qu'il serait utile et prudent de s'assurer des citoyens qui dénoncent avant d'arrêter les personnes dénoncées, attendu que très souvent les dénonciateurs sont coupables et les dénoncés innocents. Il n'est pas moins vrai que des innocents accusés par jalousie ou par vengeance sont restés quatre ou cinq mois en prison." ⁽²⁾

The result of the universal spy system and of the privileges and singular degree of power accorded to the agents was Sardou says, "une ville intimidée, où la peur est assise à tous les foyers, où les bandits n'ont plus à redouter la rigueur des lois; car il leur suffit d'être du comité de leur section pour forcer ta porte sous prétexte de visite domiciliaire, te dépouiller à titre de confiscation et commettre chez toi tous les abus en s'en glorifiant comme de vertus civiques." ⁽³⁾ The following report of an "observateur" on the subject of these "visites domiciliaires" corroborates Sardou's statement as to the light in which they were regarded by those who made them: "La nuit plusieurs visites et arrestations domiciliaires se sont faites, sans bruit ni résistance; ayant

attendu jusqu'à deux heures après minuit pour être
 à portée de savoir ce qui se passait à ce sujet,
 j'ai été témoin de la joie que ceux du peuple qui
 revenait des guinguettes témoignaient en voyant comme
 moi les nombreuses patrouilles qui faisaient ces
 petites expéditions patriotiques." ⁽¹⁾ Another account,
 also of a contemporary, viewing the situation from
 the opposite point of view, is far less complimentary:
 "Ces visites étaient des perquisitions que les comités
 révolutionnaires et les commissaires aux accaparements
 faisaient, à volonté, chez les personnes soupçonnées
 d'incivisme sous prétexte d'y chercher des armes
 cachées, des munitions de guerre, et des provisions
 de bouche excédant les besoins journaliers, et enfin,
 des preuves de la grande conspiration contre le peuple
 français. Rarement les perquisiteurs se retiraient
 les mains vides. Lorsqu'ils ne trouvaient rien à prendre,
 selon les règles de leur mission, ils prenaient, soit
 individuellement et en secret, soit collectivement et
 sans précaution, les bijoux, montres, vaisselle d'or
 et d'argent, même l'or et l'argent monnayés. Heureux
 encore les propriétaires, lorsqu'à raison de ces
 objets de luxe, ils n'étaient pas déclarés suspects
 et conduits en prison." ⁽²⁾

Examples of the trivial and absurd charges on which arrests and executions were based are enumerated by Sardou in various scenes of the play or implied by the action of the play itself. For the cases not accompanied by names identification can be only approximate, considering the thousands of cases which came before the Revolutionary Tribunal for trial. It is probable, however, that Sardou had historical basis for each, but that to avoid encumbering his play with obscure names, he states only the charge in succinct form. That this is most likely true is to be deduced from the fact that whenever (except for two cases which will be mentioned on page (71)) he does mention a name or specific details by means of which the name can be supplied historical verification is available.

There is "le petit de Maillé! Il n'était coupable que d'avoir jeté un hareng pourri au nez du géolier qui l'apportait pour son repas.⁽¹⁾" There is "le fils Micaut, condamné pour avoir corrompu le peuple par ses bienfaits"⁽²⁾. There is Pierre Gondier, executed for having kept "dans un buffet des croûtes de pain sec destinées à ses poules."⁽³⁾ There are Capote Feuillide⁽⁴⁾ and Prédicant,⁽⁵⁾ unwise enough to have given testimony

"n

"en faveur d'un accusé⁽¹⁾." There are the two others named by Françoise, "cette vieille décrépète d'abbesse de Monmartre, avec ses béquilles, et c't autre, paralysée, qu'il a fallu porter à l'échafaud dans un fauteuil."⁽²⁾ Their tragic case offers one of the most striking examples of the way in which the Tribunal sent obviously innocent persons to their death.

Wallon says of them: "Cette vieille religieuse, et cette jeune dame qui était paralysée des jambes, n'en étaient pas moins mises au nombre de ceux qui voulaient s'échapper sur une planche jetée d'une fenêtre de la prison à une terrasse, par-dessus la cour où était la sentinelle, pour aller égorger les membres des deux comités⁽³⁾."

In Act III, Martial reads, among the dossiers that Labussière is preparing for the Tribunal, that of "Auberval, Alexandre, soixante-dix ans; intrigant; deux cent mille livres de revenus. Blame les sans-culottes d'abandonner leur état pour se mêler de politique;" that of Mauprou, Jean-Baptiste, commerçant, quarante-six ans, Négociantism, aristocrate endurci, ne croyant pas aux bienfaits de la Révolution, ne fréquente que des gens comme il faut"; and that of "une mercière, fanatique; a conservé des jetons à l'effigie

du dernier tyran.⁽¹⁾" Identification of these dossiers is not to be expected in the "Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire" for, since they are represented as still being in Labussière's office the 9 thermidor, they are to be considered among the hundreds that were never sent subsequently to the Tribunal. It happens that Lenotre has mentioned these same cases as illustrative of the "reasons for suspicion that would be laughable if the guillotine were not in the background."⁽²⁾ The accompanying note states that his source for them was Courtois's "Rapport sur les papiers trouvés chez Robespierre."⁽³⁾ Sardou probably had access to the same original material.

No complete list of executions elsewhere than at Paris having been available, information has not been found concerning a Lecoulteux, "fusillé à Nantes," or a "Mgr Bonneval, évêque de Lisieux", guillotined at Strasbourg.

Not only were the charges for which persons were brought before the Tribunal of the most shallow nature, but the entire judicial procedure was characterized by deliberate recklessness, cruelty, and disregard for human life. Such is the impression that Sardou succeeds in creating by frequent remarks and illustrations.

Such also is the impression received from the records in the "Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire" and, in a still greater degree, from the minutes of Fouquier's trial in which the most flagrant crimes of the public accuser and his associates are set forth. ⁽¹⁾ Among the items in the first official act of accusation drawn up by Leblois ⁽²⁾ is the charge against Fouquier of "une telle hâte que la remise de l'acte d'accusation, le jugement, la condamnation et l'exécution avaient lieu dans la même journée." ⁽³⁾ The whole action of "Thermidor" has as a determining factor this hasty procedure at the Tribunal, and specific references to it are numerous.

Sardou emphasizes the officials' eagerness to provide victims, to ensure that each day should have its full quota of condemned, that made of the Tribunal a vast death machine. Labussière, as he sorts over the dossiers destined that day for the court, says that those accused therein are "condamnés d'avance, tous, ou presque tous." ⁽⁴⁾ Three times he has tried to frustrate Fouquier-Tinville by withholding the incriminating papers and three times the public accuser "a fait condamner sur l'enveloppe seule." ⁽⁵⁾ Marteau, the creature of Fouquier, comments: "Les prisons sont

trop pleines, nous allons les vider. Aujourd'hui, Fouquier a commandé sept charrettes; à six têtes par voiture, ça en fait quarante-deux. La semaine prochaine nous irons bien à la centaine.⁽¹⁾ L'écrivain, discussing the journée with Olivon, estimates that there will be "quarante-cinq, ou quarante-six, pas moins." He knows in advance the probable number, for "Fouquier fait son compte dès ^{la} veille, à une tête près."⁽²⁾ This manner of predetermining the quota is rendered in the concise terms of the acts of accusation by Leblois and Judicis:

"Jugements signés en blanc, datés et signés, donnent lieu de croire qu'ils étaient préparés avant l'audience et qu'on ne faisait paraître les prévenus que pour la forme.

