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## Charlotte Corday in literature

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CHARLOTTE CORDAY IN LITERATURE

by

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## Introduction

### The Life of Charlotte Corday.

The tragic story of Charlotte Corday has furnished the subject for a number of literary works. It is the purpose of this study to examine the most important of these productions, to discover their sources, and to inquire into their historical accuracy. It will first be necessary to state, as far as they are known, the historical facts of the life of this most interesting character.

Marie-Anne-Charlotte de Corday d'Armont was born July 27th, 1768 on a farm called "le Ronceray", part of the domain of Saint-Mathurin-des-Lignerles, near Argentan. (1) Her certificate of baptism reads:

"Ce vingt-huit de juillet mil sept cent soixante-huit, par nous soussigné curé, a été baptisée Marie-Anne-Charlotte, née d'hier du légitime mariage de Messire Jacques-François de Corday, Ecuyer, Seigneur d'Armont et de noble Dame Marie-Jacqueline de Gautier, son épouse, le parrain Messire Jean-Baptiste-Alexis de Gautier, Ecuyer, Seigneur de Mesnival, la marraine, noble Dame Françoise-Marie-Anne Levallant de Corday, le père présent.

Ont signé:

Levallant de Corday, Gautier de Mesnival, Corday d'Armont, J.-L. Pollard, curé de cette paroisse des Lignerles." (2)

Jacques-François de Corday d'Armont was "un gentilhomme fort pauvre, et aussi estimé que pauvre." (3) He came from a very old family. "Des chartes datées de l'an 1077, nous apprennent qu'un Robert de Corday....prit part aux guerres des



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(4)

Normands en Italie." Charlotte Corday's father was, moreover, a great-grandson of Pierre Corneille.

His wife's family "jouissait dans le pays d'une grande considération. Elle prétendait, à tort ou à raison, descendre des Balliol, rois d'Ecosse, devenus les Bailleul de France, et à ce titre elle guérissait les écrouelles." (5)

François de Corday had five children: two sons and three daughters, of whom Charlotte was the second daughter. So extremely poor was he, that he was obliged to part with some of his children, entrusting them to kindly disposed relatives. Thus it came about that Charlotte lived for several years with her uncle, the abbé de Corday, at Vicques. It was he who taught her to read, using as a primer a copy of the works of Corneille, her illustrious ancestor.

In the meantime the father had become entangled in a lawsuit with his wife's brothers, and had moved to Caen in order to pursue it more successfully. He was still living there when, at about twelve years of age, Charlotte returned to her family.

Shortly afterwards, her mother died and the years which followed would undoubtedly have been full of hardships for the poor orphans, had not Mme. de Belsunce, Abbess of the Abbaye-aux-Dames, or Sainte-Trinité, at Caen, and a friend of the deceased mother, obtained for Charlotte and her younger sister the privilege of entering her convent. It was a royal convent, founded in 1066 by Queen Mathilde, the wife of William the Conqueror. "Il ne recevait que des externes, mais il y avait

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cinq pensionnaires exceptionnelles nommées par le roi parmi des jeunes filles nobles et sans fortune. Charlotte Corday et sa sœur obtinrent cette faveur." (6)

In the Abbaye-aux-Dames, Charlotte formed a lasting friendship with Alexandrine de Forbin, the niece of Mme. de Belsunce. The rules of the order were not very strict, and the abbess and her coadjutrix, Mme. de Pontécoulant were allowed to receive their friends at the convent. Charlotte was often admitted to these social gatherings, and in this way, she met the nephew of the coadjutrix, Doulcet de Pontécoulant, who was later elected deputy to the Convention, and whom she was to choose as her counsel before the Revolutionary Tribunal.

The liberty and the leisure that Charlotte Corday enjoyed in the Abbaye-aux-Dames, permitted her to indulge her taste for reading. It was during this period that her political ideas were forming. Her favorite authors were Corneille, Plutarch, l'abbé Raynal, Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot." "Cependant, à côté de ces lectures émancipatrices, il est certain que Charlotte Corday continuait à s'entretenir d'études religieuses, peut-être par simple esprit de critique et pour acquérir un bagage de connaissances généraux sur lesquelles elle pouvait plus solidement baser ses opinions de républicaine. Quoiqu'il en soit, parmi les quelques reliques qui nous ont été conservées de cette femme, le musée Carnavalet possède un exemplaire du Typus Mundi, édition de 1627...., qui porte sur

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le verso du faux-titre, ces mots écrits de la main même de Charlotte Corday:

'Acheté' 4 livres, Corday d'Armont, Sainte-Trinité de  
(7)  
Caen, 20 décembre 1790'."

Another document which shows that she read works of a religious nature, is a letter now belonging to the la Sico-tière collection in the municipal library of Alençon. This letter was written by Charlotte Corday to her cousin, Mme. Du-hauville, and in it she relates the story of the patron saint of the latter's little daughter, as she had recently read it  
(8)  
in the lives of the Saints.

On February 13th, 1790, the National Assembly decreed the  
suppression of the monasteries and convents, and in March 1791  
(9)  
Charlotte, then nearly twenty-three years of age, returned with her sister to the home of their father, who was still engrossed in his lawsuits. She did not remain there long, for two reasons. The first was the extreme poverty of the family, and the second was an incompatibility of temperament, which made it difficult for her and her father to live under the same roof. "Jacques-François de Corday était un homme à utopies, un de ces royalistes frottés d'économie politique qui soutenaient, à la veille de la Révolution, le pouvoir établi, mais sans se dissimuler ses abus. Il essayait même à sa manière de les réformer et, dans ce but, il publia un "Mémoire à l'Assemblée intermédiaire d'Argentan" et un autre sur "l'Egalité des partages." D'ailleurs loyal sujet du roi et n'admettant pas

l'autre forme de gouvernement que la monarchie. Charlotte était ou se croyait républicaine. De là des discussions, des froissements continuels, le père mettant en avant son autorité et la fille le droit de penser librement." (10)

In a gloomy old house known as the "Grand Manoir", situated in the rue Saint-Jean at Caen, lived Mme. de Brethville-Gouville, a cousin of Charlotte's. It was there, without any invitation of any sort, that the girl decided to make her abode. Mme. de Brethville, a miserly old lady, accustomed to living alone, and thinking of the expense that another member of the household would make, received her young cousin, but without the least enthusiasm. She complained to her friend Mme. de Levaillant, who had also been a close friend of Charlotte's mother, Mme. de Loyer de Marmonne, née Levaillant, says in her "Souvenirs":

"A peine arrivées à Caen, nous vîmes accourir Mme. de Breteville; elle était à notre porte presque en même temps que nous.

"--Quel bonheur que vous soyez de retour! dit-elle à ma mère. Je ne savais plus à quel saint me vouer. Vous voilà enfin, je me regarde comme sauvée; mais je suis bien tourmentée.

"--Eh ! de quoi? lui demanda ma mère.

"--Vraiment, pendant votre absence, il m'est tombé des nues une parente que je ne connais pas du tout, et dont j'ai perdu la famille de vue depuis bien des années. Elle est venue, il y a un mois, descendre chez moi, accompagnée d'un porteur chargé d'une malle. Elle m'a dit qu'elle avait des affaires à Caen et qu'elle espérait que je voudrais bien la recevoir. Elle s'est

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nommée; c'est, en effet, une parente, mais je ne l'avais jamais vue et cela me gêne beaucoup.

"--Pourquoi? vous êtes seule, vous n'avez pas de société intime; cela mettra de la gaieté chez vous et vous fera compagnie.

"--Pas trop, car elle ne parle guère; elle paraît taciturne et concentrée; elle est toujours plongée dans je ne sais quelles réflexions; enfin, je ne sais pourquoi, mais elle me fait peur; elle a l'air de méditer un mauvais coup. (11)

After a short time, Charlotte Corday succeeded in dispelling this first impression, and there arose between her and Mme. de Bretheville a warm affection.

She had grown to be very beautiful. Mme. de Marmonne says:

"Elle était devenue très grande et très bâle; sa taille parfaitement prise quoiqu'un peu forte ne manquait pas de noble. Elle s'occupait fort peu de sa parure et ne cherchait nullement à faire valoir ses avantages personnels....Elle était d'une blancheur éblouissante et de la plus éclatante fraîcheur....Le tissu de la peau était d'une rare finesse; on croyait voir circuler son sang sous un pétale de lis. Elle rougissait avec une facilité extrême et devenait alors vraiment ravissante. Ses yeux, légèrement voilés, étaient bien fendus et très beaux; son menton un peu proéminent ne nuisait pas à un ensemble charmant et plein de distinction. L'expression de son beau visage était d'une douceur ineffable ainsi

que le son de sa voix. Jamais on n'entendit un organe plus harmonieux, plus enchanteur; jamais on ne vit un regard plus angélique, plus pur, un sourire plus attrayant. Ses cheveux châtain clair s'accordaient parfaitement avec son visage." (12)

Most of the authors who have written about Charlotte Corday have attributed to her some love affair. These stories are all without foundation in fact, with the possible exception of the one which designates as her accepted lover, Bougon-Longrais, the young "procureur général syndic" of the Calvados. We know, at least, that they were very good friends. Charlotte speaks of him in her letter to Barbaroux written during her imprisonment:

"Je vous prie, citoyen, de faire part de ma lettre au Citoyen Bougon, procureur général syndic du département. Je ne la lui adresse pas pour plusieurs raisons, d'abord je ne suis pas sûre que dans ce moment il soit à Evreux, je crains de plus qu'étant naturellement sensible, il ne soit affligé de ma mort; je le crois cependant assez bon citoyen pour se consoler par l'espoir de la paix; je sais combien il la désire, et j'espère qu'en la facilitant j'ai rempli ses vœux." (13)

M. Charles Vatel says: "Je suis convaincu que si Charlotte de Corday a 'distingué', a préféré quelqu'un, ce n'est ni Bel-sunce, ni Barbaroux, ni Boisjuge de Mingré, ni tout autre, mais seulement Bougon-Longrais. Encore n'irais-je pas au delà de la nuance d'une sympathie affectueuse.... Dans la lettre d'adieu

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écrite par Bougon à sa mère le matin même du jour où il fut exécuté, il dit:

"Oh! Charlotte Cordais! oh! ma noble et généreuse amie toi dont le souvenir occupa sans cesse ma mémoire et mon cœur, attends-moi, je vais te rejoindre! Le désir de te venger N' m'avait fait jusqu'à ce jour supporter l'existence. Je crois avoir assez satisfait à ce devoir sacré; je meurs content et digne de toi."

"Cette apostrophe à Charlotte de Corday...dit assez quels étaient les sentiments de Bougon-Longrais pour elle: Les partageait-elle? et dans quelle mesure?....

"En 1868, il a été vendu aux enchères publiques à Londres une collection d'autographes, parmi lesquels figurait une lettre de Charlotte Corday à Bougon-Longrais, 'l'homme qu'elle aimait à Caen'. Nous avons fait de vains efforts pour obtenir de plus amples renseignements. Nous n'avons pu savoir ce que cette lettre est devenue."  
(14)

While Charlotte lived at the Grand Manoir, she spent much time reading and her political opinions became more and more fixed. It seems that the principal source of her republicanism was her admiration for antiquity. Mme. de Marmonne tells us that, "Lorsque Charlotte se laissait entraîner par l'expression de ses convictions, elle trouvait toujours dans l'histoire antique une preuve qui l'aidait à démontrer que les beaux temps des républiques anciennes étaient préférables aux essais que tent-

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taient les hommes de la Révolution française" essais vulgaires, disait-elle, et qui semblent plutôt faits pour dégoûter à jamais un peuple de ce genre de gouvernement, qui cependant est le plus noble de tous! Un jour où elle s'exprimait ainsi, Mme. Levaillant l'arrêta soudain et lui dit: 'Est-ce que par hasard vous seriez républicaine, ma chère?' Charlotte rougit, puis répondit: 'Je le serais certes, si les Français étaient dignes de la République!'" (15)

She read assiduously the Girondist newspapers of Gorsas and Perlet as well as innumerable pamphlets sent out into the departments from Paris. From them she conceived an implacable hatred for Marat, for in the provinces, Marat was considered the Montagne. Through his paper, "l'Ami du Peuple," he had made himself more widely known than were either Danton or Robespierre, and he took a leading part in bringing about the downfall of the Girondins. The Girondist party, on the other hand, was the one that best represented, in the opinion of Charlotte Corday, the ideals of the ancient republics. "Elle ne reconnut les accents de la liberté antique que dans les discours de Vergniaud, de Brissot, de Louvet et de Barbaroux." (16)

After the 31st of May, 1793, which marked the fall of the Girondins, eighteen of the proscribed deputies sought refuge at Caen, that city having shown itself friendly to their party. The arrival of these men aroused still more Charlotte's enthusiasm. Her project of sacrificing herself for the peace of her country



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began to take shape.

In order to obtain an accurate account of the state of affairs at Paris, perhaps also in order to gain inspiration from personal acquaintance with the representatives of the principles for which she had resolved to die, she went to the Hôtel <sup>de</sup> l'Intendance, where the deputies were lodging, under pretext of soliciting Barbaroux's aid for her old friend of convent days, Mlle de Forbin. The latter, formerly canoness of Troyes, had taken refuge in Switzerland at the time of the suppression of the monasteries, and was trying to obtain certain tithes and dues to which she was entitled. The papers substantiating her claim were in the hands of the Minister of the Interior. Barbaroux promised to give Charlotte a letter to Lauze Duperret, a member of the Convention, with whose assistance she would be able to gain access to the Minister. In the course of the several visits that she made to Barbaroux she saw other deputies and talked with some of them.

On the 5th or 6th of July, Charlotte went to Verson to bid farewell to her cousin, Mme. Gautier de Villiers. Returning to Caen, she spent the evening burning letters, pamphlets, and other papers that might prove compromising to her relatives and friends.

Sunday, July 7th, she witnessed a review of the National Guard of Caen by General Wimpffen. Following the review, a battalion of volunteers was to be formed, to join at Evreux the

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federalist army that was going to march on Paris. Only seventeen men responded to the call.

That afternoon Charlotte returned to the Hôtel de l'Intendance for the letter to Duperret that Barbaroux had promised her. The letter was not yet written, but Barbaroux promised to send it to her the next morning.

On the morning of the 9th of July she told Mme. de Bretheville that she was going to Argentan to see her father. At the same time, she wrote a letter to the latter, saying that she had decided to seek in England the peace and happiness which were no longer to be had in France. (17) Then she said good-bye to Mme. de Bretheville and departed, taking from her room a bundle of clothing, some sketches and drawing materials, and the passport that she had procured in April when she had made her last visit to Argentan, and which had been counter-signed for the journey to Paris. On the last steps of the stairs leading into the courtyard, she found Louis Lunel, a boy of about fifteen years of age, the son of a joiner who had his shop on the ground floor of the Grand Manoir. To him she gave the drawing materials and kissed him, saying that he would never see her again. (18)

We learn the details of Charlotte's trip to Paris from the letter that she wrote to Barbaroux during her imprisonment. Her traveling companions were Montagnards and staunch supporters of Marat. One of them fell desperately in love with her, and insisted on asking her father for her hand.

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It was about noon on Thursday, July 11th, when the diligence stopped before the bureau des Messageries, rue Notre-Dame-des-Victoires. There Charlotte was given a card with the address of the Hôtel de la Providence, rue des Vieux-Augustins, No.19, kept by Louise Grollier. She had herself driven to this hotel where she was given room number 7.

While the porter, François Feuillard, was making her bed, he inquired about the political situation at Caen. Charlotte Corday answered that "soixante mille hommes marchaient sur Paris et qu'elle avait même rencontré, sur la route, des troupes en nombre considérable, se dirigeant vers la Normandie." (19) She then asked what people in Paris thought of Marat. "Les patriotes l'estiment beaucoup, mais les aristocrates le détestent", (20) he answered, and informed her that Marat was ill and had not, for some time, been able to go to the Convention. This news necessitated a change in Charlotte's plans, for it had been her (21) intention to assassinate Marat "sur la cime de la Montagne."

On entering her room at the hotel, she had expressed the desire to rest, but suddenly changing her mind, she asked the way to the rue Saint-Thomas-du+Louvre, where the deputy Lauze Duperret lived. She went directly to his house, but found that he was not at home. Leaving with Duperret's daughters, the package of letters sent by Barbaroux, she promised to return in the evening.

On the occasion of her second visit, Duperret himself re-

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ceived her. After having answered his questions concerning his Girondin friends at Caen, she asked him to accompany her to the office of the Minister of the Interior. It was arranged that the deputy should call for her at her hotel the next morning. She wrote her name on the back of the card bearing the address of the Hôtel de la Providence, and gave it to him.

The next morning at 10:00, Duperret kept his appointment. But Garat, the Minister of the Interior, could not receive them at that time. They were advised to return at eight o'clock in the evening. In the meantime, however, Duperret had fallen under the suspicion of the Montagne, and his papers were seized. He went back to Charlotte's hotel to tell her that his endorsement of her mission would, under the circumstances, be more harmful than useful and that, moreover, since she had no power-of-attorney from Mlle de Forbin, it would doubtless be of little use for her to see the Minister. When he asked on what day she would return to Normandy, she said that she had not yet decided, but that he would soon hear from her. She requested him particularly not to come back to see her the next day, and begged him to leave Paris and join his friends at Caen. "Mon poste est à Paris; je ne dois pas l'abandonner," he replied. (22)

Charlotte Corday spent a large part of that afternoon writing her "Adresse aux Français, amis des lois et de la paix," in which she attempted to justify the act she was about to commit

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(23)

and to incite the public to revolt against the Montagne.

Before six o'clock on the morning of July 13th, Charlotte left the Hôtel de la Providence and directed her steps to the gardens of the Palais-Royal. There, she strolled for some time while waiting for the shops to open. About half past seven, she entered a cutler's shop and bought a large kitchen knife with a dark wood handle, enclosed in a shagreen sheath. She also bought a paper which related to the judgment of the nine Orléanais, "assailants" <sup>(24)</sup> of Léonard Bourdon, an admirer and disciple of Marat.

There is some uncertainty as to her next move. Some historians say that she returned to the hotel, and remained there until eleven o'clock; others assert that she went directly to the Place des Victoires, where she took a cab and asked to be driven to Marat's house. Charlotte herself, in her trial, admitted only two visits, the first "vers les onze heures ou onze heures et demie," and the second "vers sept heures et demie." <sup>(25)</sup> Other witnesses declared that she was there three times, but differ as to the hours.

"A en croire la déposition de Simonne Evrard devant le juge Foucault, elle se présenta d'abord vers midi. 'Cette même personne revint une seconde fois le même jour, mais la dépositante ne la vit pas.' La troisième visite eut lieu 'sur les huit heures'.

"La femme Pain déclara qu'elle était venue 'deux fois

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différentes dans la matinée' et que 'la seconde fois elle était montée et descendue toute seule.'

"Jeannette Maréchal, la cuisinière de Marat, la vit le matin' entre neuf et dix heures' et le soir 'entre sept et huit heures.'

"Quelque vagues que soient ces témoignages, on peut, croyons-nous, admettre que Charlotte Corday se présenta trois fois chez Marat et que la seconde visite, que la fière jeune fille passa sous silence pour ne pas paraître avoir faibli un instant dans la réalisation de ses projets, dut avoir lieu vers trois ou quatre heures de l'après-midi." (26)

At least, we do know that sometime before noon she presented herself at number 30, rue des Cordeliers, where Marat lived. In spite of the protest of the portière that "l'ami du peuple" would receive no one, she mounted rapidly to the second story, and entered the ante-chamber of Marat's apartment. Simonne Evrard, Marat's mistress, refused to admit her.

Returning to the Hôtel de la Providence, Charlotte wrote and mailed the following letter:

"Citoyen,

"J'arrive de Caen; votre amour pour la patrie me fait présumer que vous connaîtrez avec plaisir les malheureux événements de cette partie de la République. Je me présenterai chez vous vers une heure. Ayez la bonté de me recevoir et de m'accorder un moment d'entretien, je vous mettrai à même de rendre

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(27)  
un grand service à la France."

At half past seven in the evening, she returned to Marat's house, armed with a second letter, which she intended to leave in case she was again refused admittance. (28) The portière, a woman named Pain, was in a room adjoining Marat's bathroom, folding the last edition of "l'Ami du Peuple." She would not allow Charlotte to enter, and stood barring the passage until Simonne Evrard, hearing the dispute, went to ask Marat if he would consent to see the visitor. Marat, who had just received Charlotte's letter, replied in the affirmative, and the girl was ushered into his presence. He was in his bath, for there alone could he find relief from the eczema which tormented him. Clothed in a ragged sleeveless gown, he was writing. A board laid across the bath-tub served as a desk.

On Charlotte's entrance, he hastened to inquire about the state of affairs at Caen. She replied that the eighteen Girondin deputies, in accord with the department administrators, were ruling the town, and gathering recruits for the army, which was to march against Paris. He asked for the names of the fugitive deputies and of the administrators, and wrote them as she dictated. This done, he declared that before long he would have them all guillotined at Paris. These words seemed to decide his fate, for at that moment Charlotte seized the knife hidden in his bosom, and plunged it into his breast. He uttered only

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one cry: "A moi, ma chère amie! A moi!"

Charlotte Corday attempted to flee through the ante-chamber, but Laurent Bas, a messenger who had just brought the paper for the printing of "l'ami du Peuple", seized a chair and knocked her down. Simonne Evrard and Jeannette Maréchal, hearing Marat's cry, had dashed in and, after trampling the assassin under foot, hastened to the side of the wounded man.

The "principal locataire" of the house was a surgeon-dentist named Delafondée. Hearing cries, he rushed to the scene. He made a compress, bandaged the wound, and helped carry Marat to his bed. But the latter was already dead.

In the meantime, the noise had drawn a crowd. Philibert Guellard, the commissaire de police of the section, soon arrived, and proceeded to an examination of the prisoner.

After giving her name, age, and residence, Charlotte stated the time of her arrival in Paris, and declared that she had come "sans aucun dessein." She made no attempt to deny that she <sup>had</sup> killed Marat.

"Interpellée de nous déclarer ce qui l'avait déterminée à commettre cet assassinat?"

"A répondu qu'ayant vu la guerre civile sur le point de s'allumer dans toute la France, et persuadée que Marat était le principal auteur de ce désastre, elle avait préféré à faire le sacrifice de sa vie pour sauver son pays."



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"A elle observé qu'il ne paraît pas naturel qu'elle ait conçu ce dessein exécration de son propre mouvement et interpellée de nous déclarer les personnes qu'elle fréquente le plus ordinairement dans la ville de Caen?

"A répondu qu'elle n'a communiqué son projet à âme qui vive.....

"A elle observé que....il y a tout lieu de croire qu'elle n'a quitté la ville de Caen que pour venir commettre cet assassinat dans la personne du citoyen Marat?

"A répondu qu'il est vrai qu'elle avait ce dessein, et qu'elle n'aurait pas quitté Caen si elle n'eût envie de l'effectuer."  
(29)

Asked to give an account of her movements since her arrival in Paris, she did so, but carefully avoided mentioning her connection with Lauze De Perret.

"A-Elle observé, après avoir consommé le crime, si elle n'a pas cherché à s'évader par la fenêtre?

"A répondu que non, qu'elle n'a eu aucun dessein de s'évader par la fenêtre, mais qu'elle se fût en alée par la porte si on ne s'y fût opposé."  
(30)

They searched her, and found in her pockets, some money, a silver thimble, a spool of white thread, a trunk key, a gold watch, her passport, and the letter addressed to Marat that she had intended to leave if she had not been admitted. Hidden in her bosom were her birth certificate, her "Adresse aux François!"

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and the sheath of the knife with which she had committed the murder.

Toward the end of the examination, there arrived four members of the Committee of General Security, Maure, Legendre, Chabot and Drouet.

These proceedings had occupied the entire evening. Towards midnight Charlotte Corday was taken into the room where the corpse lay, and for the first time, she seemed agitated. "Eh bien, oui, c'est moi qui l'ai tué", she said. (31)

At two o'clock in the morning, Drouet and Chabot took charge of her to conduct her to the prison of l'Abbaye. A large crowd was still assembled at the door, and when Charlotte appeared, there arose such a cry that she thought she was going to be torn to pieces by the mob. She fainted. But Drouet spoke to the people and succeeded in calming them. When Charlotte regained consciousness, she expressed surprise at being still alive.

In the meantime, her room at the Hôtel de la Providence had been searched. Besides articles of clothing, the report mentions two scraps of paper containing, in her own handwriting the following addresses:

"Citoïen Duperret, rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre, No 45;

"M. Odille, rue Gaillon, No 30; le citoïen Guillot, portier;

"M. Darnouville, rue Saint-Antoine, No 2;

Mme Grollier, hôtel de la Providence, rue des Vieux-

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(32)

Augustins, No 19, près de la rue de la Victoire."

Thinking that the addresses might indicate accomplices of the assassin, the authorities made haste to follow up these possible clues. Guillot, the portier at no. 30, rue Gaillon, was questioned, but he declared that he knew no such person as M. Odille, and that he was totally ignorant of the whole affair. Lauze de Perret was arrested, as well as Fauchet, Bishop of the Calvados, and député to the Convention.

At the Abbaye, Charlotte Corday was assigned to the room which had been occupied by Mme Roland and later by Brissot. Two gendarmes were stationed in her cell night and day. She protested against this the first day, and renewed her complaint in a letter, written the 15th, to the Committee of General Security:

"Puisque j'ai encore quelques instants à vivre, pourrais-je espérer citoyens que vous me permettrés de me faire peindre, je voudrais laisser cette marque de mon souvenir à mes amis, d'ailleurs comme on chérit l'image des Bons Citoyens, la curiosité fait quelquefois rechercher ceux des grands criminels, ce qui sert à perpétuer l'horreur des crimes, si vous daignés faire attention à ma demande, je vous prie de m'envoyer demain un peintre en Mignature, je vous renouvelle celle de me laisser dormir seule, croyés, je vous prie, à toute ma reconnaissance.

Marie Corday.

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"J'entends sans cesse crier dans la rue la restation de Fauchet mon complice, je ne l'ai jamais vu que par la fenêtre et il y a plus de deux ans, je ne l'aime ni l'estime, je lui ai toujours cru une imagination exaltée et nulle fermeté de caractère, c'est l'homme au monde à qui j'aurais le moins confié un projet. Si cette déclaration peut lui servir, j'en certifie la vérité.

(33)  
Corday."

On the 14th she began a letter to Barbaroux, which she dated "Aux prisons de l'Abbaye, dans la ci-devant chambre de Brissot, le second jour de la préparation à la paix." (34)

In it, she related the details of her journey to Paris, discussed serenely her crime and its consequences, spoke ironically of her judges and their attempt to discover accomplices for her, and gave messages for a few of her friends.

She spent part of her time at the Abbaye mending her clothes which had been damaged at the time of her arrest, and even made a new cap to wear at her trial. She also copied Girondist songs which she distributed among her fellow-prisoners.

Early on the morning of the 16th, Montané, president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and the judges Foucault and Roussillon began the examination of the witnesses. At eleven o'clock, Charlotte Corday was brought before Montané in one of the rooms of the Palais de Justice, and subjected to an interrogatory upon the details and the motives of the assassination.

Unable to believe that a person of her age and sex could

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plan and execute such a crime unaided, Montané insisted that she must have had accomplices, to which she replied:

"Je n'ai dit mes projets à personne; je n'ai pas cru tuer un homme, mais une bête féroce qui dévorait tous les Français."  
(35)

Asked if she had not had the intention of assassinating the Minister of the Interior, she answered:

"Non, je ne le croyais pas assez dangereux pour cela."  
(36)

Still seeking to find out who had instigated the crime, the President questioned her as to her relations with the Girondist deputies at Caen. She told of her visits to Barbaroux and of her conversations with him and the other deputies. In regard to the newspapers she was in the habit of reading, she declared:

"J'étais abonnée seulement au journal de Perlet, mais j'ai lu quelquefois Gorsas, 'le Courrier français', 'le Courrier universel', et plus de cinq cents autres brochures pour et contre la Révolution, dans tous les genres."  
(37)

She denied vigorously the testimony of certain witnesses who insisted they had seen her at the Convention the evening of the 11th. Her letter to Barbaroux was read.

Finally, Montané asked her if she had a counsel, and she chose Doulcet de Pontécoulant, the deputy from Caen to the Convention, whom she had known since her convent days. The same day, the Public Prosecutor, Fouquier-Tinville wrote to Doulcet

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de Pontécoulant, informing him of this choice.

The hearing ended, Charlotte Corday was taken back to the Abbaye, and a few hours later, transferred to the Con-  
(39)  
ciergerie. That evening she finished her letter to Bar-  
baroux and wrote one to her father.

On the 17th of July, at eight o'clock in the morning, the prisoner appeared before the Revolutionary Tribunal. After the jury had been sworn, and the usual questions asked concerning the name, age, and residence of the accused, Montané inquired if her counsel was present. She replied:

"J'avais choisi un ami, mais je n'en ai point entendu parler depuis. Apparemment il n'a pas eu le courage d'accepter ma  
(40)  
défense."

The President appointed Chaveau-Lagarde to fulfill this duty. The accusation was read and the first witness called. It was Simonne Evrard. Charlotte, moved by her sobs, interrupted  
(41)  
her testimony with the cry, "Oui! c'est moi qui l'ai tué"

Questioned on the details of her crime, the prisoner replied as in her previous hearings. Laurent Bas, Jeannette Maréchal, the Pain woman and Catherine Evrard, Simonne's sister, were called one after the other, and at the end of each deposition, Charlotte Corday said "C'est vrai."

"J'ai tué un homme," she declared, "pour en sauver cent mille. C'était d'ailleurs un accapareur d'argent. On a ar-

Introduction --24.

rêté un homme à Caen qui en achetait pour lui. J'étais républicaine bien avant la Révolution, et n'ai jamais manqué d'énergie.....

"--Etait-ce à un prêtre assermenté ou insermenté que vous alliez à confesse à Caen?

"--Je n'allais ni aux uns ni aux autres....

"--Croyez-vous avoir tué tous les Marat?

"--Celui-là mort, les autres auront peur, peut-être." (42)

"Le Bulletin du tribunal révolutionnaire éteint ce trait de feu. Il fait répondre à Charlotte Corday: 'Non, assurément'" (43)

When they presented to the prisoner the knife she had used she turned her head, and pushing away the instrument with her hand, cried: "Oui, je le reconnais, je le reconnais." (44)

Fouquier-Tinville remarked that the accuracy with which Charlotte Corday had struck the fatal blow, showed her proficiency in crime.

"Oh! le monstre!" she cried, "il me prend pour un assassin!"

"Cette réponse, telle qu'un coup de foudre, termina la séance," says Chaveau-Lagarde. (45)

Charlotte's letters to her father and to Barbaroux were read. She asked the Tribunal to forward them to their respective addresses, but this was never done. They were merely joined to the documents relating to the trial.

The Public Prosecutor demanded the sentence of death. The position of the counsel for the defence was very difficult,

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to say the least. The President had advised him to plead insanity, but Chaveau-Lagarde, knowing that nothing could save his client, saw in this only a means of humiliating her. Accordingly, he limited himself to a few simple words:

"L'accusée avoue avec sang-froid l'horrible attentat qu'elle a commis; elle en avoue avec sang-froid la longue préméditation; elle en avoue les circonstances les plus affreuses; en un mot, elle avoue tout, et ne cherche même pas à se justifier. Voilà citoyens jurés sa défense tout entière.

"Ce calme imperturbable et cette entière abnégation de soi-même, qui n'annoncent aucun remords, et, pour ainsi dire, en face de la mort même, ce calme, cette abnégation, sublimes sous un rapport, ne sont pas dans la nature; ils ne peuvent s'expliquer que dans l'exaltation du fanatisme politique qui lui a mis le poignard à la main. Et c'est à vous, citoyens jurés, à juger de quel poids doit être cette considération morale dans la balance de la justice. Je m'en rapporte à votre  
(45)  
prudence."

After deliberating a quarter of an hour, the jury returned a unanimous verdict of guilty. One by one, the judges voted aloud for her execution, and then the sentence of death was read.

Charlotte Corday asked to speak to her counsel, and when this request was granted, she said:

"Monsieur, je vous remercie bien du courage avec lequel



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vous m'avez défendue d'une manière digne de vous et de moi. Ces messieurs me confisquent mon bien; mais je veux vous donner un plus grand témoignage de ma reconnaissance: je vous prie de payer pour moi ce que je dois à la prison, et je compte sur votre générosité."<sup>(47)</sup>

The debt amounted to 36 livres. Chaveau-Lagarde paid it the following day.

On her return to the Conciergerie, Charlotte found the concierge Richard and his wife waiting for her. "J'avais espéré que nous déjeunerions ensemble;" she said, "mais les juges m'ont retenu là-bas si longtemps qu'il faut m'excuser de vous avoir manqué de parole."<sup>(48)</sup>

Abbé Iothringer, one of the constitutional clergy, came to administer the consolations of religion, but she refused his services. "--Remerciez ceux qui ont eu l'attention de vous envoyer. Je leur en sais gré, mais je n'ai pas besoin de votre ministère."<sup>(49)</sup>

A few minutes later, the painter Hauer arrived. At Charlotte's request, he had been given permission to finish the portrait he had begun that morning at the trial. She asked him to make a small copy of the picture and send it to her family, which he later did.

The execution of the sentence was being delayed by a quarrel between Montané and Fouquier-Tinville. The latter accused the President of having changed the third question that he had given him to be put to the jury, by substituting the words "in-

Introduction--27.

tentions criminelles et préméditées", for "intentions criminelles et contre-révolutionnaires".<sup>(50)</sup> Absorbed in this dispute, he had forgotten to sign the order of execution.

When Sanson, the executioner, finally arrived at the Conciergerie, Charlotte was writing a note on the leaf of a book. She asked to be allowed to finish it. The note was destined for Doulcet de Pontécoulant, and read as follows:

"Le citoyen Doulcet de Pontécoulant est un lâche, d'avoir refusé de me défendre lorsque la chose était si facile. Celui qui l'a fait s'en est acquitté avec toute la dignité possible. Je lui en conserve ma reconnaissance jusqu'au dernier moment.  
(51)  
Marie de Corday."

This accusation was unjust. Doulcet de Pontécoulant had not received Fouquier-Tinville's notification, and knew nothing of the affair until after Charlotte Corday's execution.

Cutting a lock of her hair, Charlotte presented it to Hauer in token of her gratitude, and when Sanson had cut the rest, she gave it to Richard for his wife. She donned, herself, the red gown, which was the mark of an assassin, and those present say that it made her beauty even more remarkable.

An immense crowd was waiting outside. They greeted the prisoner with savage cries, and despite the thunderstorm which was threatening, escorted her to the guillotine.

Charlotte mounted the tumbril with a firm step, and refusing the chair offered her by Sanson, remained standing dur-

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ing the entire journey. The crowd hindered the progress of the procession so much that it took two full hours to reach the guillotine. Camille Desmoulins, Danton and Robespierre were watching from a window in the rue Saint-Honoré. Among the spectators that lined the streets, many hurled insults at the prisoner, but there were also many sympathetic faces.

When they entered the Place de la Révolution, Sanson stepped in front of Charlotte Corday so that she might not see the guillotine, but she leaned forward, saying, "J'ai bien le droit d'être curieuse, je n'en avais jamais vu." (52) She turned pale at sight of the instrument, but soon regained her color.