"Jugements suivis d'exécution sans acte d'accusation ni aucune forme.

"Les charrettes commandées et les jugements signés avant la comparution des accusés."⁽³⁾

Three minutes is the accepted amount of time for the hearing of each accused, according to "Thermidor:" "Vingt-deux accusés par section, ça aura fait juste une heure, à trois minutes d'interrogatoire par tête."⁽⁴⁾ That the "interrogatoires" were sometimes even more

summary is indicated by the charge made at the trial that "Ils (les jurés) coupaient la parole aux accusés et à leurs défenseurs qui n'avaient encore pu rien dire pour leur défense, sous prétexte qu'ils étaient assez instruits, quoique le simulacre des débats n'eût duré souvent qu'une heure et demie, malgré qu'il y eût soixante accusés et quelquefois plus." (1)

The expeditious manner of conducting the hearings, in addition to the disorder and carelessness, often resulted in the wrong person's being convicted and dispatched to the guillotine. Labussière says, "On condamne journellement un détenu qu'une ressemblance de nom fait prendre pour un autre: Perès pour Peyrot, Mayet pour Maille, et, aujourd'hui même, Vermandois militaire, pour Vermantois, chanoine." (2) Moreover, a certain Claude Dez had been condemned "comme étant un homme, et c'était une femme." (3)

The case of Perès and Peyrot involves more than a confusion in names. We find among the condemned of the 18 messidor an II (6 July 1794) a "Jean-François Peyrot, ex-conseiller au parlement de Toulouse." (4) A Jean-François Perès, also "ex-conseiller", though his name does not appear on the list, was executed

the same day. Wallon relates how the tragic error is supposed to have taken place: "Perès n'avait eu aucune part à la protestations de ses collègues; un décret de l'Assemblée constituante l'avait reconnu, et quand les autres furent renvoyés devant le tribunal révolutionnaire, il y fut appelé comme témoin. Il y avait une telle confusion dans ces fournées que Perès, soit qu'il ait voulu accompagner jusqu'au dernier moment ses anciens collègues, soit qu'il ait été entraîné avec eux, se trouva au milieu d'eux à la Conciergerie. Là on le prit pour un condamné, et quoiqu'il put dire, sans plus de cérémonie, on lui fit la dernière toilette. "Il avait déjà les cheveux coupés, dit Tripiet, commis des huissiers, un des témoins au procès de Fouquier-Tinville, lorsque apercevant le commis greffier, il l'adjura d'attester qu'il n'était pas sur la liste des condamnés; mais l'autre, faisant semblant de tourner le feuillet: "Vous y êtes:" et malgré ses protestations il fut exécuté."⁽¹⁾"

The substitution of Mme Mayet (or Maillet) for Mme de Maille occurred on the 7 thermidor.⁽²⁾ That the mistake was recognized and deliberately left unrectified is shown by the testimony of Mme de Maille

at Fouquier's trial: "J'ai encore appris qu'on interrogea ici la citoyenne Maillet sur des faits qui pouvaient me regarder, et qu'on lui dit après son jugement: "Ce n'est pas vous qu'on voulait juger, mais c'est autant de fait; autant vaut aujourd'hui que demain."⁽¹⁾ Sardou may have had this case in mind when he has Labussière say: "Tu envoies une Lecoulteux à Fouquier, il la prend sans memescoupçonner l'échange, et l'eût-il constaté, que lui importe? Celle-là ou une autre, c'est toujours une tête."⁽²⁾

Concerning the case of Vermantois, Wallon says, "Dans les "Mémoires sur les prisons" il est dit que le 8 thermidor on avait fait chercher au Plessis, pour le mener au tribunal un Vermantois, chanoine de Chartres; point de chanoine; mais il y avait un Vermantois, ancien militaire; on le prit, bien qu'il s'écriât qu'il n'avait jamais rien eu de commun avec les chanoines; il devait s'expliquer au tribunal, avec qui on ne s'expliquait guère."⁽³⁾

Of Claude Dez, condemned on the 2 thermidor is said, "Dans la liste des accusés au jugement, on prend cette dernière pour un homme, probablement à cause du nom douteux de Claude. Dans le procès-verbal d'audience, dans les questions posées au

jury et dans la condamnation elle redevient femme sous le nom de Claudine, mais les qualifications qui lui sont données restent au masculin.⁽¹⁾"

The 9 thermidor the Tribunal is found continuing as usual its office, despite the far reaching effects that may be expected from the battle being waged at the Convention between Robespierre and his enemies. L'écrivain announces that the Tribunal is meeting "en deux sections, l'une présidée par Dumas, l'autre par Scellier...D'ailleurs, les charrettes partiront dans une demi-heure."⁽²⁾

The fournee, as has been noted above,⁽³⁾ is estimated at forty-five, or forty-six. Of this number, the only one mentioned specifically (aside from Fabienne whose case, as far as has been ascertained, is fictitious) is Mme de Maillé, the prisoner who had been saved from the guillotine the 7 thermidor by a confusion in names.⁽⁴⁾ It is stated in the play that "elle a été prise d'une attaque au tribunal, en se trouvant à la place où l'on a condamné son fils avant-hier. Il a fallu l'emporter."⁽⁵⁾ Her name appears among the list "Noms des condamnés" given by Sardou at the end of the play, but in reality she miraculously escaped death a second time. Wallon tells thus of her case:

"Elle-même...amenée au tribunal le 9 thermidor, perdit connaissance à la vue des gradins où son fils avait comparu trois jours auparavant, et remise au lendemain, gagna ainsi le 10 thermidor--le jour de la mort de Robespierre."⁽¹⁾

As the last act of "Thermidor" progresses the events at the Convention begin to make themselves felt at the Tribunal; the arrest of President Dumas, in accordance with the decree of the Convention,⁽²⁾ is announced, "Le Président Dumas qui vient d'être arrêté en plein tribunal, sur son siège!...Suivi de deux gendarmes, un agent du Comité vient à lui et lui dit, "Citoyen président, au nom de la Convention, suis-moi." Dumas, tout pâle, se lève, ramasse ses papiers en grommelant je ne sais quoi et sort entre les deux gendarmes."⁽³⁾ Nevertheless, says Tavernier, "la séance a continué; j'ai quitté la salle au moment où Maire reprenait la présidence."⁽⁴⁾ The account of this incident is historically accurate.⁽⁵⁾

Sardou's list of "Noms des condamnés" contains forty-nine names which correspond exactly to the list of accused in the "Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire,"⁽⁶⁾ (with the addition of the princesse de Monaco). There were, however, only forty-six of these executed as there had been two acquittals, those of Thérèse Coriolis,⁽⁷⁾ and Laurent Aviot Turot, and the execution of Mme de⁽⁸⁾

Maille had been deferred. Sardou has neglected to omit these three names from his list.

Exact historical verification is available for the command with which Fouquier Tinville sends this last batch of condemned to the guillotine, "Va ton train, il faut que la justice ait son cours."⁽¹⁾

The words so often attributed to him, "Je ne juge pas, je condamne," have not been found in the material consulted for this study, but recorded statements of Fouquier to that effect are not lacking.

Robespierre in "Thermidor"

Robespierre in "Thermidor".

The statements concerning Robespierre in the play include a description of his personal appearance, hints as to his character, mention of some of the important episodes in the latter part of his career, and culminate in the recital of his defeat and arrest at the Convention 9 thermidor 1794.

The description of his personal appearance comprises the following details: that he still powders his hair, that he is a "vilain, homme, avec ses petits yeux faux, son teint livide, le tic de son cou, sa voix qui grince et sa tête plate...son regard inquiète sous des lunettes bleues." (1) This portrait corresponds with one which Aulard has reprinted with the following comment: "Toutes ces impressions ont été résumées dans un pamphlet thermidorien d'une façon qui a semblé aux contemporains si heureuse et si vraie que les innombrables factums qui parurent presque en même temps le plagiaient mot pour mot: "Sa taille était de cinq pieds deux ou trois pouces; il crispait souvent ses mains par une espèce de contraction de nerfs; le même mouvement se faisait sentir dans ses épaules et dans son cou; ses habits étaient d'une propreté élégante, et sa chevelure toujours soignée; son teint était livide, bilieux

ses yeux mornes et éteints; un clignement fréquent semblait la suite de l'agitation convulsive dont je viens de parler; il portait toujours des conserves. Il savait adoucir avec art sa voix naturellement aigre et criarde et donner de la grâce à son accent artésien; mais il n'avait jamais regardé en face un honnête (1) homme."

Sardou, for the likening of Robespierre to a "chat-tigre" (2), had numerous precedents among the contemporaries of the Incorruptible. Barras, for example, relating an interview he had had with Robespierre, says, "I had seen all I wanted, for I had a view of what has since most accurately been described as the tiger cat." (3) And again, in a paragraph which quite closely approaches the exclamation in "Thermidor", "Et ce chat-tigre a terrassé Danton!" - "The Gironde surnamed him (Danton) the lion. Robespierre was the tiger, nay more the tiger cat. Was the lion fated to die strangled by the tiger?" (4)

Robespierre, according to the play, belittles the achievements of the armies and generals at the frontier. Sardou has him say concerning the recent victory of Anvers: "On fait trop mousser nos victoires." (5) These exact words have not been verified, but such an opinion was held by Robespierre and expressed by him in his

speech of the 8 thermidor: "La victoire ne fait qu'armer l'ambition, endormir le patriotisme, éveiller l'orgueil et creuser de ses mains brillantes le tombeau de la République.⁽¹⁾" Labussière thus interprets this attitude: "La gloire militaire l'offusque. Elle fait palir la sienne et sa rhétorique se perd dans le bruit du canon."⁽²⁾ Wallon gives a similar explanation: "Presque seul du Comité de Salut Public, il n'a point été aux armées. Carnot a gagné la bataille de Wattignies, Saint-Just va gagner la bataille de Fleurus, et lui, il n'a jamais combattu que de la parole, commandé qu'à des députés, triomphé qu'à la tribune."⁽³⁾ This interpretation of Robespierre's disparaging of military successes is therefore not confined to Sardou.

No record has been found in this study of Labussière's statement that Robespierre wrote to Danton, "Je t'aime jusqu'à la mort, quelques jours avant de l'y envoyer."⁽⁴⁾ Labussière continues, "Il affectait de plaindre Camille à l'heure même où il rédigeait avec Saint-Just son acte d'accusation."⁽⁵⁾ The charge against Robespierre contained in these lines, not only of culpability in the condemnation of Camille and Danton, but also of hypocrisy in the affair, is one which has often been made, and one which Robespierre's apologists have most difficulty in refuting. Aulard, discussing Robespierre's deceitful

conduct in the matter says: "Les larmes de ce faux Brutus nous duperaient encore, nous croirions aux angoisses de son coeur quand il vit Danton destiné à l'échafaud, si nous n'avions pas la preuve écrite que lui-même fournit à la calmonie les armes dont elle frappa les accusés de germinal. On a retrouvé et publié en 1841 les notes secrètes qu'il fournit à Saint-Just comme une matière pour composer son terrible rapport⁽¹⁾." The history of these notes has been traced by Stephens⁽²⁾ who reprints them, with the suggestion that they be compared with the text of Saint-Just's report for a full realization of their significance. Labussière's knowledge of Robespierre's underhand action may be anachronistic, but the fact itself is historically accurate.

Reference is made in the play to the famous festival of the Supreme Being, celebrated 8 June 1794, by Ribout who says: "Mon oncle Lecointre m'a prevenu ce matin que j'étais avec lui sur la liste du tyran pour nous être moqués de ses airs d'empereur et de pape à la fête de l'Être Suprême."⁽³⁾ The "Moniteur's" official rendition is more of the nature of a program of the celebration, rather than an account of what really took place. The well known description given by an eye-witness, Vilate, is more informative for side-lights, though admittedly

prejudiced against Robespierre: "Avec quelle joie orgueilleuse, marchant à la tête de la Convention Nationale, entouré d'un peuple immense...il se pavanait pour la première fois revêtu de l'écharpe tricolore de représentant du peuple, et la tête ombragée de panaches flottans. Tout le monde remarqua son ivresse, mais tandis que la foule enthousiasmée faisait retentir les cris de "Vive Robespierre", ses collègues effrayés de ses prétentions audacieuses incommodaient ses oreilles, comme il s'en est plaint depuis, de traits satiriques, de sarcasmes piquans--"Voyez-vous comme on l'applaudit." "Ne veut-il pas faire le Dieu?" "N'est-ce pas le grand prêtre de l'Être Suprême." ⁽¹⁾ Lecointre was indeed one of the most vociferous; Lenotre says, "He recognized the voices...above all Lecointre, who twenty times at least called him a tyrant and threatened to kill him" ⁽²⁾.