When the tumbril stopped, she alighted, and mounted unaided the steps of the scaffold. Before Sanson could reach the top, Firmin, the assistant, had torn away Charlotte's fichu. She herself laid her head under the knife, and Sanson gave the signal.

Legros, a carpenter who had been at work repairing the guillotine, (53) picked up the head, and holding it up before the spectators, slapped it several times. Eye-witnesses asserted that the face blushed at the insult. This brutal action brought an indignant murmur from the crowd, and the Revolutionary Tribunal sentenced Legros to a week's imprisonment.

Among the throng that followed Charlotte Corday to the guillotine, was a young German named Adam Lux, formerly a deputy

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from Mayence, sent to request the annexation of that city to France. Watching the courageous girl during her journey from the Conciergerie to the Place de la Révolution, he conceived for her an ardent and almost supernatural love. "L'échafaud était devenu pour lui un autel; il ne souhaitait plus que d'y être immolé après celle qui venait d'y accomplir son sacrifice."<sup>(54)</sup>

Two days later, Adam Lus published a pamphlet in praise of his heroine, which he terminated with the demand that "au même lieu de sa mort, l'immortelle Charlotte Corday ait une statue avec cette inscription:

(55)

"Plus grande que Brutus!"

Arrested immediately, he was not executed till the 4th of November.

.....

Chapter I.

Charlotte Corday in Esquiros's Novel.

Alphonse Esquiros was born at Paris in 1814. He began his literary career with a volume of poetry, "les Hirondelles," published in 1834. This was followed by two novels: "le Magicien", in 1837, and "Charlotte Corday", in 1840. The latter is generally conceded to be his masterpiece, and was received very enthusiastically by the public.

In the same year, however, he published "l'Evangile du peuple", a philosophical and democratic commentary on the life of Christ, for which he was sentenced to eight months imprisonment and a fine of 500 francs. While in prison, he wrote another book of verse, "les Chants du Prisonnier", in which socialistic ideas are freely expressed. In 1847 appeared "l'Histoire des Montagnards."

In 1850, Esquiros was elected to the Legislative Assembly from the department of Saône-et-Loire. There, he belonged to the party of the extreme left. After the "coup d'Etat", he was exiled and went to England, where he remained until 1869. Returning to France, he was again elected deputy, this time from the Bouches-du-Rhône.

After the establishment of the Third Republic, he was appointed administrator of the Bouches-du-Rhône. On the 13th of October 1870, he suspended the publication of the Gazette du Midi, a legitimist paper, and decreed the dissolution of the Jesuit congregation at Marseilles. Gambetta promptly an-

Page 3L.

nulled these measures, and when M. Esquiros refused to resign, he sent another man to replace him.

In February 1871, Esquiros was once more elected to the Legislative Assembly, and in 1876 became a senator. He died in the same year at Versailles.

Esquiros's novel "Charlotte Corday", was published in 1840, with a second edition in 1841.

Although the character of Charlotte Corday is treated sympathetically, the primary purpose of the book seems to be to glorify Marat, who, the author believes, has been misjudged. "Cet homme anathème, qui prend sur sa tête maudite et calomniée tout l'odieux des mesures de sang, ne nous semble pas avoir été compris jusqu'à ce jour. Quelque chose aurait manqué à la Révolution si la Providence n'avait pas inventé Marat." (56) The first volume is little more than a series of incidents intended to set forth Marat's political opinions and to show his benevolence and the extent of his influence. D'Alméras says of the book: "Ce roman est à la fois un pamphlet et un manifeste, et l'apologie de Marat le remplit de la première à la dernière page, avec un parti pris trop visible." (57)

In his preface, the author relates the manner in which he obtained his material. First he made a visit to Caen and to Lignerles, the birthplace of Charlotte Corday. He saw the Grand Manoir and the Abbaye-aux-Dames, and talked with several old people who, in their youth, had known the assassin of Marat.

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Returning to Paris, he went to see Marat's aged sister, and from her obtained information about "l'ami du peuple."

In addition to this, he read a vast number of pamphlets and papers published during the Revolution. "Il y a maintenant à Versailles un avocat, M. Deschiens, qui possède de plusieurs chambrées de feuilles publiques, où nous avons promené nos doigts patients et fureteurs." (58)

The preface contains also a brief account of the life of Charlotte Corday up to the arrival of the Girondist deputies at Caen.

The first volume of the novel proper deals almost exclusively with Marat, Charlotte Corday appearing only once. Each incident, very loosely connected with the ones that precede and follow it, is intended to show some trait of Marat's character. Although there are doubtless a number of errors in this first volume, we are concerned here only with the parts of the novel that involve Charlotte Corday. The rest will merely be briefly summarized.

The story opens with the arrival at Versailles of Count Henri de Belzunce, in June 1784. He was a young man from Normandy who had come to be presented at court. One night, while walking about the streets, he was set upon by thieves, who overpowered him, leaving him unconscious and severely wounded.

On regaining consciousness, he found that several days had elapsed. A young doctor, the physician to the body-guard

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of the Comte d'Artois, had taken him to his own home and cared for him.

When Henri de Belzunce had recovered from his wound and was ready to leave, he insisted on reimbursing his host for the expense he had caused him, but the latter refused to accept anything, expressing in strong terms his contempt for gold. The young count learned that his benefactor's name was Marat.

The second chapter leaves Belzunce, and relates the events of the 13th and 14th of July, 1789, at Paris. On the evening of the 13th, at the Pont-Neuf, a cavalry officer was assuring the people of the support of the dragoons and hussards. Marat, stepping forward, demanded that he and his regiment surrender their arms to the people. Their refusal made it evident to the assembled crowd that they were not to be trusted. Thus Marat was beginning to show himself the friend and champion of the people.

The next incident is included, probably, for the purpose of setting forth the disposition of the citizens of Caen. In 1790, two regiments were stationed in that town. One of them, the Artois regiment was popular with the people; the other, the Bourbon regiment, was very much disliked. Henri de Belzunce, an officer in the latter, was particularly hated for his royalist sympathies.

On the night of the 11th of August, an officer of the Bour-



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bon regiment was killed by a bourgeois sentinel. It was rumored that the garrison was going to attack the town. The excited citizens, aroused out of their sleep, and having only a confused idea of what had happened, rushed to the château, seized the arms they found there, and started for the barracks. The Bourbon regiment awoke to find itself surrounded by the mob and menaced by cannon. Henri de Belzunce, unwilling to jeopardize the lives of his soldiers by a futile resistance, surrendered himself. Protected by a detachment of national guards, he was taken to the château. But the next morning, the mob forced an entrance into this stronghold. Belzunce asked to be taken before the comité at the hôtel-de-ville. This request was granted, but as the cortège stopped a moment in front of the hôtel-de-ville, a shot was fired, and Henri de Belzunce fell. The mob rushed upon his dead body and tore it to pieces.

We now return to Marat. The month of September, 1791, found "l'ami du peuple" <sup>in the</sup> cellar of the old cordelier convent at Paris, writing incessantly articles of which the purpose was to incite the people to further revolt. Pursued by his enemies, he had been obliged to conceal himself.

From time to time, a girl came to see him. It was Mademoiselle Fleury, an actress whom Marat had formerly befriended at Versailles.

One night, barely escaping arrest by fleeing from his

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underground retreat through a secret passage, "l'ami du peuple" went to Versailles. Unable to find a hiding-place there, he finally fell exhausted in the street. Just then, a priest happened along and volunteered to give him refuge for the night. It was the curé Bassal, unpopular among his colleagues on account of his revolutionary opinions. Marat at first refused to go to the house of a priest, but on the latter's insistence, he went. He and the curé discovered that they had many ideas in common.

The next morning Marat set out for the coast of Normandy, where he hoped to find some vessel that would carry him to England in the night.

As he was approaching Caen one morning, he met a beautiful young girl. Marat was so unkempt and his clothing was so ragged that she took him for a beggar and started to give him money. On learning that he was a refugee and a victim of the Revolution, she directed him to the home of one of her friends, who often sheltered fugitives. She gave her name as Charlotte.

The next morning, while strolling about the town, Marat happened to pass before the church of Saint-Jean just as mass was ended. He entered with the intention of displaying his disdain for this "restede superstition", but seeing the girl of the evening before, with her aged aunt, he changed his mind. As soon as she had left the church, Marat, drawn by an irre-

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sistable force, approached the pew she had occupied, and  
(59)  
knealed there.

That evening he went to Courselles, where he made arrangements with a boatman to take him to England. He was on the point of entering the boat when, suddenly seized with the realization of what he was leaving, he gave up his plan and returned to Paris. After the imprisonment of the king on the 10th of August, 1792, Marat came out of hiding and soon was elected as deputy to the Convention.

The purpose of the next incident is to bring out Marat's devotion to the public cause and his boldness in denouncing those whom he considered traitors to that cause. Talma, the actor, was giving a party at which a number of the leading Girondins were present. The guest of honor was General Dumouriez. When the enjoyment was at its height, Marat entered abruptly and demanded a private interview with Dumouriez. Through the closed door, the other guests could hear enough to know that Marat was accusing the general of cruelty to his soldiers and of treason to the Republic. This event cast a sinister shadow over the party.

Having painted Marat as absolutely fearless before a man as powerful as Dumouriez, Esquiros wished to show that his hero was, on the other hand, the friend of the poor and the oppressed. He tells that, one day, Marat undertook the defense of an old man who had been driven by hunger to commit a theft.

Society, he maintained, was responsible for crimes of this sort, and he made such an eloquent appeal that the prisoner was set at liberty.

According to Esquiros, friendship was to Marat a necessity, but the friends whom he loved and trusted most were not always loyal. Thus we see Marat unburdening his heart one evening to Danton, Camille Desmoulins and Barbaroux, for whom he felt an especial affection, and the very next day, being denounced by Barbaroux in the Convention, as an fomenter of riots and a sower of discord.

Such a close friendship between Marat and Barbaroux would be, to say the least, extraordinary, and it is very doubtful that it ever existed.

It is true that some time prior to the Revolution, Barbaroux had taken a course in optics under Marat. The former says in his memoirs: En 1788, j'avais fait un cours d'optique sous Marat; je l'ai apprécié comme savant, je dois le faire connaître comme politique. Un de mes écrits sur la rébellion d'Arles tomba dans ses mains; il m'écrivit pour me complimenter, et m'invita à l'aller voir. Je m'y rendis. Il demeurait alors vis-à-vis le café Richard, dans la rue Saint-Honoré. Je reconnus bien mon maître d'optique, mais quand je l'entendis je crus qu'il avait perdu la tête. Il me dit sérieusement que les Français n'étaient que de mesquins révolutionnaires, et que lui seul avait des moyens de fonder la liberté. Je voulus

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pressentir le grand homme, je parus avide de ses instructions. --Donnez-moi, me dit-il, deux cents Napolitains armés de poignards et portant à leur bras gauche un manchon en guise de bouclier, avec eux je parcourrai la France et je ferai la révolution." (60)

There is a considerable difference between the relationship that Barbaroux indicates and the warm friendship that Esquiros pictures.

The next incident is probably intended to show the conflict in Marat's heart between his natural inclination towards mercy and his conception of his duty to France and the Revolution. On the eve of the day when Marat was to speak for or against the condemnation of Louis XVI, Mademoiselle Fleury begged him to use his influence to save the king. Marat spent most of the night composing a speech in defense of the latter, but the next morning Danton came to accompany him to the Convention and persuaded him to change it.

The following chapter deals with Marat's arrest on April the 12th, 1793. He was charged by the Girondins with having incited the people to break into the shops of merchants who refused to give up their wares and with having advocated a dictatorship and a system of terror. He defended himself so eloquently, by setting forth the reasons for his actions, that the court returned a verdict of not guilty, and the people bore him in triumph to the Convention.

On the 31st of May, Marat organized and directed the in-

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surrection which brought about the expulsion of the Girondins from the convention.

The second volume, which deals more particularly with Charlotte Corday, begins with the arrival of the fugitive deputies at Caen. Barbaroux spoke every Sunday at the old church of l'Abbaye-aux-Hommes. Charlotte Corday was always present. The two were very much attracted to each other. They frequently met at the homes of *common* friends. He even went to see her a number of times, and they often walked together under the trees of the Promenade.

One evening, as Charlotte was talking to him in the little court of the Grand Manoir, a band of terrorists passed in the street, singing lewd and blood-thirsty songs. Charlotte turned pale. Looking at Barbaroux, it occurred to her that to save him from the hands of his enemies would be to deliver her country.

The next day at the hôtel Saint-Ouen, she met several of the proscribed deputies and listened to their discussions. "Sans une nouvelle Jeanne d'Arc," cried Barbaroux, "c'en est fait de la France!"  
(61) Charlotte Corday hesitated no longer. She felt that Heaven was calling her to sacrifice her life for her country.

On the 9th of July, she went to the hôtel de l'Intendance and asked for Barbaroux. She told him she was going to Paris on an errand for her friend, Mlle de Forbin, and asked for a

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letter to Du Perret. She could scarcely restrain her tears and would doubtless have betrayed her project had not Pé-tion entered at that moment. He joked her about coming to see Barbaroux.

When she returned to the Grand Manoir, she took her drawing materials, and telling her aunt that she was going to watch the haymakers in the country, departed.

The rest of the book deals with Charlotte Corday's arrival in Paris, and with her crime, trial, and execution. Only those points wherein it differs from the facts as related in the introduction to this thesis, will be treated.

The account Esquiros gives of Charlotte Corday's childhood and of her life in the convent corresponds closely enough with that given by more reliable authorities, except that he does not mention her stay with the abbé de Corday at Vicques, nor the death of her mother.

His first error occurs when he makes the statement: "Quand elle eut atteint ses dix-sept ans, . . . Mademoiselle de Corday quitta l'abbaye de la Trinité pour habiter à Caen la maison de Mme de Bretteville." (62) As we have already seen, (63) Charlotte Corday did not leave the convent until March 1791, and was, therefore, twenty-two years of age. Moreover, she did not go directly to live with Madame de Bretheville, but remained at home with her father for several months.

An interesting invention of Esquiros is the story of Ma-

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rat's meeting with Charlotte Corday in Normandy. The author does not claim that this meeting was historical, but he does assert that "le voyage de Marat à Caen n'est point une fiction; il demeura en effet chez la personne dont nous donnons ici les initiales, et qui garde deux lettres de lui." (64)

It is true that Marat did leave Paris in September 1791. "Marat fit un numéro d'adieu (21 Sept. 1791), qui ne manqua ni d'éloquence ni de dignité, puis quitta Paris avec l'intention de se rendre en Angleterre. Mais, chose curieuse, il ne put s'arracher de sa patrie d'adoption ni des périls et des amertumes de cette lutte qui le força à vivre comme à l'état d'outlaw et de proscrit. Sur sa route, à Clermont-en-Beauvoisis, il écrivit un numéro de son journal, puis un autre à Breteuil, un autre à Amiens, enfin revint dans la capitale pour continuer son labour de publiciste." (65)

While this does not necessarily exclude the possibility of his having been at Caen during the same trip, it seems probable that if he had been there, he would have sent material for "l'Ami du Peuple" from that place also, or from somewhere in the vicinity.

The love affair between Charlotte Corday and Barbaroux, though a widely circulated story, is also fictitious. According to Esquiros, the two were often together during Barbaroux's stay at Caen. Some writers have claimed that they were engaged



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to be married. Esquiros does not go so far. He says: "C'était entre eux un sentiment doux et élevé qu'épurait encore la noble conformité d'opinion où il prenait sa source..... Mademoiselle de Corday conçut pour Barbaroux une de ces amitiés charmantes où le sexe glisse toujours, à son insu, un peu d'amour; mais c'était un de ces amours qui restent dans l'âme." (66)

The author gives this love, however, platonic he intends to portray it, an important place in motivating the assassination of Marat. "Comme toutes les âmes fortes qui embrassent la société dans leurs haines ou leurs amours, Charlotte Corday s'imagina intérieurement que délivrer Barbaroux des mains des Montagnards, c'était délivrer la patrie....Elle crut que le ciel l'appelait par cette bouche aimée à se dévouer pour son pays." (67)

It is quite probable that Charlotte went to meetings at which Barbaroux spoke, and we know that she went to the hôtel de l'Intendance to see him, but it is very doubtful whether they ever met in a social way. (68) It is certain that there was nothing more than casual friendship between them.

Vatel sees a proof of this in the letters that Barbaroux and Buzot wrote to Salle in criticism of his tragedy "Charlotte Cordai." Salle had pictured Hérault de Séchelles as falling in love with the heroine. Barbaroux suggests that he rewrite the play, making Adam Lux Charlotte's lover.

"Barbaroux est appelé à s'expliquer précisément sur l'amour que Charlotte de Corday aurait pu inspirer, et il indique qui? Adam Lux 'véritablement amoureux' de Charlotte. N'est-ce pas dire qu'on a prêté à Charlotte de Corday des amoureux supposés?.... Salle n'aurait-il pas trouvé moyen de mettre Barbaroux en scène, si, confident de sa vie intime, il avait su qu'il avait existé entre Mlle de Corday et son ami un sentiment d'amour?..... Buzot dit: 'Surtout, pas d'amour dans une pièce de ce genre....bannissez-le de la vôtre; il y est petit, il en dépare les beautés; l'inconvenance saute aux yeux'. Si cet amour eût existé de la part de Barbaroux, Buzot n'aurait pas parlé d'inconvenance." (69)

Moreover, at Caen, Barbaroux "ne sacrifia jamais les plaisirs à la politique. Il avait pour maîtresse en titre, au su et au vu de toute la ville, une marquise de fort bonne noblesse devenue girondine par l'amour et qui se faisait appeler Zelia." (70)

Esquiros mentions only one visit to Barbaroux at the Intendance, and places it on the morning of the 9th, just before Charlotte's departure for Paris. He pictures her as being about to give way to tears on saying farewell to Barbaroux. This latter fiction is based, of course, on the supposition that Charlotte Corday loved Barbaroux, and is to be discarded along with that theory. Charlotte, in her second examination, states that she went three times to the Intendance; (71) The most reliable historians agree that the last of these interviews with Barbaroux

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took place on the afternoon of the 7th, and that Barbareux did not have the letter for Duperré ready at that time, but sent it to her the next morning.

According to Esquiros, Madame de Bretheville, entering Charlotte's room one evening, "trouva sur la table une vieille Bible ouverte, et lut ces mots soulignés au crayon: 'Judith sortit de la ville, parée d'une beauté merveilleuse dont le Seigneur lui avait fait cadeau, pour se rendre à la tente d'Holopherne.'" <sup>(72)</sup> This anecdote would be difficult either to substantiate or to deny. It has the air of being one of those stories which are not "remembered" until after an event which would seem to lend them significance, and which may or may not have a basis in fact. Several writers have made use of it since, but Esquiros seems to have been the first. "A Caen, on nous a affirmé que c'était une tradition fort ancienne, antérieure aux recherches de M. Esquiros....Ce qui est certain, c'est que la priorité de la publication appartient à M. Esquiros." <sup>(73)</sup>

Esquiros makes another error when he says that Charlotte, on leaving the Grand Manoir for the last time, told her aunt she was going to the country to watch the haymakers at work. The record of her second hearing quotes her as saying that "Elle avait fait croire à sa parente qu'elle allait passer quelques jours chez son père à Argentan." <sup>(74)</sup>

The incident of Charlotte's giving her sketches and drawing materials to one of her young friends, as she left for Paris, was told to M. Esquiros by the child himself, grown to be an old man. The only detail in which Esquiros differs from others writers is that he gives the boy's name as Robert, while they (with the exception of Lamartine) call him Louis.

"...le jeune Lunel auquel ce présent fut fait par Charlotte Corday, s'appelait Louis et non pas Robert. Ce nom est l'invention de M. Esquiros."  
(75)

On Charlotte's arrival at The hôtel de la Providence, according to Esquiros, the following conversation took place between her and her hostess, Louise, Grollier:

"D'où venez-vous ainsi, citoyenne?"

--De Caen, répondit-elle.

--Alors, remarqua l'hôtesse, vous devez savoir des nouvelles. Est-il vrai qu'une force armée partie de votre ville marche dans ce moment sur Paris?

--Je me suis trouvée sur la place de Caen le jour où l'on a battu la générale pour venir à Paris, reprit l'inconnue avec un demi-sourire: il n'y avait pas trente personnes.

--Mais quel motif, citoyenne, peut vous amener toute seule, et encore jeune, dans notre ville, au milieu des choses terribles qui s'y passent?

--Je n'y suis que pour quelques jours. Je voudrais obtenir des papiers nécessaires à l'une de mes amies d'enfance.

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Après quoi, je m'en retournerai.

--Vous connaissez donc du monde à Paris?

--J'ai une lettre de recommandation pour le citoyen Du Perret.

--Le député à la Convention?

--Oui; je compte m'y faire conduire demain. „(76)

The testimony of Louise Grollier shows that at the same time or other during Charlotte's stay at the hôtel de la Providence, her hostess asked her about the state of affairs at Caen, and received the answer recorded above, but there is no indication that Charlotte told her anything about her errand for Mlle de Forbin or that she spoke of Duperret. It is very unlikely that she did, for she was very careful, in her first hearing, immediately after the assassination, not to mention the deputy. It was only after his address had been found in her room and he had been arrested as her accomplice, that she told of her relations with him.

Another discrepancy occurs in regard to the date of Charlotte's first visit to Duperret. Esquiros states that she went to bed at five o'clock on the day of her arrival and did not go to see Duperret until the next morning. This error doubtless had its source in Charlotte's testimony before Guellard at Marat's house, "qu'arrivée jeudy vers le midy, elle s'est couchée; n'est sortie de son appartement que le vendredî matin, pour se promener vers la Place des Victoires et dans

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(77)  
le Palais Royal." This statement was made; obviously, to  
avoid implicating Duperret. In her later hearings she ad-  
mitted "qu'elle a été à l'instant de son arrivée chez le  
citoyen Duperret, député de la Convention." (78) Duperret, in  
his defence before the Convention corroborates this statement. (79)

Thus Esquiros places Charlotte Corday's two visits to  
Duperret's house on Friday the 12th instead of on Thursday the  
11th. He also says that during her first interview with him  
she urged him to join his friends at Caen. The conversation  
Esquiros quotes did occur, but according to Duperret's testi-  
mony, it was as they parted after his second visit to her ho-  
tel, (80) which visit Esquiros does not record. He merely states  
that Charlotte Corday was unable to obtain the papers for Mlle  
de Forbin, leaving the reader to suppose that she succeeded in  
obtaining an interview with the Minister of the Interior, and  
adds that after that she took leave of Duperret.

According to the novel, Charlotte Corday purchased the  
knife on the evening of the 12th, as she was returning to the  
hotel from Duperret's house, instead of on the morning of the  
13th, as the records of the trial indicate. The author goes  
on to tell that, coming out of the cutler's shop, she sat down  
on one of the benches in the garden of the Palais-Royal. A  
child playing near by was attracted to her. She took him on  
her lap, and began to dream, in spite of herself, of the joys

she was giving up. "Cependant les petits doigts fureteurs et curieux de l'enfant, qui fouillaient depuis un instant sous le fichu rouge de Charlotte, en tirent, pour jouer, le sinistre couteau. A cette vue, elle pâlit, se lève, jette autour d'elle un regard inquiet, dépose l'enfant à terre, et s'éloigne, rentrant le couteau sous le fichu et le fatal secret dans son sein." (87) This story is apparently an invention of Esquiros. No trace of it is found prior to his novel.

Esquiros mentions only one attempt to gain entrance to Marat's apartment, instead of the two or three indicated in the trial. (82) He replaces all the women of Marat's household, Simonne Evrard, her sister Catherine, and Jeannette Maréchal, (83) by "une vieille servante nommée Catherine."

Father on he says: "La citoyenne Evrard, accourue la première au cri du mourant, raconte alors avoir trouvé l'assassin debout contre un rideau dans l'antichambre et l'avoir prise à la tête." (84) In his account of the trial, we find: "Une femme d'environ trente ans, la citoyenne Evrard, vint déposer longuement devant le tribunal; elle finit en ces termes: 'Un cri parti du cabinet où était Marat m'a fait accourir; j'ai appelé les voisins, et les voisins étant venus, j'ai couru vers Marat: il m'a regardé sans rien dire; j'ai aidé à le sortir du bain; alors il a expiré.'" (85) These are the only references to Simonne Evrard, and since nothing is said of her relation to Marat, the reader is left to wonder who she was and how

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she happened to arrive on the scene before the "vielle servante."

Always seeking to show Marat's benevolence, Esquiros affirms that when Charlotte Corday entered, Marat "signait son nom au bas d'une pétition au ministre en faveur d'une pauvre veuve, mère de quatre enfants, qui avait réclamé le secours de l'ami du peuple." (86) This statement he labels as "historique", but unfortunately, fails to give his authority. There is quite a variety of opinion as to what Marat was writing, depending on the light each individual author wishes to throw upon his character. The ones who picture him as a tyrant and a monster (Lamartine, Ponsard, Colet) say that he was making proscription lists. D'Almèras is probably right when he says: "Sur le parquet, un peu partout, étaient jetés des numéros du journal de Marat, qu'il examinait, annotait, et dont il préparait une réimpression." (87)

Esquiros, apparently feeling that the story of the assassination as told by Charlotte Corday was too prosaic, suggests, without quite accepting as a fact, another legend. "Nous avons entre les mains une lettre inédite de Mlle Julie Candaille qui prétend tenir de la gouvernante même de Marat quelques détails curieux; celle-ci, par prudence, et selon la lettre, par jalousie, venait de temps en temps écouter à la porte. Marat aurait, dans un moment d'abandon et de familiarité, touché le bras de Charlotte Corday. A ce geste imprudent, que cette jeune fille



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prit pour une insulte, le visage de Charlotte se couvrit d'une vive rougeur, et sa main, qui fouillait depuis quelques instants sous son fichu, en tira un couteau dont elle enfonça la lame très-avant dans le corps de Marat." (89)

It is extremely improbable that there is any truth in this story. No mention is made of it in the trial either by Charlotte Corday or by any of the other witnesses. All that we know of what passed between Marat and his assassin is what she herself tells us. If any one of the women of Marat's household had witnessed the assassination from the door, would she not have told at least part of what she saw?

According to Esquiros, "Un chirurgien qui logeait un étage au-dessus dans la même maison, Jean Pelletan, était descendu en toute hâte." (89) He is confusing two persons. The man who lived on the floor above Marat, was a surgeon-dentist named Delafondée. The latter sent immediately to the "Ecoles de Chirurgie" and Pelletan, the head surgeon of the Hôtel-Dieu, answered this call. (90)

The following incident, supposed to have occurred during Charlotte Corday's first examination, Esquiros takes from Harmand de la Meuse: "Chabot, qui promenait depuis quelques instants sur elle un regard cynique, avança la main vers la gorge de cette femme: croyant voir dans ce geste un horrible outrage, Charlotte Corday se retire vivement, un nuage de pudeur offensée monte à ses joues vierges, et un éclair terrible s'al-

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lume dans ses yeux; mais dans le premier mouvement d'alarme elle avait jeté avec tant de fureur ses épaules en arrière, que les cordons, les épingles et les boutons qui retenaient son corsage rompirent brusquement; elle se trouva tout à fait découverte devant les regards curieux des assistants.... Elle abaissa sur ses deux genoux ses seins effarouchés.....

"Charlotte Corday avait les mains attachées; elle demanda, en les présentant à ses bourreaux, qu'on les lui déliât, pour qu'elle pût se rehabiller;....

"Quand on lui eut dégagé les mains, elle se tourna en face du mur et répara à la hâte le désordre pénible de sa toilette....

"Pendant tout ce débat, le billet qui, caché dans le sein de Charlotte Corday, avait attiré le regard et la main de Chabot, était tombé à terre. Celui-là le ramassa. C'était un bulletin du Calvados, où se trouvait écrit à la plume le nom de Barbaroux."  
(91)

Harmand de la Meuse was present at this examination, it is true, but since no other eye-witness mentions this incident, it seems possible that he has at least exaggerated the facts.

As for the "Bulletin du Calvados", no mention of it is found in any of the records. If it had been found on the prisoner, it would surely have been considered important enough to be listed with the rest of the articles discovered when Char-

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lotte Corday was searched.

According to Esquiros, the prisoner was taken from Marat's house to the Conciergerie, transferred, on the morning of the 16th, to the Abbaye, and returned to the Conciergerie on the 17th, after the trial. As we have already seen, she was imprisoned first in the Abbaye, (92) and removed (93) to the Conciergerie the afternoon of the 16th.

Esquiros also says that she wrote her letter to Barbaroux on the evening of the 16th. The fact is that this letter was begun on the 15th, "le second jour de la préparation à la paix." (94) The first part of it was read at the hearing before Montané on the morning of the 16th. This hearing, Esquiros does not mention at all. The letter to Barbaroux was finished at the Conciergerie the afternoon of the 16th.

Although the committee of General Security at first refused to authorize the publication of Charlotte Corday's letters, (95) a number of more or less inaccurate versions appeared in newspapers. Finally, "le rédacteur du Bulletin nous apprend qu'il circulait des contrefaçons nombreuses des lettres de Charlotte Corday; il les donne toutes dans le supplément à son numéro LXXIII, en avertissant que Fouquier-Tinville lui a communiqué les originaux, et qu'il en reproduit jusqu'à l'orthographe." (96)

The text of the letter to Barbaroux as copied by Buchez

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and Roux from the "Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire," and the one that Louis Dubois takes from the "Archives Nationales" (97) are the same, except that Dubois has corrected the spelling.

The version that Esquiros gives is the one published in the Moniteur of July 31st, 1793. (98) It varies somewhat from the original. There are several changes in the wording and a number of omissions.

The account of the trial itself, though considerably abridged, is quite accurate as far as it goes. The details of the defense and of the condemnation are apparently taken from the notes of Chaveau-Lagarde.

The admiration of Adam Lux for Charlotte Corday seems to appeal especially to Esquiros's imagination. He adds to and alters the historical facts in order to lend more pathos and more romance to the already strange story. (99)

Instead of a young man of twenty-eight, already a doctor of philosophy and a deputy to the Convention from the city of Mayence, Esquiros makes Adam Lux a boy not yet twenty years of age. (100)

According to the novel, "Lorsque Charlotte Corday avait été jetée dans les prisons, un homme était accouru; il avait demandé avec larmes et les mains jointes, à prendre la place de cette femme et à subir pour elle le châtement qu'on lui préparait. Il ne put rien obtenir des geôliers impitoyables,

et se retira consterné. Cet homme était Adam Lux." (101)

This statement is in part corroborated by D'Almèras: "Pendant le procès un jeune homme demanda à se constituer prisonnier à la place de Charlotte Corday et à subir la peine dont on la croyait digne. On ne fit droit qu'à la moitié de sa demande. Il fut guillotiné." (102) Could this young man have been Adam Lux? It scarcely seems possible that, when the authorities were seeking so diligently for Charlotte Corday's accomplices, a man making such a request would have been allowed to escape. If there is any truth at all in the story, the young man must have been placed under arrest at once and could not, therefore, have been Adam Lux.

Besides, it is not at all certain that Adam Lux had seen Charlotte before the afternoon of her execution. His own words would seem to indicate that he had not. "Le Mercredi 17 juillet, jour de son exécution, vers le soir, je fus surpris de ce jugement précipité dont je n'ignorais cependant aucun détail: j'en savais à peu près assez pour conclure que cette personne devait montrer un courage extraordinaire. C'était la seule idée de ce courage qui m'occupait dans la rue Saint-Honoré, en la voyant approcher sur la charrette; mais quel fut mon étonnement lorsque, outre une intrépidité que j'attendais, je vis cette douceur inaltérable au milieu des hurlements barbares....." (103)

Not content with the above addition to the story of this

love, Esquiros tells that Charlotte, on her return to the prison after her condemnation, found a letter from Adam Lux. He takes passages from the latter's discourse of July 19th, changes a word here and there, adds a sentence or two, and gives it as the text of this purely imaginary letter. As she read it, Esquiros would have us believe, Charlotte wept. "Cet amour la ramena sur la douce et verte nature, sur le ciel bleu....qu'elle ne reverrait plus. Elle pensa que le bonheur lui aurait été si facile à deux, au bord des ruisseaux de la Normandie, sous un toit de chaume! Elle fit un triste retour sur sa solitude, sur sa prison, sur sa mort prochaine....

"Elle en vint presque à douter d'elle-même; son action, qui lui avait paru jusque-là héroïque et utile au monde, lui fit presque l'effet d'en coup de tête téméraire et infructueux...

"Elle s'interrogea sur ce qui plaît le mieux à Dieu, du bras qui immole les tyrans ou du cœur qui aime; et une voix lui répondit: Charlotte, Charlotte, vous vous êtes beaucoup troublée et agitée; mais vous n'avez point choisi la meilleure part."  
(104)

We find no authority for believing that Charlotte Corday ever regretted in the least her action or that she doubted for a moment its efficacy in bringing peace and happiness to France. She was alone only for a very few minutes, if at all, between

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the time of her condemnation and that of her execution. Hauer, whose visit Esquiros does not record, arrived shortly after she reached her cell, and remained until Sanson came for her. Both Hauer (105) and Sanson (106) speak of her tranquility and composure.

Esquiros pictures her as being engaged in answering Adam Lux's letter when the executioner entered. He asserts that she asked permission to finish it and was refused. The records show that the letter she was writing was addressed to Doulcet de Pontécoulant, and that she did finish it.

On the afternoon of the execution, says Esquiros, Adam Lux, awaiting in the rue Saint-Honoré the passing of the tumbril, "portait à sa boutonnière le ruban vert que Charlotte Corday avait laissé tomber de son bonnet en se débattant avec les femmes sur les marches de l'escalier de Marat.....

"Lorsque Charlotte Corday passa, leurs regards se rencontrèrent; elle remarqua le visage rêveur et poétique de ce beau jeune homme blond qui se détachait mélancoliquement sur le fond sombre et tumultueux de cette tourbe grossière; elle remarqua le ruban vert qu'il portait à son habit; et tous les deux alors mirent plus de choses dans ce regard rapide qu'on ne s'en confierait pendant mille ans à se parler tête-à-tête au fond des (107) bois."

Adam Lux, the only person qualified to corroborate these statements, does not mention, in his eulogy of Charlotte Cor-

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day, either the green ribbon or this exchange of glances. There is nothing to indicate that Charlotte Corday ever saw or knew anything about her admirer.

According to the novel, Charlotte requested that her hair should not be cut. "On les lui releva seulement par derrière (108) pour ne point amortir le fil du couteau." The memoirs of Sanson show that her hair was cut, and that she gave part of (109) it to Hauer and the rest to Madame Richard.

When the Executioner's assistant tore away Charlotte's fichu, says Esquiros, she cried: "Au nom de votre mère, monsieur, couvrez-moi." (110) Defrance refutes this statement. "C'est à Mme Elizabeth, et non pas à Charlotte Corday, qu'il faut rapporter ces paroles." (111)

Esquiros makes another error, common to several historians, in saying that Legros, who slapped Charlotte Corday's dead face, was one of Sanson's assistants. In fact, such was the report in the papers at the time of the event, but in number 210 of the "Révolutions de Paris", appeared the following correction: "Le citoyen Sanson, exécuteur des jugements criminels de Paris, réclame contre l'article No. 209 qui l'inculpe d'avoir, lui ou ses valets, souffleté la tête de Charlotte Corday après l'exécution; il nous assure que c'est au contraire un charpentier qui a été (112) puni de cet enthousiasme inconcevable et qui a reconnu sa faute." In his memoirs, Sanson speaks of Legros as "un charpentier, qui pendant la journée avait travaillé à des réparations à la guil-



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(113)  
lotine."