Robespierre might very possibly, as is affirmed in "Thermidor", have resolved on the death of his enemies who thus ridiculed him, for in his speech of the 8 thermidor he recalls, "...certain fait scandaleux arrivé au sein même de la fête de l'Être Suprême;...que le président de la Convention nationale parlant au peuple fut insulté par des injures grossières et les grossiers sarcasmes de quelques autres et les courses de ceux

qui cherchant des crimes à celui qu'ils voulaient perdre dans les signes de l'allégresse publique, allaient répandre le poison de la terreur et les soupçons en disant, "Voyez-vous comme ~~à~~ on l'applaudit.⁽¹⁾"

As for the lists on which Ribout says he and Lecointre are marked for death, the belief in the existence of such lists was so general that Robespierre felt called upon to deny it: "Est-il vrai que l'on ait colporté des listes odieuses ou l'on désignait pour victimes un certain nombre de membres de la Convention et qu'on prétendait être l'ouvrage du Comité de Salut Public et ensuite le mien?⁽²⁾"

Proof that Robespierre employed spies, the "agents" and the "mouchards" to whom Ribout and Labussiere refer,⁽³⁾ is furnished by the reports that were found among his papers after the 9 thermidor. Buchez and Roux,⁽⁴⁾ and Lenotre⁽⁵⁾ have published several, of a terrifying minuteness, relative to his most prominent enemies, Tallien, Legendre, Bourdon, etc. Madelin affirms that "Paris was packed with Robespierre's unofficial emissaries."⁽⁶⁾

A tentative of Robespierre's toward the dictatorship is described in "Thermidor": "Il y a un mois, son âme damnée, l'apocalyptique Saint-Just, est venu proposer aux deux comités républicains la création d'une magistrature suprême, qui serait naturellement déferée

à Robespierre, lequel daignait l'accepter par dévouement. Les comités ont poussé de beaux cris. Battu par le vote et furieux de s'être si mal à propos démasqué, il s'est bien promis d'en finir avec ces pervers comme il les appelle, qui ne veulent pas avoir fait quatre-vingt-neuf au profit d'un Maximilien quelconque." ⁽¹⁾

This episode is corroborated in several reliable accounts, most of which seem to be based, as is the following typical one of Lenotre's, on the memoirs of Barère:

"In the memoirs of Barère we read of another day, when the two Committees were holding a combined meeting. Saint-Just ...drew a sinister picture of the existing state of things, which he considered to have reached a climax. The only means of salvation, he said, was the concentration of authority and a spirit of unity in governmental measures. He was asked to state definitely what aim he had in making these complaints. Then, with the arrogant apathy that was characteristic of him, he proposed to name a dictator, a man who had the advantage of being trusted by the people, a citizen who was virtuous and "incorruptible". "That man, he concluded, is Robespierre. He alone can save the State. I demand that he shall be invested with the supreme power and that the two Committees shall lay the proposition before the Convention

to-morrow." The suggestion was greeted with protests and sneers."...The "dictator's" supporters, to their shame and chagrin, were routed, and the list that Robespierre had been carrying about in his pocket for nearly a month, the list of doomed heads, was probably longer by several names at the end of that day.⁽¹⁾"

Martial comments: "C'est donc pour cela que, depuis semaines, on ne le voit plus au Comité?"⁽²⁾ In fact, "for four decades Robespierre had not appeared in the Committee of Public Safety or the Convention."⁽³⁾ Labussière explains why his presence is not necessary: "Ah, il n'a pas besoin d'y paraître. Par ses agents, de loin, il mène tout. Le bureau de police générale que préside Herman, sa créature, met dans sa main le système policier et judiciaire tout entier: jury, accusateur public, tout ce qui tue! Chaque matin les présidents du tribunal, Dumas et Coffinal, vont chez lui prendre ses ordres. Et, les listes de proscription qu'il ne signe pas, c'est lui qui les dicte."⁽⁴⁾ This explanation of Robespierre's absence, though the opposite of that which he himself offered,⁽⁵⁾ is the one generally accepted. Madelin says, "Everything was in his hands. When the Convention handed Danton over to him it made itself his slave. Fleuriot the mayor, and Payan held the Hôtel de Ville...Thru Dumas, Fouquier, and the juryment,⁽⁶⁾ he ruled the Tribunal."

The Events of the 9 Thermidor.

The historic events of the 9 Thermidor have a direct bearing on the action of the play, a contre-coup on the destinies of the main characters. This close relation between history and the dramatic situation arises from the conception of Robespierre in the play as the incarnation of the Terror.

Labussière says, "...Le massacre permanent, systématique, à froid, la Terreur, c'est lui! Qu'il tombe,

(1)

l'échafaud s'écroule!" From the moment, therefore,

that Fabienne is threatened with the guillotine, the

victory or defeat of Robespierre becomes of vital

importance in the drama. This situation is not

fully defined until the third act, but Sardou takes

care to foreshadow it early in the play. The note

of expectancy is first sounded Act I, iv, and

intimations as to the significance of the proceedings

at the Convention are more frequent and more explicit

(2)

as the action progresses and the situation of the

main characters becomes more involved. After Fabienne's

(3)

arrest the interest of the play centers about the

question as to which will prevail, the forces of death

at the Revolutionary Tribunal, or the forces which are striving for the defeat of Robespierre and his instrument, the guillotine.

In Act III, we find a group of characters discussing the session at the Convention, and speculating on its possible outcome.

Pierre announces that the places at the Convention "étaient prises d'assaut à cinq heures du matin."⁽¹⁾

Lenotre, quoting the memoirs of Barère, says that

"the galleries had been thronged since five o'clock in the morning; the anterooms, the lobbies, the bar, and even the enclosure of the deputies were crammed with a turbulent crowd, which included a good number of Hanriot's aides-de-camp and of prominent Jacobins."⁽²⁾

Labussière, later in the play, gives a vivid, but exact description of this "cabale robespierriste."⁽³⁾

Bricard affirms that the struggle will be desperate, recalling that Robespierre "a eu hier soir un succès aux Jacobins!"⁽⁴⁾ The reference here is to the session of the evening of 8 thermidor, at which Robespierre's speech, which that day had met with a dubious reception at the Convention, "fut accueilli avec des acclamations effrénées." "On jura de défendre

Robespierre et de vaincre ou de périr avec lui." ⁽¹⁾

Bricard continues his account of the session: "Collot d'Herbois et Billaud-Vareennes ont voulu répliquer.

Ils ont failli être écharpés." ⁽²⁾ This incident is a well known one. Aulard prints of it a contemporary account, pertinent extracts of which are, "Collot se présente à la tribune et est couvert de huées. Billaud se lève en frémissant; il est interrompu par des cris et le tumulte l'empêche de parler plus longtemps.. Assailli d'improbations Collot est contraint d'abandonner la tribune." ⁽³⁾

Chateuil relates that later that evening at the Comité de Salut Public, he had chanced to witness the sequel to the scene at the Jacobins: "Je vois assis à la grande table du milieu Robert Lindet, Prieur, et Carnot travaillant; Saint-Just écrivant en face d'eux de l'autre côté de la table. Tout à coup l'autre porte qui donne sur l'escalier s'ouvre violemment. Billaud et Collot entrent, exaspérés. "Eh bien, dit Saint-Just, d'un ton narquois, quelle nouvelle des Jacobins"...Collot bondit et lui serrant le poignet, "Scélérat, c'est notre acte d'accusation que tu écris là." Saint-Just se dégage froidement

et réplique, "Peut-être bien."⁽¹⁾ This episode, as related by Collot himself the following day at the Convention, appears in the "Moniteur!" "J'arrive donc au Comité, mes regards se portent sur Saint-Just. J'exprimai énergiquement ce qui venait de passer. Il vit combien j'étais ému, il était de marbre. Il annonçait froidement au comité ce rapport dans lequel il ne cachait pas que plusieurs membres étaient accusés."⁽²⁾