Our conclusion, with regard to Esquiros's presentation of Charlotte Corday, must be that it is highly romanced and very inaccurate. In spite of his pains in collecting material, he does not hesitate to alter or to invent incidents if he thinks that, by so doing, he can add interest to the story.

.....

Chapter II.

Charlotte Corday in Lamartine's "Histoire des Girondins".

The "Histoire des Girondins", in eight volumes, was published by Lamartine in 1847. About sixty pages of the sixth volume are devoted to Charlotte Corday. The entire work was written with an eye to the effect it would produce upon the people, rather than to its historical accuracy, for, it appears, the author had a political purpose in mind.

According to Doumic, "Lamartine, en 1843, est un mécontent; il a passé brusquement à l'opposition; et dans l'opposition il ne trouve pas la place qu'il ambitionne, la première. Désespérant d'obtenir par la parole l'influence qu'il souhaite, il recourt à un autre moyen, qui est de remuer l'opinion en réveillant chez elle la foi aux principes de la Révolution. Son objet est donc un objet d'application immédiate; c'est le contraire même du désintéressement qu'exige la véritable méthode historique. Il veut, sous d'autres noms et dans un autre cadre, présenter au public sa propre politique." (114)

"His methods were absolutely unscientific," says Whitehouse, another of Lamartine's biographers, "but he was writing with an immediate purpose in view, not a work of erudition, but of political import. 'Don't read it,' he remarked to M. Molé, when the book was published. 'It is written for the people. The people

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are about to play the principal part: they must be prepared, to them must be given a distaste for executions in order that the coming revolution may be exempt from the excesses of the first. It is my duty to prepare the people, to prepare myself for I will be the leader of a new social order.' " (115)

Fifteen years later, Lamartine himself wrote a "critique de l'Histoire des Girondins", in which he pointed out numerous errors in the original work. However, concerning the chapters on Charlotte Corday, he says: "Toutes les circonstances les plus minutieuses de la vie de Charlotte Corday, cette Judith chaste de la patrie, sont de la plus consciencieuse exactitude. Je n'ai négligé ni soins ni peines pour les obtenir." (116)

We shall try to determine to what extent this claim is valid. He indicates two sources of material. "Je dois presque tout à un homme de cœur et de talent, son voisin, M. de la Sicotière, qui a fait, d'après nature et d'après les traditions encore vivantes, le portrait de son immortelle compatriote. Je dois beaucoup aussi au spirituel docteur Georges Duval, témoin des événements et peintre des figures." (117)

Lamartine's account of Charlotte Corday's childhood, before she entered the convent, corresponds closely enough with that of other historians, except that he does not mention the years she spent with the abbé de Corday. However, he says of her father: "Il aspirait de l'âme une révolution prochaine (sic) ....Il avait écrit quelques ouvrages de circonstance contre

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le despotisme et le droit d'aînesse. Ces écrits étaient pleins de l'esprit qui allait éclore. Il avait en lui l'horreur de la superstition, l'ardeur d'une philosophie naissante, le pressentiment d'une révolution nécessaire." Farther on we find: "les opinions républicaines du père de Charlotte Corday s'étaient infiltrées plus ou moins dans ses proches. La famille de Corday penchait pour les idées nouvelles."

It is true that François de Corday had written several articles on the injustices that existed under the old régime, but, as we have already seen, he remained a loyal subject of the king, and could by no means be called a republican.

One of the many love affairs attributed by various writers to Charlotte Corday was with Henri de Belzunce. According to the legend, he was the nephew of Mme de Belzunce, abbess of the Sainte-Trinité. The story goes that Charlotte met him during her convent days and was engaged to him at the time he was killed in the streets of Caen. It was supposed that this murder was the result of the exhortations of Marat in "l'ami du Peuple", and that, in order to avenge her lover, Charlotte resolved to assassinate Marat.

The legend seems to have had its origin in a letter written by Fouquier-Tinville to the committee of General Security:

"Je vous observe que je viens d'être informé que cet assassin femelle était l'amie de Belzunce, colonel tué à Caen dans une insurrection, et que depuis cette époque elle a conçu une

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haine implacable contre Marat, et que cette haine paraît s'être ranimée chez elle au moment où Marat a dénoncé Biron, qui était parent de Belsunce, et que Barbaroux paraît avoir profité des dispositions criminelles où était cette fille contre Marat pour l'amener à exécuter cet horrible (121) assassinat."

Lamartine rejects the idea of a love affair between Charlotte Corday and Henri de Belsunce, but he does assert that the latter was the nephew of Madame de Belsunce and that Charlotte knew him at the convent.

Vatel says: "Marat n'a jamais demandé la tête de Belsunce, par une raison fort simple, c'est que son journal n'a paru qu'un mois après le massacre de cet officier. Le premier numéro est du 12 septembre, 1789; M. de Belsunce périt dès le 12 août de la même année.

"M. Henri de Belsunce n'était pas le neveu de Madame l'abbesse de Belsunce. Il était son parent éloigné....Il était des vicomtes de Belsunce (de Macaie), tandis qu'elle descendait des Belsunce de Castelmoron. Elle était décédée le 3 février 1787, et il ne vint en garnison à Caen qu'en avril 1789. C'est une question de savoir si Henri de Belsunce a connu non seulement Charlotte de Corday, mais l'abbesse de la Sainte-Trinité!" (122)

Lamartine's description of Madame de Bretheville differs somewhat from that given us by Madame de Marmonne. (123) Instead of the miserly, suspicious old lady, with an annual income of 40,000 francs, (124) who received her young cousin reluctantly at

first, Lamartine pictures her as "une pauvre veuve sans enfants, âgée et infirme", and adds: "Après d'elle habitait depuis quelques années une jeune parente qu'elle avait recueillie et élevée pour étayer sa vieillesse et pour peupler son isolement." (125) Farther on, he says: "Cette tante était sans fortune, comme toute sa famille. Elle vivait dans cette obscurité et dans ce silence qui laissent à peine connaître des plus proches voisins le nom et l'existence d'une pauvre veuve." (126)

According to Lamartine, Charlotte Corday lived with Madame de Bretheville for more than five years. He says: "Au moment de la suppression des monastères, Charlotte avait dix-neuf ans", and he indicates that she went directly to live with this cousin, whom she called "aunt". The suppression of the monasteries was decreed February 13th, 1790, and Charlotte, born in July 1768, was at that time twenty-one years old. Moreover, she did not leave the convent till March 1791, and did not go to Madame de Bretheville's till several months later. Therefore, she lived at the Grand Manoir only two years. This conclusion is corroborated by Charlotte's own statement in her preliminary hearing before Montané "qu'il n'y a que deux ans qu'elle est chez elle" (128) (Mme de Bretheville.)

Speaking of Charlotte Corday's favorite books, Lamartine says: "Les livres passionnés ou légers de l'époque, tels que l'Héloïse ou Faublas, étaient aussi feuilletés par elle. Mais, bien que son imagination y allumât ses rêves, son âme n'y per-

dit jamais sa pudeur, ni son adolescence sa chasteté." (129)

According to Vatel, Lamartine's authority in this case was an article published by Paul Delasalle in the "Mosaïque de l'Ouest." This article reads as follows: "Un beau jour, au commencement de la Terreur, des agents révolutionnaires, sous prétexte de faire une visite domiciliaire, s'introduisent dans la maison de la tante de Charlotte Corday avec laquelle elle demeurait à Caen. Ils pénètrent dans une chambre où Charlotte faisait la lecture à haute voix à plusieurs dames....A leur vue, elle s'empressa de cacher le livre dans son sein....Un des commissaires s'en aperçoit et la force d'exhiber ce livre, séditieux selon toute apparence.--C'était 'Faublas.!'"

Vatel adds: "Nous reconnaissons que le récit de "la Mosaïque de l'Ouest" est calqué, sauf quelques embellissements de style, sur la lettre d'une personne qui prétendait tenir l'anecdote de Mme L...., sa tante.

"En 1861, Mme L.... existait encore et demeurait à Cherbourg.... Nous nous rendîmes dans cette ville, et en présence de témoins, nous lui donnâmes connaissance du passage de "la Mosaïque", en lui demandant si elle en reconnaissait l'exactitude.

"Voici sa réponse, écrite sous ses yeux et approuvée par elle:

"Tout ce qu'on a rapporté sur la visite domiciliaire, la lecture en commun et la saisie du livre, est faux.

"Ce sont des faits imaginaires dont je n'avais jamais entendu parler. Je ne sais pas comment on peut faire de pareilles

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inventions et me les attribuer'.....

"Nous avons recueilli nous-même à Caen des bruits de cette nature. Ainsi Mlle de L....tenait de sa mère que Charlotte lisait les "Liaisons dangereuses"....Ces calomnies avaient été ordonnées systématiquement contre Charlotte de Corday par arrêté de la commune de Paris.... Un article, placardé dans Paris, envoyé dans la province, multiplié à l'infini par la presse, est signé de Fabre d'Eglantine. Voici ce qu'il contient:

" La tête de Charlotte Corday était farcie de livres de toute espèce; elle a déclaré, ou plutôt elle avouait avec une affectation qui tenait de la ridiculité, avoir tout lu, depuis Tacite jusqu'au "Portier des Chartreux".<sup>(130)</sup> No trace is to be found of any such confession on the part of Charlotte Corday.

Lamartine's own personality is reflected in his description of Charlotte Corday's attitude toward love and marriage. "Dévorée du besoin d'aimer, inspirant et ressentant quelquefois les premiers symptômes de l'amour, sa réserve, sa dépendance et sa misère la retinrent toujours aux derniers aveux de ses sentiments. Elle déchirait son cœur pour emporter violemment le premier lieu qui s'y attachait. Son amour, refoulé ainsi par la volonté et par le sort, changea non de nature, mais d'idéal. Il se transforma en vague et sublime dévouement à un rêve de bonheur public."<sup>(131)</sup>

While this point is perhaps too intangible and too subjective



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to enable us to arrive at any very definite conclusion, Lamartine's characterization does not agree with that of Charlotte's friends. Madame de Marmonne says: "Aucun homme ne fit la moindre impression sur elle; ses pensées étaient ailleurs. Je puis du reste affirmer que rien n'était plus éloigné d'elle que l'idée du mariage. J'atteste que nul ne put jamais se vanter de lui avoir plu, d'avoir pris une place quelconque dans son cœur."<sup>(132)</sup>

In this same connection, Lamartine has borrowed another legend from Paul Delasalle.<sup>(133)</sup> Describing Charlotte's emotion as she watched the volunteers leaving Caen on July 7th, he says: "Cet enthousiasme était, dit-on, attendri en elle par le sentiment mystérieux, mais pur, que lui portait un de ces jeunes volontaires.... Charlotte Corday n'avait pu rester insensible à ce culte caché, mais elle immolait cet attachement de pure reconnaissance à un culte plus sublime.

"Ce jeune homme se nommait Franquelin. Il adorait en silence la belle républicaine. Il entretenait avec elle une correspondance pleine de réserve et de respect. Elle y répondait avec la triste et tendre réserve d'une jeune fille qui n'a que des infortunes à apporter en dot: Elle avait donné son portrait au jeune volontaire et lui permettait de l'aimer, du moins dans son image. M. de Franquelin, emporté par l'élan général, et sûr d'obtenir un regard et une approbation en s'armant pour la li-

Page 67.

berté, s'était enrôlé dans le bataillon de Caen.... Le jeune Franquelin, après l'acte et le supplice de Charlotte Corday, se retira dans un village de Normandie, frappé lui-même à mort par le contre-coup de la hache qui avait tranché la tête de celle qu'il adorait. Là, seul avec sa mère, il languit quelques mois, et mourut en demandant que le portrait et les lettres de Charlotte fussent ensevelis avec lui. Cette image et ce secret reposent dans ce cercueil." (134)

The original story goes that some time after Charlotte's execution, a young man named Franquelin came to Vibraye where he soon died, requesting that a portrait and some letters, which he always carried next to his heart, be buried with him. The secret was not divulged until some forty years later, when an old woman, formerly Franquelin's housekeeper, saw in the collection of M. de Saint-Remy, an art-lover of le Mans, a copy of the Charlotte Corday of Scheffer. Without hesitation she recognized it as the portrait of the young woman Franquelin had loved.

M. Léon de la Sicotière comments as follows: "Outre que ce nom de Franquelin n'a laissé aucun souvenir ni dans la ville de Caen, ni dans la famille de Charlotte Corday, ni même à Vibraye, faut-il relever toute ce qu'offre d'in vraisemblable une pareille reconnaissance après un si long temps écoulé? Faut-il remarquer que le portrait de Charlotte de Scheffer a placé dans son tableau est entièrement de fantaisie?.... Si l'amante de Franquelin res-

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semblait à la Charlotte de Scheffer, nous pouvons affirmer  
que ce n'était pas la véritable Charlotte de Corday." (135)

The departure of Franquelin for Paris as a volunteer is apparently Lamartine's own addition to the Story.

According to Lamartine, Charlotte went only twice to the hôtel de l'Intendance. We have already seen that, according to her own testimony, she was there three times. (136)

On the 8th of July, says Lamartine, Charlotte went to Argentan to bid farewell to her father and sister, telling them that she was going to England. Charlotte Corday's last visit to Argentan was in April, 1793. Questioned during her trial, about her passport, which, Lamartine asserts, "elle avait pris quelques jours avant, pour Argentan," she declared "qu'elle l'avait pris dans le mois d'Avril dernier, d'abord pour aller voir ses parens à Argentan; qu'ensuite se trouvant à la municipalité avec une de ses amies qui en prenait un, que la municipalité se trouvant en train d'en donner Elle fit viser le sien pour Paris." (137) The passport, now in the Archives Nationales, is dated originally the 8th of April and countersigned the 23rd of the same month. (138)

It was by letter that she told her father she was going to England. In her letter to Barbaroux, she says: "Dans ma dernière lettre, je lui faisais croire que redcutant les horreurs de la guerre civile je me retirais en Angleterre." (139) We find another proof in her father's testimony. "Le père de Mademoiselle

de Corday subit à Argentan, le 20 juillet, un interrogatoire dont l'auteur de la "Guerre des Vendéens et des Chouans" (140) donne un extrait.... "M. de Corday déclare qu'il a reçu de sa fille une lettre datée de Caen du mardi matin, annonçant, 1<sup>o</sup> qu'à son départ de cette ville elle met cette lettre à la poste; 2<sup>o</sup> que, lorsqu'il la recevrait, elle ne serait plus en France; 3<sup>o</sup> qu'elle ne croyait pas qu'on pût y vivre tranquille de longtemps; et 4<sup>o</sup> qu'elle le priait de ne faire aucune recherche, parce que personne ne pouvait savoir encore où elle allait." (141) The letter itself still exists, and belongs to the collection of Chéron de Villiers.

Like Esquiros, Lamartine tells the story of the Bible open to the book of Judith. Did he take it from the former's novel or did he, like Esquiros, learn it from the oral tradition at Caen? Although they differ in one or two details, the wording is very similar. Esquiros says: "Etant entrée, un soir, dans sa chambre, elle (Mme de Bretheville) trouva sur la table une vieille Bible ouverte, et lut ces mots soulignés au crayon: 'Judith sortit de la ville, parée d'une beauté merveilleuse dont le Seigneur lui avait fait cadeau, pour se rendre à la tente d'Holopherne.'" (142)

Lamartine's version reads: "Mme de Bretheville se souvint depuis qu'en entrant dans la chambre de Charlotte pour la réveiller, elle avait trouvé sur son lit une vieille Bible ouverte au livre de Judith, et qu'elle y avait lu ce verset souligné au crayon: 'Judith sortit de la ville, parée d'une merveilleuse

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beauté, dont le Seigneur lui avait fait don pour délivrer  
(143)  
Israël." The authenticity of the story has already been  
(144)  
discussed.

Lamartine describes as follows, Charlotte Corday's final preparations for her departure: "Charlotte combla ces dernières heures de reconnaissance, de prévoyance et de tendresse pour cette tante, à qui elle avait dû une si longue et si douce hospitalité; elle pourvut par une de ses amies au sort de la vieille servante qui avait eu soin de sa jeunesse. Elle commanda et paya d'avance, chez des ouvrières de Caen, de petits présents de robes et de broderies destinés à être portés après son départ, en souvenir, à quelques jeunes compagnes de son enfance. Elle distribua ses livres de prédilection entre les personnes de son intimité; elle ne réserva pour l'emporter qu'un volume de Plutarque." (145) Although this thoughtfulness for others may not be contrary to Charlotte Corday's character, we have no other record of these details. Moreover, it does not seem likely that she would have wanted to call so much attention to her departure.

According to Lamartine, Charlotte used the same ruse to deceive her aunt that she had used to set at rest her father's fears, that is, she told her she was leaving soon for England to join some émigré friends who had promised her a refuge. However, Lamartine borrows from Esquiros (146) her immediate excuse for leaving the house. "Elle embrassa sa tante, et lui dit qu'elle

allait dessiner les faneuses dans les prairies voisines." (147)

The facts as revealed by Charlotte Corday's testimony on this point, have already been taken up, (148) and need no further attention here.

Like Esquiros, Lamartine calls the child to whom Charlotte Corday gave her drawing materials, Robert. Other writers (149) give his name as Louis.

Another very pretty story is told by Lamartine. Across the street from the Grand Manoir lived a young musician, who habitually devoted several hours each morning to his instrument. Every day, at the same hour, when he began to play, Charlotte would open her shutters and sit at her window listening to the music. The young man had grown to expect and to enjoy this appreciative listener.

"La veille du jour où Charlotte, déjà affermie dans sa résolution, se préparait à partir pour l'accomplir et mourir, le piano se fit entendre à l'heure accoutumée. Charlotte, arrachée sans doute à la fixité de ses pensées par la puissance de l'habitude et par l'attrait de l'art qu'elle aimait, ouvrit sa fenêtre comme à l'ordinaire et parut écouter les notes avec une attention aussi calme et plus rêveuse encore que les autres jours. Cependant elle referma la croisée avec une sorte de précipitation inusitée avant que le musicien eût refermé son clavier, comme si elle eût voulu s'arracher violemment elle-même dans un adieu pénible au dernier plaisir qui la captivait.

"Le lendemain, le jeune voisin, s'étant assis de nouveau devant son instrument, regarda au fond de la cour de la maison en face, si les premiers préludes feraient ouvrir les volets de la pièce de Mme de Bretteville. La fenêtre fermée ne s'ouvrit plus! Ce fut ainsi qu'il apprit le départ de Charlotte. (150)

There is some basis for this story. How much, we do not know. Speaking of Frédéric Vaultier of Caen, who has left some valuable notes on Charlotte Corday, DeFrance says: "Vaultier habitait en face de Charlotte qu'il voyait souvent à la fenêtre de l'appartement de Mme de Bretteville, pour entendre les airs que jouait sur le clavecin un jeune homme voisin." (151)

One would think, from reading Lamartine's account of the journey to Paris, that Charlotte did much to enliven it for her fellow travellers. "La liberté et la sécurité de sa conversation dans la voiture qui l'emportait vers Paris n'inspirèrent à ses compagnons de voyage d'autre sentiment que celui de l'admiration, de la bienveillance et de cette curiosité naturelle qui s'attache au nom et au sort d'une <sup>inconnue éblouissante de</sup> jeunesse et de beauté. Elle ne cessa de jouer, pendant la première journée, avec une petite fille que le hasard avait placée à côté d'elle dans la voiture....

"Les autres voyageurs étaient des Montagnards exaltés, qui fuyaient le soupçon de fédéralisme à Paris et qui se répandaient en imprécations contre la Gironde et en adoration pour Marat. Eblouis des grâces de la jeune fille, ils s'efforcèrent de lui

arracher son nom, l'objet de son voyage, son adresse à Paris. Son isolement à cet âge les encourageait à des familiarités qu'elle réprima par la décence de ses manières, par la brièveté évasive de ses réponses, et auxquelles elle parvint à se soustraire tout à fait en feignant le sommeil..... Elle charma jusqu'à la fin du voyage ses compagnons de route par cette apparition revissante, dont tous regrettèrent de se sé-  
(152)  
parer."

Our only authentic source for the details of this trip is Charlotte's letter to Barbaroux. No mention is made there of the little girl, and we receive the impression that Charlotte, contemptuous of her fellow-travellers, had little to do with them. "J'étais avec des bons montagnards que je laissai parler tout leur content, et leurs propos aussi sots que leurs personnes étaient désagréables, ne servirent<sup>PAS</sup> peu à m'en-  
(153)  
dormir; je ne me réveillai pour ainsi dire, qu'à Paris."

On reaching Paris, says Lamartine, Charlotte Corday went at once to the hôtel de la Providence, "qu'on lui avait indiqué  
(154)  
à Caen." Asked by Montané in her preliminary hearing, "Qui lui avait indiqué l'hôtel où elle a logé?", she replied that it was "Par un des hommes qui sont au Bureau (des Messageries Nation-  
(155)  
ales), qu'elle ne connaît pas."

Crediting, like Esquiros, Charlotte Corday's statement in  
(156)  
her first examination, Lamartine says that she went to bed at five in the afternoon, and did not leave the hotel till the next



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morning. Like Esquiros, he places Charlotte's two visits to Duperret on the 12th instead of on the 11th, and her warning to him to leave Paris, on the occasion of her first interview with him. These points have already been discussed in the chapter on Esquiros.

Lamartine is correct in saying that Duperret's papers were seized on the 12th. However, since he dates Charlotte's and Duperret's trip to the office of Garat, on the 13th, he has to suppose that this seizure occurred before the latter event. This is contrary to fact. Moreover, since the assassination is to occur on the evening of the 13th, there is no time for Duperret's afternoon visit to Charlotte's hotel. Lamartine solves this difficulty by saying that on returning that morning from Garat's office, Duperret told Charlotte that his papers had been seized and persuaded her to abandon her project.

On parting with Duperret, according to Lamartine, Charlotte went to the Palais-Royal. "Elle entra dans le jardin, non comme une étrangère qui veut satisfaire sa curiosité par la contemplation des monuments et des jardins publics, mais comme une voyageuse qui n'a qu'une affaire dans une ville, et qui ne veut perdre ni un pas ni un jour. Elle chercha de l'œil, sous les galeries, le magasin d'un coutelier. Elle y entra, choisit un couteau-poignard à manche d'ébène, le paya trois francs, le cacha sous son fichu, et rentra à pas lents dans

Page 75.

(157)

le jardin."

This does not agree very closely with Charlotte's own testimony. In her first examination, she declared "qu'elle est sortie ce matin (le 13), a été au Palais-Royal vers le sept heures et demie huit heures, y a acheté le couteau...." In her second hearing, questioned as to where she had bought the knife, she answered "qu'elle ignore dans quelle boutique, ni de quel côté ne l'ayant acheté qu'après avoir fait dix fois le tour du Palais-Royal!"

Next we find what seems to be a trace of Esquiros's story of the child in the garden of the Palais-Royal. On coming out of the cutler's shop, says Lamartine, "Elle s'assit un moment sur un des bancs de pierre adossés aux arcades. Là, quoique plongée dans ses réflexions, elle s'en laissa distraire par les jeux des enfants, dont quelques-uns folâtraient à ses pieds et s'appuyaient avec confiance sur ses genoux. Elle eut un dernier sourire de femme pour ces visages et pour ces jeux."

According to Lamartine, "Sa première pensée avait été d'aborder Marat et de le sacrifier au Champ-de-Mars, à la grande cérémonie de la fédération qui devait avoir lieu le 14 juillet..... l'ajournement de cette solennité jusqu'au triomphe de la république sur les Vendéens et les insurgés lui enlevait le théâtre et la victime. Sa seconde pensée avait été jusqu'à ce dernier moment de frapper Marat au sommet de la Montagne, au milieu de la Convention."

Both in her testimony at the trial and in her letter to Bar-

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baroux, Charlotte Corday says that she had planned to kill Marat in the Convention, but nowhere in the records do we find any mention of the project of committing the crime at the Champ-de-Mars. That part is apparently Lamartine's own addition. \*

He declares that "son espoir était d'être immolée elle-même aussitôt après, et mise en pièces par la fureur du peuple, sans laisser d'autres traces et d'autre mémoire que deux cadavres et la tyrannie renversée dans son sang. Ensevelir son nom dans l'oubli....telle était jusqu'à la fin la seule ambition de son âme." (163) Charlotte Corday herself furnishes authority for this statement, in her trial, but if she really wanted her name to remain unknown, why did she pin in her bosom her certificate of baptism? Lamartine does not mention this document. (164)

According to Lamartine, Charlotte left her first letter to Marat at the latter's door on the morning of the 13th and the second with his portière at one o'clock p.m. As we have already seen, she mailed the first letter, and the second was found on her after her arrest. In her first hearing, she said "que (sic) la crainte d'éprouver un refus, elle s'était précautionnée d'une autre lettre, qu'elle se proposait de faire tenir au citoyen Marat, mais qu'elle n'en a point fait usage, ayant été reçue à cette heure." (166)

In speaking of Marat's household, Lamartine, in a most sur-

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prising manner, replaces three women by one. "On connaît la femme qui gouvernait sa maison. Elle se nommait naguère Catherine Evrard; mais on l'appelait Albertine Marat depuis que l'ami du peuple lui avait donné son nom, en la prenant pour épouse, un jour de beau temps, à la face du soleil, à l'exemple de Jean-Jacques Rousseau." (167) As we already know, Marat's mistress was Simonne Evrard. Catherine Evrard was her sister who lived with her, and Albertine Marat was Marat's own sister. The latter was in Switzerland at the time of her brother's assassination.

When Charlotte Corday entered, says Lamartine, Marat "tenait de la main droite la plume que l'arrivée de l'étrangère avait suspendue sur la page. Cette feuille de papier était une lettre à la Convention, pour lui demander le jugement et la proscription des derniers Bourbons tolérés en France!" (168) We have already (169) discussed the accuracy of this statement.

In describing the scene after the assassination of Marat, Lamartine says: "Un cordelier fanatique, nommé Langlois, perruquier de la rue Dauphiné, avait ramassé le couteau ensanglanté. Il faisait le discours funèbre sur le cadavre de la victime. Il entrecoupait ses lamentations et ses éloges de gestes vengeurs, par lesquels il semblait enfoncer autant de fois le fer dans le cœur de l'assassin. Charlotte, qui avait accepté d'avance toutes ces morts, contemplait d'un regard fixe et pétrifié ce mouvement, ces gestes, ces mains, ces armes dirigées de si près contre elle.

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.....On voyait se dessiner sur ses lèvres le sourire amer du mépris. 'Pauvres gens, dit-elle. Une fois, vous voulez ma mort, et vous me devriez un autel pour vous avoir délivrés d'un monstre! Jetez-moi à ces forcenés, dit-elle une autre fois aux soldats qui la protégeaient; puisqu'ils le regrettent, ils sont dignes d'être mes bourreaux.'

(170)

This incident seems to be taken, at least in part, from the "Souvenirs de la Terreur" of Georges Duval. Vatel quotes from this work: "Quand nous entrâmes dans la chambre de Marat, un homme était au milieu brandissant un couteau ensanglanté.... C'était un nommé Langlois, perruquier, rue Dauphine,....l'un des principaux membres de la commune...., guillotiné le 11 thermidor...." Vatel adds: "Ces détails sont faux. Le nommé Langlois, qui était membre de la commune et périt le 9 thermidor, était un serrurier." He does not discuss the authenticity of this funeral oration, but we find no mention elsewhere of it or of the comments that Lamartine puts into Charlotte Corday's mouth. Following the examination of the prisoner at Marat's house, according to Lamartine, she was subjected to another at the Abbaye by Chabot, Drouet and Legendre. This interrogatory at the prison is not recorded elsewhere, but some historians do assert that Charlotte was taken before the Committee of General Security and questioned there. Defrance says, in regard to this: "Il n'est pas absolument prouvé que ce second interrogatoire de Charlotte Corday au Comité de Sûreté Générale ait

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bien eu lieu. Alors que divers auteurs contemporains des événements l'affirment, les documents d'archives ne nous indiquent rien sur ce point." (172)

According to Lamartine, it was during this examination at the Abbaye that Charlotte was searched and her "Adresse aux Français" found. Lamartine was one of the first to publish this document. The original was transmitted to him in 1846 by its possessor, M. Paillet. Lamartine describes the address as follows: (173)

"Elle est écrite de la main de Charlotte Corday, d'une écriture à grands traits, mâle, ferme, fortement tracée, et comme destinée à frapper de loin les regards. La feuille de papier est pliée en huit, pour occuper moins de place sous le vêtement; elle est percée de huit piqûres encore visibles par l'épingle qui l'attachait sur le sein de Charlotte." (174)

He adds: "L'authenticité de cette adresse est attestée par une lettre de Fouquier-Tinville annexée au même dossier. Cette lettre de l'accusateur public est adressée au comité de sûreté générale de la Convention; la voici:

"Citoyens, je vous fais passer ci-inclus l'interrogatoire subi par la fille Charlotte Corday et les deux lettres par elle écrites dans la maison d'arrêt, dont l'une est destinée à Barbaroux. Ces lettres courent les rues d'une manière tellement tronquée qu'il serait peut-être nécessaire de les faire imprimer telles qu'elles sont....." (175)

Although the authenticity both of the address and of the

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letter quoted is beyond question, there does not seem to be any basis for concluding that the latter has any reference to the former. We have every reason to believe that it refers to the two letters, to Barbaroux and to her father, written by Charlotte Corday in her prison and published in 1793 in the Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire. The "Adresse aux Français" was written at the hôtel de la Providence. So far as we can ascertain, no false versions of this address had been published at that time, while numerous variations of the two letters had appeared.

Lamartine freely alters the letter to Barbaroux and omits many passages. Some of these omissions are indicated; others are not. Most of the changes he makes are merely changes in wording, whereby he improves the style, but does not appreciably change the meaning. Most of the passages omitted are unimportant, but a few are rather significant. For example, he leaves out the part relative to Charlotte's last letter to her father before her departure from Caen. This would contradict his previous statement that she went to Argentan the day before leaving for Paris.

Likewise, the following is omitted: "Ils (ceux qui me regretteraient) se réjouiront de me voir jouir du repos dans les Champs-Elysées avec Brutus et quelques anciens." Lamartine probably feared that this sentence would lend an argument to the theory that Charlotte Corday was an infidel.

He also omits the passage relating to Bougon-Longrais, cited

(178)  
in the introduction to this thesis. It is probably because he attaches no significance to it.

In Charlotte's farewell letter to her father, she quotes the following verse from "le Comte d'Essex" of Thomas Corneille: "Le crime fait la honte et non pas l'échafand." (179)  
Lamartine apparently ascribes it to Pierre Corneille, for he says: "Cette allusion à un vers de son aïeul....semblait placer son action sous la sauvegarde du génie de sa famille." (180)

Lamartine states that "Le président du tribunal révolutionnaire, Montané, vint le lendemain 16, interroger l'accusée." (181)  
Montané did not come to the Abbaye, as this would lead one to believe. On the contrary, Charlotte was taken to the Palais de Justice. (182)

Lamartine, though less lavish than Esquiros in his invention of incidents, is not willing to let Charlotte Corday go to the guillotine without knowing of Adam Lux's interest in her. After telling about the artist whom Charlotte noticed sketching her at the trial, he adds: "Derrière le peintre, un jeune homme, dont les cheveux blonds, l'œil bleu, le teint pâle révélèrent un homme du Nord, s'élevait sur la pointe des pieds pour mieux apercevoir l'accusée. Il tenait les yeux attachés sur elle, comme un fantôme dont le regard aurait contracté l'immobilité de la mort.... Plusieurs fois, ne pouvant contenir son émotion, il provoqua par des exclamations involontaires les murmures de l'auditoire et l'attention de Charlotte Corday. Au moment où le président pro-



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nonça l'arrêt de mort, ce jeune homme se leva à demi avec le geste d'un homme qui proteste dans son cœur, et se rassit aussitôt comme si les forces lui manquaient. Charlotte, insensible à son propre sort, vit ce mouvement....Son regard le remercia. Ce fut leur seul entretien ici-bas....Ce jeune homme (183) était Adam Lux." We can find no reason for believing that Adam Lux was at the trial or that he saw Charlotte Corday before the (184) evening of her execution.

Lamartine records the answer of Charlotte Corday to the priest who came to administer the last sacrament: "Remerciez ceux qui ont eu l'attention de vous envoyer; mais je n'ai pas (185) besoin de votre ministère," but he adds to it: "le sang que j'ai versé et mon sang que je vais répandre sont les seuls (186) sacrifices que je puisse offrir à l'Eternel." These latter words are to be found nowhere else. Lamartine evidently inserts them to show that his heroine, although, perhaps, not a follower of any particular creed, did believe in a supreme Being. We have already called attention to the omission of the passage in Charlotte's letter to Barbaroux, where she speaks of being in the Elysian Fields with Brutus and the ancients. In another place, the author says that she spent the day after her arrival (187) in Paris "dans sa chambre, à lire, à réfléchir, et à prier." Since no one but Charlotte Corday herself could tell what she did while alone in her room, and since she makes no mention of having spent any time in prayer, we can only conclude that this is another

addition of Lamartine's for the purpose of throwing on Charlotte's character, the light in which he wished us to see her.

Lamartine, like several other historians, speaks of Legros as "un des valets du bourreau." The identity of this man (188) has already been discussed in the preceding chapter. (189)

Thus we find that the story of Charlotte Corday according to Lamartine is very inexact. Although the latter does not invent incidents to the extent that Esquiros does, he uses little discrimination in his choice of sources. In addition to the two he mentions in his "Critique des Girondins," one of which, Georges Duval, is very unreliable, he uses at least two other doubtful authorities: Esquiros and Paul Delasalle.

Even where the sources are adequate, Lamartine is inexact as to detail. In the words of Doumic, "—Une fois les matériaux recueillis, il s'en considère comme le maître. Non seulement il les altère sans le faire exprès, en y transportant le génie de l'inexactitude qui est en lui, mais il y a mieux; il s'en sert comme d'un point de départ; il est persuadé que les documents sont tout juste des indications propres à le mettre sur la voie et que son imagination ainsi dirigée peut retrouver directement la vérité. Ils sont l'occasion pour lui de manifester sa faculté d'intuition." (190)

Lamartine's portrayal of Charlotte Corday's character justifies the following criticism by Doumic: "Son lyrisme éclate aussi bien dans la façon dont il présente les personnages et dans

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la conduite de son sujet. Dans cette histoire (l'Histoire des Girondins)....il ne juge les acteurs que par une secrète comparaison avec lui-même. Le portrait du protagoniste est toujours, (191) sous divers noms, le portrait de l'auteur peint par lui-même."

Thus, Lamartine, himself deeply religious, rejects the theory that his heroine had no religion. Very susceptible to love, he pictures her as hungry for love, but, on account of her poverty, stifling each impulse in that direction. Her extraordinary patriotism is a result of the suppression of her natural womanly longing for marriage and a home.

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Chapter III.

Charlotte Corday in Drama.