The conversation of the characters in the play is ended by the arrival of an employee of the Convention who comes to announce, "Saint-Just est déjà à la tribune."⁽³⁾ This minor detail which motivates their exit is historically exact: "Saint-Just mounted the tribune, ...The ushers hurried off at once to the committee rooms to give notice to the laggards, and loiterers in the passages streamed back into the hall."⁽⁴⁾

The proceedings at the Convention from this point on are reported in the two rapid moving, dramatic speeches of ⁽⁵⁾Lupin which correspond with the account ⁽⁶⁾of the "Moniteur" as far as the actual events are concerned. Sardou has added a brief, spirited description of Robespierre and of the tumult at the Convention. He also lends to Robespierre the words,

"Président d'assassins, je demande la parole⁽¹⁾." The actual phrase is not found in the "Moniteur" which says, "Robespierre apostrophe le président et les membres de l'Assemblée dans les termes les plus injurieux⁽²⁾." Neither does the "Moniteur" report the famous words, "C'est le sang de Danton qui l'étouffe," which Sardou, in common with the majority of historians, attributes to a member of the Convention. Lenotre says in this regard: "It is very likely that the words were never uttered, at all events in this exact form; some compiler may have taken scraps of dialogue of a less characteristic kind exchanged between Robespierre and his colleagues during the uproar and turned them into the formulas that have become legendary."⁽³⁾

Following their arrest at the Convention, Robespierre and his companions, according to the play, are led through the Cour des Machines to the "Hôtel de Brionne, au Comité de Sureté Générale."⁽⁴⁾ This can be verified: "The Committee of General Security did not hold its sittings in the Palace of the Tuilleries itself, but in a large house (Hôtel de Brionne) that stood quite close to it and communicated with it by means of a covered way. It was to this house that Robespierre and his four companions had been taken when the Convention broke up."⁽⁵⁾

After the afternoon session, the Convention, as is stated in the play, ⁽¹⁾ adjourned until seven o'clock. ⁽²⁾ Meanwhile Paris was in a turmoil, and the friends of Robespierre were by no means idle. In "Thermidor" reports are made of some of the steps toward his defense or liberation taken by the Commune and Henriot. One of the characters scoffs at the possibilities of latter's accomplishing anything, "Un beau fichu général pour faire sauter autre chose que les bouchons de bouteilles. Il était déjà saoul à onze heures du ⁽³⁾ matin." The "Histoire Parlementaire" says "Il était ⁽⁴⁾ ivre dès le matin", and Wallon adds, "A onze heures du matin, et par conséquent avant la séance de la Convention, on le voit déjà courant les rues, le ⁽⁵⁾ pistolet au poing."

As for his exploits during the afternoon and evening the narratives agree that at the head of his troops he dashed very conspicuously through Paris, but all are not in accord as to the route he followed, what he did, or where he was at certain times. It is Wallon's account, itself based on Courtois's "Rapport fait sur les événements du 9 thermidor" ⁽⁶⁾ that corroborates the greatest number of Sardou's statements, but there are nevertheless some discrepancies. Both tell of

his "courant le faubourg Antoine à cheval, et appelant les citoyens aux armés."⁽¹⁾ For Sardou's statement, "Toujours qu'il a delivré Payan qu'on menait à la Force,"⁽²⁾ no verification has been found. It is reported further in the play that Henriot has been seen "Rue Honoré. Courtois, à la fenêtre d'un traiteur, criait à la foule: "Arrêtez-le, arrêtez-le," mais on ne l'a pas arrêté."⁽³⁾ Courtois's report substantiates this except as regards the matter of the arrest on which it is directly opposed.⁽⁴⁾

The account of the "Moniteur"⁽⁵⁾ is scarcely of any help for an accurate knowledge of what was occurring for the rumors brought to the tribune from outside reflect, by their conflicting nature, the confusion that reigned. Wallon thus summarizes a group of them: "Merlin avait dit qu'Henriot était arrêté; d'autres annoncent que Payan l'est aussi; mais bientôt on apprend qu'il ne l'est pas; et tandis qu'on décrète qu'il le sera, ainsi que le maire Fleuriot, on apprend qu'Henriot lui-même ne l'est plus."⁽⁶⁾

The decrees of the Commune that are reported do not present as much difficulty in verifying. They are that "Le conseil de la commune a donné l'ordre de fermer les barrières, et de sonner le tocsin... Il fait battre le rappel pour appeler les sectionnaires à la Grève, d'où

(1)

l'on marchera sur la Convention." From the Convention comes the news that Robespierre is declared "hors la (2) loi."

It is to be noted that Sardou has disregarded the element of time in the last two act of "Thermidor." According to the play itself, "L'audience du tribunal n'est qu'à trois heures." (3) Figuring the amount of time allotted for the hearing of each accused, "trois minutes (4) au plus", and "Vingt-deux accusés par section, ça aura fait juste une heure" (5),--the carts would leave about four o'clock, and as Labussière, calculating thus with Fabienne's fate in mind, says, "Avant cinq heures c'est fait d'elle." (6) The session of the Conseil de la commune whose decrees are announced in the play did not begin until five thirty o'clock, (7) and the evening session of the Convention at which Robespierre was declared "hors la loi", was not called until seven o'clock. (8) Sardou has, therefore, for the sake of dramatic effect, represented events as taking place earlier and within much closer intervals of time than they really did.

Conclusion.

Conclusion.

In general, it can be said that Sardou has been painstakingly accurate in the presentation of the historical personages and events he embodies in his play. Corroboration for practically all of his statements is to be found in either original sources or secondary accounts. Not only is this true of the general, more important phases, the facts that are so well known as to be generally accepted and to have become traditional, but it applies also to the smaller details, references to obscure historical facts and characters, questions of costume, phraseology, and stage settings. By his treatment of these minor matters Sardou throws on the period sidelights which justify René Doumic's statement that "Thermidor" is a "drame historique où le souci de l'exactitude matérielle, ou le soin du menu détail est poussé très loin."⁽¹⁾

As for the sources, it would hardly be possible to establish those from which Sardou may have drawn his historical material. The "Membirs of Fleury" for the character of Labussière, and the "Vieux Cordelier" for the famous speech in Act I, are the only ones which can be set down as direct sources.