The form of literature in which the character of Charlotte Corday most often appears is the drama. Vatel, in 1872, counted twenty-nine original pieces and two translations written in dramatic form. (192) Of some of these, we know little more than the title and the approximate date; few have attained any success on the stage; and the only one that is really well-known is the "Charlotte Corday" of Ponsard.

In an article in the "Feuilleton de la Presse" of July 19, 1847, Théophile Gautier declared: "Il n'y a rien de dramatique, ou du moins de Théâtral, dans la vie de Charlotte Corday. Elle ne confia à personne son secret, frappa le monstre auquel elle attribuait les malheurs de la patrie, et mourut silencieuse comme elle avait vécu; le combat est tout intérieur. Charlotte Corday pourra être le sujet d'un admirable récit ou d'une ode sublime: M. de Lamartine et André Chénier l'ont prouvé; (193) mais cette blanche statue solitaire refusera toujours de se mêler aux groupes scéniques plus ou moins habilement arrangés par les dramaturges. Un grand poète pourrait traduire en monologues sublimes, l'âme et les pensées de l'héroïque petite-fille de Corneille, mais là s'arrêterait sa puissance." (194)

On the other hand, Gustave Planche in the "Revue des Deux-Mondes" of April 1st, 1850, says: "Le sujet choisi par M. Ponsard présente certainement de grandes difficultés, cependant je ne crois pas que la figure de Charlotte Corday doive être bannie du théâtre. Il y a dans le courage viril de cette jeune fille une donnée tragique dont la poésie peut (195) s'emparer."

Let us keep in mind these two conflicting opinions, as we examine the most important of these dramatic works. Only three plays will be discussed here. None of the others were available.

A. Salle's "Charlotte Cordai".

The earliest of the dramas that we shall discuss, is the "Charlotte Cordai" of Salle. Written only a few months after the death of Charlotte Corday, by one of the proscribed Girondist deputies, and criticized by three of his colleagues, its history and that of its unfortunate author are more interesting than the play itself.

Jean-Baptiste Salle was born November 25th, 1759, at Vézelize, a small town in Lorraine. In his early youth, Salle became interested in science, and resolved to study medicine. After receiving the degree of doctor of philosophy at the University of Pont-à-Mousson, he completed his studies at Paris. When he returned home, his philanthropy and his popularity won for him the position of "Médecin stipendié" of the town. He was married, in 1787, to Catherine-Charlotte Poinsignon.

At twenty-nine years of age, Salle was elected as deputy of the Tiers Etat to the Etats Généraux, where he first attracted attention in the discussion on the veto. He favored the suspensive, but not the absolute veto.

With Lafayette, Siéyès, Lameth, and others, he was one of the founders of the Feuillants.

After the adjournment of the Assemblée Constituante,

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Salle returned to Vézélise for a while, and was made a member of the Directoire of his department. He was soon elected to the Convention, however, and went back to Paris.

He hated despotism, but defended the king. Louis XVI, he maintained, was the least dangerous individual of his family. He advocated that the Convention pronounce him guilty, but that the question of the penalty be referred to the people.

He opposed the establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal on the ground that it would become a "tribunal de sang".  
(196)

An enemy of Marat and his policies, Salle accused him three times in the Convention. When the Girondist deputies were proscribed, Salle's name was eleventh on the list.

He fled to Chartres, then to Evreux, and later to Caen, where he busied himself writing political pamphlets and letters.

On the 28th of July, with the other fugitive deputies, Salle left Caen. They crossed Brittany on foot, arriving finally, at the house of Kervélégan's, near Quimper. August 21st, they embarked for the Gironde, and reached Bordeaux several days later, only to find the Montagne triumphant there. Louvet tells that Guadet appealed to more than thirty persons before finding one who would consent to receive

(197)

him and his friends. Guadet had hoped to find a place of concealment at his father's house at Saint-Emilion, but when they reached it, they found the house already watched. However, Guadet's sister-in-law, Madame Bouquey, came to their rescue, and received, first, Guadet and Salle, and later Barbaroux, Valady, Louvet, Buzot and Petion. She hid them in a large cave, left in an abandoned quarry, which they reached by means of an old well in the yard.

They remained there for about a month, and the tragedy of "Charlotte Cordai" was probably begun during this time.

Finally, this place became unsafe, and they were forced to leave. By this time, the house of Guadet's father was no longer watched, and Guadet and Salle took refuge there, in a secret attic.

It was there that Salle composed most of his tragedy. This was followed by a "conte satirique" in verse on the "Entrée de Danton aux Enfers."

The two deputies were discovered and arrested in the night of the "28 prairial, an II." Salle attempted to shoot himself, but the pistol would not go off. He was taken to Bordeaux and executed there the "1<sup>er</sup> Messidor, an II."

When Salle had finished his tragedy of "Charlotte Cordai", he sent it to his friends, Petion, Buzot, and



Barbaroux, asking their opinion of it. They each replied with a letter of criticism.

Two of these letters, Petion's and Buzot's, found among the papers of the Girondins, were officially preserved and are now in the "Archives Nationales". Barbaroux's letter and the original manuscript of the tragedy were, for years, lost and almost completely forgotten.

(198)

In 1863, a stranger young man brought to M. France, a publisher and book-seller on the quai Voltaire; some old manuscripts, among which were found:

- "1° Un cahier petit in-8°, renfermant le brouillon original ou premier jet de la tragédie de "Charlotte Cordai" de la main de Salle;
- 2° Une copie du même ouvrage, format in -4°, de 81 pages, d'une écriture inconnue.

"A ces copies étaient jointes une lettre autographe de Barbaroux, adressée à Salle au sujet de sa pièce." (199)

Vatel has made extensive investigations in an attempt to discover the history of these papers from the time they were seized to the time when M. France received them.

He has proved, by the official records, that these manuscripts, together with all the other papers of the de-

puties arrested at Saint-Emilion, were sent by Jullien of Bordeaux to the "Comité de Salut Public" at Paris. (200)

It was from there that they disappeared.

Before 1863, Vatel had obtained a manuscript of the tragedy from Jean Guadet, nephew and heir of the Girondin Guadet. As early as 1823, Jean Guadet had published fragments of the play and would probably have published it in its entirety, had not Saint-Beuve objected on the ground of its lack of literary value. (201) In regard to the origin of the manuscript, Jean Guadet says:

"Aussi loin que peuvent remonter mes souvenirs, j'ai vu dans ma famille, un manuscrit original, sur papier commun d'un bleu azuré, format petit in-4<sup>o</sup>, avec ce titre: 'Charlotte Corday, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers, par Salle, l'un des proscrits.'" (202)

In 1799, Bosc, "cy-devant Administrateur des postes et actuellement consul de la République à New-York," (203) acting in behalf of Guadet's and Petion's widows and of Parbaroux's mother, wrote to the "Ministre de la Police, asking his intervention in recovering the Saint-Emilion documents, which, he had reason to believe, were in the hands of "Vatard" and "le Cointre" of Versailles. (204)

René Vatar was the "Imprimeur du Comité de Salut Public." The Girondin papers, Vatel thinks, might have

(205)  
been given to him for publication. Another conjecture is that Robespierre had taken them to examine them when they reached the Comité, and that Laurent Lecointre, a member of the commission charged with examining the papers of Robespierre after the fall of the latter, had found the Saint-Emilion documents and taken them. Lecointre and Vatar were close friends, and either might have transmitted them to the other. (206)

In a notice to the second part of the memoirs of Barbaroux, published by his son, the latter says: "La partie que je publie avait été remise à M. Bosc, de l'Institut; c'est par lui qu'elle m'a été conservée et rendue....." (207)

Vatel adds: "Il faut donc conclure que la démarche .....avait réussi et que Vatar avait été obligé de rendre à Bosc les manuscrits des Girondins." (208)

"Enfin l'un des doubles de la tragédie de Charlotte Corday par Salle pourrait bien être parvenu par Bosc à M. Julien Guadet. Ce manuscrit, inconnu probablement de la veuve de Salle, se rattachait intimement à la maison Guadet, à Saint-Emilion. M. Julien Guadet avait été chargé par Louvet de faire des recherches pour retrouver les ouvrages des Girondins. Il était donc naturel qu'au moment où ces ouvrages étaient retrouvés après tant d'efforts,

un des exemplaires fût offert au seul représentant de la famille qui eût survécu à cette sanglante immolation. Ainsi s'expliquerait comment M. Jean Guadet, fils du précédent, aurait vu ce manuscrit depuis son enfance dans la maison paternelle." (209)

The papers sold to M. France, including the first draft of the tragedy, and the letter of Barbaroux, must have been retained by Vatar.

After a long search, Vatel found that the young man who had brought them to M. France, was a certain M. Chau-liac. He went to see him and learned from some medals which Chau-liac's father had obtained from the same source as the papers, that the latter had come from Charles Du-val, a deputy from Rennes to the "Assemblée législative", to the Convention and to the "Cinq-Cents", an intimate friend of Vatar, and, like Lecointre, a member of the commission charged with the examination of Robespierre's pa-pers.

The Saint-Emilion manuscripts and the medals had been given to the elder Chau-liac in 1835 by a M. Rosier, who in turn, had received them from Raveau, son-in-law of Charles Duval. (210)

Thus, except for the few fragments published by J. Guadet, the drama of Salle, finished in 1794, and the criti-cisms of his friends were not made public until 1863.

Salle's aim throughout the play, and especially in the almost interminable first scene, is apparently, to paint in the blackest colors possible, his enemies, the Montagnards. He wishes to show them ambitious to rule, cowardly, hostile to and suspicious of one another, and ready to use any means, even to the vilest crimes, in order to accomplish their ends.

Vatel says: "La pensée qui le domine se trahit dès les premières pages et dès les premiers vers. Avant tout, se donner le plaisir de peindre à sa fantaisie le portrait de ses adversaires, de les produire hideux sur la scène, de les montrer se confessant entre eux et dévoilant leurs hontes dans l'expansion de leurs délibérations secrètes, c'est déjà une satisfaction; mais placer dans leur bouche la condamnation involontaire du 31 Mai, l'éloge des proscrits, c'est-à-dire des Girondins, le tableau du mouvement fédéraliste et des craintes qu'il avait inspirées aux Montagnards, C'était une vengeance qui devait sourire à Salle, surtout quand il songeait à son parterre, qui se composait de ses compagnons d'infortune et peut-être de Madame Bouquey." (211)

The scene of the play is the council room of the Committee of Public Safety. When the first act opens, the committee is in session. Barrere is making a report on the correspondence which he holds in his hand. He depicts the dangers that threaten the members of the despotic committee--

Normandy, Brittany and the Midi arming themselves to march on Paris; Wimphe, outraged by the Montagne, going over to the Girondins; each member in danger of being assassinated. "L'exemple de Brutus a germé dans les âmes." (212)

Sechele advocates ending the Terror and recalling the proscribed deputies. The people, he thinks, will not endure the shedding of any more blood, and the Girondins, if pardoned, will be silenced by gratitude.

Rospierre's advice is:

"Feignons; et sans ceder ayons-en l'apparence.

"Offrons à ce parti, courbé sous nos decrets,

"Un oubli reciproque et l'espoir de la Paix;

"Des Proscrits, pour un temps, faisons tomber les chaînes;

"Et s'il le faut, amis, avant de triompher,

"Serrons-les dans nos bras, mais pour les Etouffer." (213)

Amare suspects Barrere of misrepresenting all these perils, because he has seen him sometimes on the side of the proscribed deputies.

Danton thinks that the others are magnifying the dangers which threaten them. Their enemies, he maintains, composed of several different parties, are not sufficiently united to overthrow them. He scoffs at the idea of assassins.

At that moment, Bazire enters, with the news that Marat has just been murdered. Henriot follows to confirm the

report. He urges haste in judging and executing the assassin, for fear that the people, if they have time to think, may transfer their sympathy and their support to her, and consequently, to the Gironde.

But Danton sees that the death of Marat may be turned to the profit of his party. Though they all hated Marat, he says, they must feign grief, and above all, do nothing without semblance of justice and legality.

"Le sang versé sans règle est repandu sans fruit.

"Profitons du passé; sachons dans nos vengeances,  
(207)

"De la justice, amis, mettre les apparences."

At the opening of the second act, Robespierre reports that the people are ready to be influenced either for or against Charlotte Corday and the Girondins. The agents of the Montagne are busy distributing money and buying public favor.

Charlotte is to be brought before the committee. Danton is uneasy because the people cannot be excluded from the hearing.

A crowd of people arrive and Robespierre tries to arouse their indignation over the murder of Marat and over the danger that threatens all the other leaders. It is the Girondins, he declares, who have instigated this assassination; Charlotte Corday is but the instrument.

Just then, Charlotte is brought in. She openly accuses Danton and Robespierre of the crimes she attributes to them. Robespierre becomes angry, but Danton reminds him that he must control himself if he wishes to keep the sympathy of the people.

Sechele is at once struck by the beauty of the prisoner and, in frequent asides, we learn that his admiration for her is growing rapidly.

Charlotte addresses the people in a long tirade wherein she paints the misfortunes and the perils of France. A debate ensues between her and Danton and Robespierre. The people are divided. Some clamor for the punishment of the criminal; others are won by her courage.

Danton promises them that justice shall be done. Charlotte is led away, and the crowd leave.

The members of the Committee of Public Safety deliberate on a means of forcing Charlotte to accuse the Girondins of having persuaded her to kill Marat. It is agreed that they will tempt her with hopes of pardon, and Sechele is chosen to fulfill this duty.

Danton insists that all but the most faithful followers of the Montagne must be excluded from the trial before the Tribunal. To insure this, there must be a sign whereby their adherents may be recognized. He takes his red



sash, and on it, the members of the committee swear to bear an implacable hatred for the "Proscrits" and to kill any member of the group, who shall betray this vow. They cut the sash with their poniards, and each takes a piece, which he, in turn, is to cut and distribute among the agents of the Montagne. Danton appoints Robespierre to accuse Charlotte before the Tribunal

When act III opens, Sechele is alone. His friend Raffet enters. He has, in some unexplained manner, learned of the plot to betray Charlotte Corday into accusing the Girondins and urges Sechele not to carry out his part. The latter admits that Marat was a traitor and that his accomplices are vile, but he hates the Girondins for their eloquence and their pride.

Raffet accuses him of wanting to rule, and assures him that Danton is merely using him and the others as tools, in order that he himself may some day be the supreme ruler. But Danton will not succeed, he continues, for Paris is ripe for revolt. All that is needed is a leader.

Henriot comes to tell Sechele that Charlotte Corday is being brought in. The presence of Raffet arouses his suspicion. When they have both left, Sechele soliloquizes on Charlotte's charms and virtues and on the odiousness of the thing he is about to do.

Charlotte enters, and from that moment, Sechele is

completely won. He urges her to delay her death by giving some deceptive hope of a confession, and tells her that she might, by her charms, influence the despots in favor of the proscribed deputies. She scornfully rejects these suggestions. Sechele ends by promising to save her life and overthrow the tyrants.

Charlotte Corday leaves, and Sechele is giving voice to his patriotic enthusiasm, when Amare enters. Sechele refuses to tell him the result of his interview with Charlotte, but promises to make it known "en présence de tous." (215) Amare becomes suspicious.

Sechele leaves, and Danton, Barrere and Henriot enter. When Amare imparts to them his suspicions, Henriot tells of having seen Raffet with Sechele. Amare and Barrere are appointed to watch Sechele.

Robespierre arrives with the news that people are openly talking of overthrowing the Montagne.

At the beginning of Act IV, Raffet and Sechele are alone in the council room. It is night.

Charlotte Corday is still before the Tribunal, says Raffet, and women with poniards are guarding the place to keep her sympathizers out.

Raffet and Sechele call in ten national guard officers, who have been waiting outside. Sechele urges them to purge their ranks of any royalists who might be there,

for the presence of such men, would give the Montagnards, in the eyes of the people, an argument against the Girondist party.

Sechele gives Raffet, for a rallying sign, his portion of Danton's red sash. Raffet is to march upon the enemy's posts, showing it. Sechele's duty will be to watch the movements of the committee.

The others leave, and Sechele remains alone. Presently Barrere and Amare enter. They have seen Raffet and the officers come out of the council room. Sechele tells them that he has been working to frustrate some odious plots, but that he is obliged to keep his knowledge secret for a while yet.

As soon as he is gone, Danton arrives, and Amare and Barrere tell him what they have seen. They are now sure of Sechele's treason. Amare wants to kill the traitor immediately, but Danton declares that his death must be made to profit to the cause. He instructs Amare to see to it that one of their agents shall poison Sechele and to have him surrounded by adherents of the Montagne until he dies, in order that no one else may hear anything he has to say.

Robespierre returns from the trial. Charlotte Corday has been condemned, but the crowd has destroyed the scaffold and the city is in a tumult.

Danton announces that the insurgents are coming. He gives orders for reinforcing the threatened posts.

When the fifth act opens, Robespierre is telling Danton that the posts have surrendered.

Barrere and Amare enter. The revolting army, says Barrere, has done no violence. Their aim is merely to unmask the despots and leave the people to decide what is to be done. It is rumored that great secrets are to be disclosed.

Amare reports that Sechele has revealed nothing. Surrounded by agents of the Montagne he has been poisoned and is, perhaps, already dying.

Bazire brings the news that Sechele is coming, and that the square is already filled with soldiers. Danton dispatches Bazire to bring Charlotte Corday and some loyal troops. Danton and Robespierre expect to be killed, but are determined that Charlotte shall perish first.

When she is brought in, Danton draws his poniard and threatens to kill her. She defies him and tries to drive him to the act by saying that she would stab him if she were free.

The insurgents arrive and, at the same time, Henriot reaches the spot with his soldiers. The two troops stand facing each other. Sechele takes his place between them,

and is about to speak when he sees Danton ready to stab Charlotte. She urges him not to try to save her life by sparing the tyrants. While he hesitates, in this terrible dilemma, he begins to feel the effects of the poison, and dies without having made the disclosures he was supposed to make.