The explanation of the numerous instances of a

parallel between the accounts of Sardou and Lenotre may be that both, recognized authorities, investigating the same subjects reached independently the same conclusions, or more probably, that they studied together original sites and sources. There is evidence that they did visit together the maison Duplay in the rue Saint-Honoré where Robespierre lived. ⁽¹⁾ Moreover, Lenotre dedicates thus his "Paris Révolutionnaire", "A M. Victorien Sardou, qui après m'avoir conseillé ce livre, m'a guidé dans mes recherches. Hommage reconnaissant." ⁽²⁾ In the avant-propos he mentions again his gratitude to Sardou who, he says, "a bien voulu mettre à ma disposition ses collections précieuses et son inépuisable science des hommes et des choses du temps passé." ⁽³⁾

There is besides the question of accuracy, that of the completeness with which Sardou has built up the historical background. Almost every word in the play suggests some picture, some episode, some phase of the Revolution which, if elaborated ^{on} would form a fairly complete history of that period. "Thermidor" in this regard conforms to the dramatic ideal which Sardou held-- "L'oeuvre theatrale est surtout oeuvre de condensation,

L'esprit de l'auteur doit faire toutes les réflexions, son coeur doit éprouver tous les sentiments que le sujet comporte, mais à la condition qu'il n'en donne au spectateur que la substance. Telle phrase doit résumer vingt pages, tel mot doit résumer vingt phrases. C'est au public qui se fait bien plus notre collaborateur qu'on ne le pense, à retrouver dans le peu qu'on lui dit tout ce qu'on ne lui dit pas." ⁽¹⁾

Notes

Notes.

- Page 1 1. Sarcey; volume VI, p.145.
- 2 1. Hart; p.102.
- 12 1. Fortnightly Review; vol.57, p.771.
- 13 1. Biographie Universelle; article on Labussière; vol.69, p.249.
2. Thermidor; I,iv, p.5.
3. " " " " " "
4. Biographie Universelle; vol.69,p.249.
5. Thermidor; I,iv.
6. Lecomte; Notice Préliminaire, Théâtre Mareux.
7. Biographie Universelle; 69: 249.
8. Thermidor; II,vi,p.15.
14. 1. Thermidor; II,vi, p.15.
2. Biographie Universelle; 69: 250
3. Fleury; This edition of the "Memoirs is and English one, the original not being available.
15. 1. Thermidor; II,vi,p.16.
2. Fleury; p.373
3. Thermidor; II, vi, p.16.
16. 1. Fleury; p.380.
2. Thermidor; II,vi, pp.16-17.
3. " " " " "
4. Fleury; pp.376-378.

17. 1. Thermidor; II, vi, p.17.
 2. " " " " " p.16.
 3. Fleury; p.373.
 4. Fleury; p. 380.
18. 1. Fleury; p.385.
 2. Thermidor; II,vi.
 3. Thermidor; III, i.
 4. Fleury; 379.
19. 1. Lumière; p.250.
 2. Thermidor; IV, ix.
 3. Fleury; p.375.
 4. Thermidor; IV, ix, p.30
 5. Fleury; p. 375.
 6. See page 12.
20. 1. Thermidor; II,vi, p.17.
 2. Lumiere; p.251.
21. 1. See page 10-11.
 2. Thermidor; IV, vi.
 3. Thermidor; I, iv, p.5.
 4. Dune-Libre, republican name of Dunkirk.
22. 1. Moniteur; 21: 319.
 2. Stephens, "Orateurs", II, 80.
 3. Stephens, "Orateurs"; II, 90.
 4. Thermidor; I,iv,p.6.

23. 1. Tourneux; III, 314.
 2. Thermidor; IV,vi.
 3. Histoire Générale et Impartiale des Erreurs...vol II.
 4. Lenotre; Vieilles Maisons, Vieux Papiers, II, 347, 349, 351.
 5. Wallon; V, 40.
 6. Caron; Paris pendant la Terreur. iv.
 7. " " " " " " " " " xxxiv.
24. 1. " " " " " " " " " "
 2. " " " " " " " " " " xx.
 3. " " " " " " " " " " xxi.
25. 1. Thermidor; IV, v, p.37.
 2. Lenotre; La Guillotine. p.161.
 3. " " " " " "
 4. Thermidor; IV,v,p.37.
26. 1. Lenotre; La Guillotine. p.162.
 2. " " " " " "
 3. " " " " " 165.
 4. " " " " " 185.
 5. Thermidor: III, vi. Sardou may have had in mind Francois Henriot.
 6. Lenotre; Vieilles Maisons, I, 67.
27. 1. Biographie Universelle; 67: 110.
 2. Lenotre; Vieilles Maisons; I, 69
 3. Lenotre; Paris Révolutionnaire; p.117.
 4. Lenotre; Vieilles Maisons; I, 71.

- 27 5. Vieilles Maisons; I, 71.
6. Thermidor; VI, 17; see Vieilles Maisons I, 71
- 28 1. Thermidor; II, vi, 17.
2. " " " "
3. Lenotre; Paris Révolutionnaire; 116.
4. Wallon; V, 143.
5. Thermidor; II, vi 17.
29. 1. Lenotre, Vieilles Maisons; I, 71.
2. Thermidor; III, vii, 28.
3. Lenotre; Paris Révolutionnaire. 117.
4. Lenotre; Vieilles Maisons, I, 72.
5. Thermidor; III, vii.
- 30 1. Thermidor II, i.
2. Stephens, History of French Revolution II, 360.
3. Wallon; VI, 476.
4. Lenotre; La Guillotine, 302.
- 31 1. TenBrink; 138. See Marteau's costume III, vi.
2. TenBrink; 135.
3. " " "
4. Thermidor; II, i, 13.
5. Ten Brink. 136.
- 32 1. Thermidor; II, i, 13.
2. Thermidor " " " " " "
3. TenBrink; 138.

- 32 4. TenBrink; 138.
5. Lenotre, Paris Révolutionnaire, 299.
6. Thermidor; II, i, 13.
7. TenBrink; 139.
33. 1. Thermidor; IV, iii, 35.
2. " " " 36.
3. " " " "
- 34 1. Lenotre, La Guillotine, 194. See also
Carlyle, II, 348.
2. "La Fille de Mme Angot" opérette en trois
actes; paroles de Clairville, Sirandin et
Koning. Musique de Ch. Lecocq (1872)
La scène se passe sous le Directoire
La plupart des airs sont devenus populaires.
3. Lenotre; La Guillotine, 194.
- 35 1. See Act IV, v, 37.
2. Thermidor; IV, iii
3. Wallon; V, 162.
4. Wallon V, 163.
5. Thermidor: IV, v, 37.
6. Wallon; V, 57.
7. Wallon; V, 114.
- 36 1. Thermidor; IV, v, 38.
2. Dunoyer; 172.
3. Lenotre; Tribunal Révolutionnaire, 252.
4. " 250.
5. Thermidor; IV, v, 37.

- 37 1. Buchez and Roux; 34: 241.
 2. Lenotre; Tribunal Révolutionnaire, 288.
 3. Dunoyer; 170.
 4. Thermidor; Iv, vi, 39.
 5. Wallon, Michelet, Lenotre, Buchez et Roux.
- 38 1. Lenotre, Tribunal Révolutionnaire, 288.
 2. Thermidor: I, iv, 6.
 3. Thermidor; III, iii, 26.
 4. Aulard, Études, I, 191.
- 39 1. Thermidor; I, iv, 6.
 2. La Grande Encyclopédie; 9: 476.
 3. Thermidor; III, iii, 26.
 4. Stephens, Orators, II, 80.
42. 1. Buchez and Roux; 33: 392.
 2. Lenotre, Tribunal Révolutionnaire, 247.
 3. Lenotre; Robespierre's Rise and Fall, 231.
- 43 1. Lumiere; 182.
 2. Thermidor; I, ii.
 3. Moniteur; 21. "Spectacles, 8 thermidor.
 4. Lecomte, Théâtre de la Cité, 67.
- 44 1. 2 " "
 2. Thermidor ; II, vi, 15.
 3. Lecomte, Théâtre de la Cité, 162.
 4. " " " "
- 45 1. Lecomte, Théâtre de la Cité, 55.
 2. Tourneux' III, 19461.

- 46 1. Moniteur; 21: 300.
 2. Thermidor; IV, ii.
 3. Moniteur; 21, 9 thermidor.
 4. Thermidor; IV. ii
 5. Madelin; 393.
- 47 1. Thermidor; I, iii.
 2. Aulard; Études, VI, 27.
 3. " " 2 25.
 4. " " 22.
 5. Thermidor; IV, ~~xxx~~ iv, 7.
- 48 1. " " "
 2. Desmoulins; 30--37.
49. 1. Lenotre, La Guillotine, 248.
 2. Thermidor; I, iv, 7.
 3. Lenotre, La Guillotine, 270
- 50 1. Lenotre, La Guillotine, 271
 2. " " 272.
 3. " " "
- 51 1. Thermidor; I, iv, 8.
 2. Lenotre, La Guillotine, 275.
 n3. Thermidor; II, iv, 14.
 4. Marty; 40
- 52 1. Thermidor; I, ii.
 2. " " "
 3. Caron; Paris pendant la Terreur; 250
 4. Thermidor; IV, v, 36.
 5. Moniteur; 17: 625.

- 53 1. Caron; 145.
 2. Thermidor; I, iv, 7
 3. Caron; 146.
 4. Thermidor; I, i.
 5. " " " "
- 54 1. Lenotre, La Guillotine, 287.
 2. Thermidor IV, ii
 3. Lemaître; IX, 211.
- 56 1. Cain; xxx.
- 57 1. Du Camp; I, 292.
 2. Larousse; article on île Louvier.
 3. Du Camp; I, 292.
 5. Thermidor; I, i.
- 58 1. Larousse; île Louvier.
 2. Du Camp; I, 92
 3. " " " 293.
 4. Lenotre; Paris révolutionnaire, 96.
- 59 1. Fortnightly Review; 57: 771
- 62 1. Lenotre; Paris Révolutionnaire, 337
- 63 1. Hamerton; 31.
 2. Lenotre, Paris Révolutionnaire, 338.
 3. Thermidor; IV, i.
- 64 1. Lenotre; Paris Révolutionnaire, 340
 2. Thermidor; IV, v.
 3. " " "
 4. Lenotre, Paris Révolutionnaire. 339
 5. Thermidor; IV, v.
 6. Lenotre; Paris Révolutionnaire, 340.
- 65 1. Thermidor; I, iv, 8.
 2. " " " "
- 66 1. Buchez and Roux, 33: 180
 2. " " " 33: 187.
 3. See page 23.
 4. Buchez and Roux, 33: 197.
 5. Thermidor; I, iv, 7.

- 67 1. Caron; Paris pendant la Terreur 250
 2. " " 287
 3. Thermidor; I, iv, 7.
- 68 1. Caron; Paris. 52,
 2. Lenotre, Paris Revolutionnaire, 217.
- 69 1. Wallon, V, 111.
 2. " V, 135.
 3. " II, 154.
 4. " II, 512.
 " II, 512
- 70 2. Thermidor, I, vi, 10.
 3. Wallon; V, 114
- 71 1. Thermidor; III; 3, 26.
 2. Lenotre, Robespierre's Rise and Fall; 180
 3. " " 302
- 72 1. Buchez and Roux; 34: 232--485.
 2. Wallon; VI, 86.
 3. Wallon; VI, 86.
 4. Thermidor; III, 3, 26.
 5. " III, vii, 28.
- 73 1. Thermidor; III, vi, 27.
 2. Thermidor; IV, i, 34.
 3. Wallon, VI, 86.
 4. Thermidor; IV, II, 35.
- 74 1. Wallon; VI, 96.
 2. Thermidor III, ix, 29.
 3. " " " "
 4. Wallon; IV, 397.
- 75 1. Wallon; IV, 399.
 2. " V, 133.
- 76 1. Wallon, Vi, 106,
 2. Thermidor, III, ix, 29.
 3. Wallon; V, 175.
- 77 1. Wallon; V, 67.
 2. Thermidor; IV, i, 34.
 33 See page 72.
 4. See page 76.
 5. Thermidor; IV, ii, 35.

- 78 1. Wallon VI, 106.
 3. Thermidor; IV, iv, 36.
 4. " " "
 5. Wallon; V, 177.
 6. Wallon; V, 168,--171.
 7. Wallon; V, 170
 8. Wallon V, 177.
- 79 1. Wallon, V, 178.
- 80 1. Thermidor; I, iv, 7.
- 81 1. Aulard, "Orateurs", II, 426.
 2. Thermidor; I, iv, 7.
 3. Barras, I, 171, 179.
 5. Thermidor; I, iv, 6.
- 82 1. Wallon V, 210.
 2. Thermidor; I, iv, 7.
 3. Wallon; V, 186.
 4. Thermidor; I, iv, 7
 5. " " "
- 83 1. Aulard, Études I, 274. Jacobins.
 2. Stephens, Orators, II, 559.
 3. Thermidor; III, i, 24.
- 84 1. Buchez and Roux, 33: 177.
 2. Lenotre, Robespierre's Rise and Fall, 136.
- 85 1. Aulard, Société des Jacobins, VI, 266.
 2. Stephens, Orators, II, 427.
 3. Thermidor; III, i, 24.
 4. Buchez and Roux, 35;
 5. Lenotre, Paris Révolutionnaire; 30
 6. Madelin; 403.
- 86 1. Thermidor; III, i 24.
- 87 1. Lenotre; Robespierre's Rise and Fall, 178.
 2. Thermidor; III, i 24.
 3. Stephens, Orators, II, 423.
 4. Thermidor; III, i,
 5. Stephens, II, 423.
 6. Madelin; 402.
- 88 1. Thermidor; III, iii, 27.
 3. " " " II, xii.

- 89 1. Thermidor; III, i.
 2. Lenotre; Robespierre's Rise and Fall, 224.
 3. Thermidor; III, iii, 26.
 4. " III, i.
- 90 1. Aulard; Société des Jacobins, VI, 287.
 2. Thermidor; III, i.
 3. Aulard; Société des Jacobins, VI, 283.
- 91 1. Thermidor; III, i.
 2. Moniteur; 21: 337
 3. Thermidor; III, i
 4. Renotre; Robespierre's Rise and Fall, 225.
 5. Thermidor; III, iv, viii.
 6. Moniteur; 21: 335.
- 92 1. Thermidor; III, viii.
 2. Moniteur; 21: 335.
 3. Lenotre; Robespierre, 310.
 4. Thermidor; III, x,
 5. Lenotre, Robespierre, 310.
- 93 1. Thermidor; IV, i
 Bouchez and Roux, 34: 56.
 3. Thermidor; IV, i
 4. Bouchez and Roux, 34: 41.
 5. Wallon, V, 251.
 6. Wallon; V, 228
- 94 1. Wallon, V, 233
 2. Thermidor; IV, i
 3. " " " "
 4. Wallon; V, 233.
 6. Wallon; V, 238.
- 95 1. Thermidor; IV, i. Also Buchez and Roux, 34:48.
 2. " "
 3. Thermidor; III, vi, 28.
 4. " " III, ix,
 5. " " IV, ii
 6. " " III, ix.
 7. Buchez and Roux, 34:45.
 8. Wallon; V, 237.
- 96 1. Doumic; 94.
- 97 1. Sardou; La Maison de Robespierre, 1.
 2. Lenotre; Paris Révolutionnaire,
 3. " " " " xi.
- 98 1. Sardou; Discours , 27.

Bibliography.

Bibliography.

- Aulard, Alphonse: "Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française. Félix Alcan. Paris. 1909. Vols. I, VI.
- "Les Orateurs de la Révolution."
Edouard Cornély et Cie. Paris. 1907.
- "La Société des Jacobins--Recueil de documents pour l'histoire du club des Jacobins de Paris." Librairie Jouaust. Paris. 1889-97.
- Barras, Paul Jean Francois; "Memoirs", edited by George Duruy. New York. 1895.
- Belloc, Hilaire: "Robespierre--a Study." Charles Scribner's Sons. New York. 1908.
- Buchez, Philippe-Joseph, et Roux, P-C.: "Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution Française, ou Journal des Assemblées Nationales depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1815." Paulin. Paris. 1838. Vols. 33, 34, 35.
- Cain, Georges: "Nooks and Corners of Old Paris." J. B. Lippincott. Philadelphia. 1905.
- Carlyle, Thomas: "The French Revolution." Belford, Clarke & Co. New York.
- Caron, Pierre: "Paris pendant la Terreur." A. Picard. Paris. 1910.
- "Manuel Pratique pour l'Étude de la Révolution Française." Picard et Fils. Paris. 1912.

- Desmoulins, Camille: "Le Vieux Cordelier, Journal Rédigé par Camille Desmoulins, Député à la Convention, et Doyen des Jacobins." De l'Imprimerie Desenne, rue des Moulins, butte Saint-Roch.
- Doumic, René: "De Scribe à Ibsen." Perrin et C^{ie}. Paris. 1901.
- Du Camp, Maxime: "Paris: ses organes, ses fonctions et sa vie dans la seconde moitié du XIX^{ème} siècle. Paris. 1885.
- Dunoyer, Alphonse: "Antoine Quentin Fouquier^àTinville." Tr. from the French. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York. 1913.
- Fleury, M ; "The French Stage and the French People, as illustrated in the Memoirs of M. Fleury." Edited by Theodore Hook. Henry Colburn. London. 1841.
- Galdemar, Ange: "Thermidor." Fortnightly Review, 57:770. 1892.
- Gueullette, Charles: "Répertoire de la Comédie Française." Librairie des bibliophiles. Paris. 1885-1892. Vol. VIII (1891).
- Hamerton, Philip: "Paris in old and present times." Roberts Brothers. Boston. 1885.
- Hart, Jerome: "Sardou and the Sardou Plays." J.B.Lippincott. Philadelphia. 1913.
- Laugel, A: "Thermidor." Nation 52: 155. February 19, 1891.

- Lecomte, Henry: "Histoire des Théâtres de Paris."
H. Daragon. Paris. 1905. Notice Préliminaire, Histoire du Théâtre de la Cité.
- Lemaître, Jules: "Impressions de Théâtre." Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie. Paris. 1898. Vol. IX.
- Lenotre, G: (pseud. for Louis-Léon-Théodore Gosselin)
"Paris Révolutionnaire." Perrin et Cie. Paris. 1920.
- "Le Tribunal Révolutionnaire." Perrin et Cie. Paris. 1920.
- "Vieilles Maisons, Vieux Papiers." Perrin et Cie. Paris. 1920. Vols. I, II, III.
- "La Guillotine et les Exécuteurs des Arrêts Criminels pendant la Révolution, d'après des documents inédits tirés des Archives de l'Etat." Perrin. Paris. 1920.
- "Le Mysticisme révolutionnaire; Robespierre et la Mère de Dieu." Revue des Deux Mondes. December 15, 1925--April 15, 1926.
- "Robespierre's Rise and Fall." Translation of the above work. George H. Doran.
- Lumière, Henry: "Le Théâtre Français pendant la Révolution." E. Dentu. Paris.
- Madelin, Louis: "The French Revolution." Translated from the French. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York. 1916.

Marty, André: "L'Histoire de Notre-Dame de Paris."
Paris. 1907.

Nicholson, Cecil: "Thermidor." Academy, 39: 145.
February 7, 1891.

Sarcey, Francisque: "Quarante Ans de Théâtre." Paris.
1900-1902.

Sardou, Victorien: "Thermidor", drame historique en
quatre actes. L'Illustration Théâtrale.
Numero 38. 25 aout 1906.

"La Maison de Robespierre." Paul
Ollendorf. Paris. 1895.

"Discours de M. Victorien Sardou, pro-
noncé à l'Académie Française le jour de
sa réception, 23 mai 1878." Didier et
Cie. Paris. 1878.

Stephens, H. Morse: "History of the French Revolution."
Charles Scribner's Sons. New York. 1905.

"The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen
and Orators of the French Revolution.
Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1892.

Ten Brink, Jan: "Robespierre and the Red Terror." Hutchin-
son Co. London. 1899.

Tourneux, Maurice: "Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris
pendant la révolution française."
Imprimerie Nouvelle. Paris. 1890-1913.

Wallon, Henri: "Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire de Paris." Librairie Hachette. Paris. 1881.

Reimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur, seule histoire authentique et inaltérée de la Révolution Française, depuis la Réunion des Etats-Généraux jusqu'au Consulat. Henri Plon. Paris. 1861.

Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne. L.G. Michaud. Paris. 1841.

Nouvelle Biographie Générale: Firmin Didot Frères. Paris. 1859.

Grande Encyclopédie, la. H. Lanurault et Cie. Paris. 1886-1902.

Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^{ème} Siècle. Larousse et Boyer. Paris. 1866-1890.

Histoire Générale et Impartiale des Erreurs, des Fautes et des Crimes Commis pendant la Révolution Française. Paris. 1797.