The Montagnards immediately accuse the insurgents of having poisoned him. It is their plots, says Danton, that the victim was on the point of revealing. In vain Raffet protests that his friend had broken with the Montagnards. In vain he shows the piece of red sash given him by Sechele; Amare turns that into another proof that the insurgents had approached Sechele to poison him.

Robespierre kneels near the body of Sechele and weeps over it. Raffet's soldiers join Henriot, and Raffet is arrested.

Charlotte Corday laments the triumph of evil and prophesies the further excesses of the reign of terror. She is led away to be executed.

Danton orders the "pompe triomphale" for Marat and Sechele.

Bazire and Henriot return to report that Charlotte Corday has been executed; that the leaders of the insurrection have been arrested; and that the people are demanding their death.

Danton concludes with:

"Il n'est rien pour régner qu'il ne faille tenter." (216)

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It is scarcely necessary to say that by far the greater part of Salle's tragedy is purely imaginary. Since most of the criticisms to be made are found in the letters written by Petion, Barbaroux and Buzot, we shall use their comments as a point of departure.

The part to which they all object most is the love of Hérault de Séchelles for Charlotte Corday. Petion says: "Pourquoi lui donner une passion vraie pour une femme vertueuse?....; qu'il cherche à abuser et à corrompre une fille jeune et belle, rien n'est plus dans ses mœurs; qu'il feigne de l'intérêt pour elle, qu'il joue la vertu pour parvenir à ses fins, c'est la marche que suivent les hommes de son espèce." (217)

Barbaroux suggests a revision of the play with Adam Lux, as Charlotte's lover, conspiring with Raffet to save her and to overthrow the Montagne. (218)

Buzot objects to any love affair at all. "Surtout, point d'amour dans une pièce de ce genre, il n'est jamais bien, comme agent secondaire, dans une action théâtrale. Mais bannissez-le surtout de la vôtre; il y est petit, il en dépare les beautés. L'inconvenance saute aux yeux....Que penserait Charlotte Corday, si elle se voyait presque amoureuse de Hérault de Séchelles?" (219)

However, it was, doubtless, not without a purpose that Salle introduced this element. "Ce n'est pas au hasard qu'il a choisi ce personnage pour l'amoureux obligé de la pièce. Hérault, par sa beauté, était l'Alcibiade du parti Montagnard.....; il se

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trouvait naturellement désigné pour le rôle de séducteur par ses mœurs galantes, qui étaient notoires.

"Salle avait encore une autre raison: Hérault de Séchelles, qui présidait déjà l'assemblée législative le 2 septembre, présidait aussi la Convention le 2 juin, deux griefs, deux crimes inexpiables pour la Gironde.....

"Mettre aux pieds de Charlotte de Corday un des coryphées de la Montagne, le montrer sur la scène tel qu'il était dans la vie privée, le cribler d'allusions qui devaient être facilement comprises, si la pièce était jamais jouée; c'était un coup de maître pour celui qui ne voulait pas moins frapper ses adversaires que célébrer son héroïne.....Enfin pour comble d'humiliation, Hérault de Séchelles tombe aux genoux de Charlotte, et quand il se relève, il est conquis à la Gironde."  
(220)

Likewise, Petion, Barbaroux and Buzot all criticize the death of Séchelles in the play when, in reality, he was still alive. "Ce fait," says Petion, "est par trop opposé à l'histoire, et je doute qu'on passât jamais cette licence à un auteur dramatique. Je suppose qu'on jouât la pièce de nos jours, et que Sechelle fût présent au spectacle: combien cela serait choquant; et d'ailleurs, à quoi bon? Au premier coup d'œil, c'est un crime de plus à imputer aux scélérats qu'on se propose de rendre odieux. Mais ici ce ne sont pas les crimes qui manquent, et l'intérêt que doit constamment inspirer Charlotte Corday, l'héroïne de la pièce, semble affaibli. Son sort glorieux

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est partagé par un homme indigne d'elle."

Vile as Salle has pictured the leaders of the Montagne, Petion and Barbaroux find him too lenient toward them. Petion is especially bitter. "Il me semble que les caractères des principaux personnages ne sont pas bien rendus, qu'on leur a donné dans le crime une élévation qui ne leur appartient pas; qu'on les a rendus moins odieux et moins vils qu'ils ne sont.

"Ces caractères sont aussi trop uniformes. Je ne connais qu'un trait qui leur soit commun à tous, c'est la lâcheté. L'auteur, loin d'avoir saisi ce trait, a fait de chacun de ses personnages un homme courageux, toujours prêt à sacrifier sa vie pour réussir dans ses projets d'ambition."  
(222)

We are not concerned here with investigating the characters of the Montagnards, but if their faults and misdeeds are exaggerated by Salle and his companions, we can forgive these misrepresentations when we remember that they were the only revenge obtained by the Girondins for what they had suffered and were suffering at the hands of their enemies.

The only scene that has any historical basis is the so-called examination of Charlotte Corday by the Committee of Public Safety. Although the official records do not mention it, certain authors maintain that there was another hearing, the evening of the murder, besides the one in Marat's house. However,  
(223)



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if such a hearing did take place, it was before the Committee of General Security, not the Committee of Public Safety.

Several lines of this scene are paraphrases either of Charlotte Corday's answers before the Tribunal or of passages from her letters. Thus, questioned about her parents, she says:

"Sic de quelque vertu j'ai pu couvrir mon nom,  
"L'ame qu'ils m'ont formée est leur plus noble don,  
"O mon père! pardonne à ta fille chérie,  
"Si j'ai, sans ton aveu, disposé de ma vie; (224)  
"Ma gloire t'appartient; console tes vieux ans!"

It is easy to recognize here, Charlotte's farewell letter to her father: "Pardonnez-moi, mon cher Papa, d'avoir disposé de mon existence sans votre permission. J'ai vengé bien d'innocentes victimes, j'ai prévenu bien d'autres désastres.....Je vous prie de m'oublier, ou plutôt de vous réjouir de mon sort. La cause en est belle." (225)

One answer is given exactly as it is in the records of the trial. Asked: "Qui t'a porté à ce meurtre?", she replies: (226)  
"Ses crimes."

When Danton exclaims:

"Eh quoi! tu pretendras tes fureurs légitimes?  
"Frapper l'ami du peuple! Oublier ses bienfaits!",

She answers:

(227)  
"Le monstre!--Grace au ciel, il n'était pas Français."

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This reply is taken from Charlotte's letter to Bar-  
baroux: "--c'était une bête féroce qui allait dévorer  
le reste de la France par le feu de la guerre civile.....  
Grâce au ciel, il n'était pas né Français." (228)

Attempting to make her accuse the Girondins, Danton  
says:

"De ta rage,

"Ils ont au moins, barbare, encouragé l'excès."

Charlotte replies:

"Quoi donc! tu peux penser que ~~de~~ si nobles faits,

"Que de si hauts desseins aient besoin d'autres charmes,

"Pour exciter mon bras et lui fournir une arme?

"Qui les conseilleraient sans les exécuter

"Seroit une lâche....."

Sechèle, à part

Dieux!

Charlotte

Et qui pour les tenter

(229)

"Attendrait des conseils, n'en serait point capable."

During her preliminary hearing, Montané assured her  
"qu'Elle ne persuadera à qu'ilque ce soit, qu'une personne de  
son âge et de son sexe ait conçu un tel attentat....., si  
Elle n'y avait pas été excitée et sollicitée par quelques  
personnes qu'elle ne veut pas nous indiquer....."

She declared "Que c'est bien mal connaître le cœur humain,

Page 108.

qu'il est plus facile d'exécuter un tel projet d'après sa propre haine que d'après celle des autres." (230)

In her trial, on the morning of the 17th, she said: (231)  
"On exécute mal ce qu'on n'a pas conçu soi-même", and later:  
"Je n'aurais jamais commis un pareil attentat par le conseil des autres. C'est moi seule, je répète, moi qui en ai conçu le projet et qui l'ai exécuté". (232)

But in spite of the few verses which paraphrase closely enough the words of Charlotte Corday, the reading of this scene leaves a very different impression from that given by the records of the trial. In the play, she loses much of that quiet dignity which is one of her outstanding characteristics.

Barbaroux says: "Chaque parole que tu mets dans la bouche de Corday doit être également vraie et digne d'elle.

"Quoi donc, tu peux penser que de si nobles faits,  
"Que de si hauts desseins aient besoin d'autre charme  
"Pour exciter mon bras et lui fournir une arme?"

"Je n'ai pas besoin de te faire remarquer combien ces vers sont faibles. Mon ami, c'est Charlotte Corday qui parle:

"Je te hais à l'égal du monstre que tu venges;  
'Pour qui voudroit ton sang, tes délais sont étranges'

"Ceux-là ne valent absolument rien.....

"La suite de cette scène présente quelques beaux vers, mais Charlotte discourt trop longuement, je dirais trop

Page 109.

Lachement dans l'acception qu'on donne à ce mot, par opposition au style concis et fort.....

"Je suis difficile parce qu'il s'agit de Charlotte Cordai; je voudrais que, te procurant le "Moniteur", où son interrogatoire et la lettre qu'elle m'écrivit sont fidèlement rapportés, tu n'oubliasses aucun des traits de sa grande âme."  
(233)

And indeed, the long tirades in the last of this scene and in the other two in which Charlotte appears, present a striking contrast with her brief, concise statements before her judges.

Her answers at the trial, as well as in her preliminary hearings, show her to be absolutely fearless and self-confident, but Salle makes her almost brazen at times. Her arguments with Robespierre and Danton nearly degenerate into a quarrel.

The quotation of a few additional passages will help to show how poorly Salle has succeeded in portraying his heroine.

When Charlotte enters, Robespierre is telling the people that it is the Girondins who are the real authors of the assassination. She interrupts him with:

"Que dis-tu? Calme-toi.

Robespierre

"Monstre! sur ton supplice

"J'interroge à la fois la terre et les cieux.

Charlotte

"Mon supplice! Je sais; je dois mourir.....

"....A la mort je me suis attendue.

"Du peuple, cependant, ne prévien pas le cœur; (234)

"Sois plus adroit; attends: montre quelque pudeur."

Danton

"Citoyenne, approchez: avant votre defense

"Asseyez-vous; la Loi vous le permet.

Charlotte

(235)

La Loi

"M'est connue."

Barrere

"Quels sont vos parents?

Charlotte

(236)

Que t'importe?....."

Danton

"Tu fais

"D'inutiles efforts pour tromper nos vengeances;

"Nous savons tes rapports et tes intelligences.

Charlotte

(237)

"Nomme-les....."

Charlotte

"Que la vertu, pour toi, soit du moins respectable;

"Laisse aux Proscrits leur gloire, à mon cœur ses (238)  
succès."

Danton

"Amis, vous entendez ce nouvel attentat?

"Elle outrage à la fois et nous-même et Marat.

Charlotte

"Laisse là ton Marat, L'opprobre de la terre,

"Fleau devastateur vomé par le tonnerre,  
(239)

"Monstre affreux....."

It would be interesting to know whether Salle himself knew Charlotte Corday at Caen. In the absence of proofs, this point must remain a matter of conjecture. Vatel says: "Ce qui est hors de doute, c'est la notoriété de Salle à Caen et la connaissance de son nom par Charlotte. Ce qui reste vraisemblable, c'est leur rencontre soit à la revue des volontaires, soit dans les salons de l'Intendance; ce qu'on ne peut donner que comme conjectural et sous toutes réserves, ce serait un entretien direct qui aurait inspiré plus tard à Salle l'idée de traduire sur la scène cette grande image."  
(240)

Another expression borrowed from history is found in Sechele's soliloquy in the third scene of the fourth act. He says of Charlotte Corday:

"Elle vivra; son nom, comme un signal de gloire,

"Va marcher devant nous et fixer la victoire;

"Et nos cris triomphants, célébrant ses vertus,  
(241)

"Vont la nommer partout Plus Grande que Brutus."

These last words will be recognized as the inscription suggested by Adam Lux for the statue that he declared should be erected to Charlotte Corday in the Place de la Révolution.  
(242)

Salle's observance of the unity of place makes it necessary for Raffet and Sechele to meet in the council room of the committee of Public Safety itself, to plan the details of their insurrection. The author seeks to minimize the improbability of this, by having Sechele say:

"Leurs nombreux surveillans couvrent Paris entier;  
"Peut-être à ces murs seuls pouvons-nous nous fier.  
"Ici le crime dort, et cette nuit obscure,  
"De tous nos compagnons rendra la marche sure." (243)

Buzot says; "Je voudrais d'abord que la scène se passât dans le cachot de Charlotte; on peut supposer que les commissaires de la Convention viennent l'y interroger; et sans beaucoup nuire à l'unité de lieu, on peut placer à la Conciergerie tous les changements de scène que vous croirez propres à donner du mouvement, de l'intérêt et de la chaleur à l'action de votre pièce. Mais la scène ne peut pas être au Comité de salut public; encore moins Raffet et Sechelles y venir conspirer." (244)

Farther on, he adds: "La pièce que vous faites est-elle ou non populaire? Si oui, je vous engage à imiter celle de Shakespear, elle fera le plus grand effet. Montrez les hommes à nud; ne craignez pas de les introduire dans différentes conditions, tels qu'ils sont en effet: les incidens se multiplient sans nuire à l'unité d'intérêt. Quant aux deux autres,

(245)

Shakespear n'eût pas manqué de les sacrifier à la première."

From the conversation between Raffet and Sechele, we learn that, in the night, while they are conspiring, Charlotte is being tried before the Tribunal. This is doubtless a concession to the unity of time, for the trial took place in the morning of the fourth day after the assassination. (246)

The latter event, which, in reality, happened in the evening, Salle places earlier in the day, probably in the morning, judging by the number and length of the scenes that transpire before the night scene in the fourth act.

In the play, we learn the details of the trial from Robespierre, who, according to Salle, accused Charlotte Corday before the Revolutionary Tribunal. As we already know, this duty was performed by Fouquier-Tinville, the Public Prosecutor, to whom it rightfully belonged. (247) Neither Robespierre nor any of the other Montagnards who appear in the drama took any active part in the trial. They are not mentioned in the records. Salle also represents the committee as placing, at **thedoor** of the Tribunal, women with poniards to keep out anyone who might be inclined to sympathize with Charlotte. There is no basis for such a statement.

In the fifth act, when the plot of Raffet and Sechele fails, Charlotte Corday realizes the futility of her act. This also, is contrary to fact. To the very end she showed herself



confident that her great sacrifice would accomplish just what she had intended.

Thus we find that Salle's tragedy has very little historical basis. Almost all of it is pure invention. The author goes not only beyond the realm of fact, but beyond the realm of probability, or even of possibility, since he portrays the death of Séchelles, who, at the time the play was finished, was still alive. The author changes the character of Charlotte Corday, unintentionally, no doubt, making her less admirable. Most of his effort seems to be expended in showing the baseness of the Montagnards.

Almost entirely without literary value, its interest lies in its unusual history and in the fact that the play itself and the letters written by Salle's friends show the judgment of the Girondins on Charlotte Corday and on their adversaries, the Montagnards.

.....

B. Madame Colet's "Charlotte Corday".

Louise Revoil was born at Aix, near Marseilles, in September 1810. Her father was a rich merchant of Lyons, and her mother belonged to an old family of barristers. Her childhood was spent at the château de Servannes, where she was in the care of two aunts. It was from there that she sent to the newspapers of Marseilles, Lyons and Paris her first verses, which she signed "une femme." (248)

Married, in 1835, to M. Hippolyte Colet, a composer and a professor in the National Conservatory of Music, she went to live in Paris. The following year, she published her first volume of poetry, entitled "Fleurs du Midi." Four times--1839, 1843, 1852, and 1855--Madame Colet won the poetry prize at the Académie française. She became known as the "Muse du Midi." (249)

One of the prize poems having been the object of a very scathing criticism by the journalist, Alphonse Karr, Madame Colet planted herself one morning at his door, armed with a knife, and attempted to stab him as he came out. Karr calmly took the knife away from her and sent her home.

In 1842, she was introduced into Madame Récamier's "salon" at l'Abbaye-au-Bois, and after the death of the latter in 1849, Madame Colet's own house, in the rue de Sèvres, became the meeting-place for some of the literary men who had

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been the friends of Madame Récamier. Among them were Victor Cousin, Villemain, Musset, Flaubert and Hugo. Her relations with Alfred de Musset are related in her novel "Lui", written in answer to George Sand's "Elle et Lui."

She lost her husband in 1851. In the same year, she went with her nine-year-old daughter to England, stopping at Guernsey, on her return trip, to see Victor Hugo.

In 1864, Madame Colet visited Italy. She spent an entire winter at Naples, where her somewhat irreligious writings made for her numerous enemies. She was finally accused of having poisoned the springs and thus caused the fever that was raging in Italy. Her life was threatened, but fortunately, she had friends in that country, who extricated her from <sup>the</sup> difficulty.

She died in Paris in 1876.

Among the best of Madame Colet's works are two tragedies in verse, published in 1842, one on Madame Roland, the other on Charlotte Corday. These "Tableaux dramatiques" were never staged, although, as shown by one of the author's letters, they were written for the theater.

"Mes tableaux dramatiques n'ont pas été, il-est vrai, représentés au théâtre, mais ils auraient pu l'être si j'avais consenti à insérer, ainsi que me l'ont demandé plusieurs directeurs, l'élément romanesque dans le rôle de Charlotte.

"Tel qu'il est, d'ailleurs, je n'ai point renoncé à la

représentation de cet ouvrage.

However, the play seems to have attained some degree of popularity with the reading public. "Le livre avait paru en juin, 1842. Deux mois après, "la Psyché" et "le Constitutionnel", dans leur revue des Modes, indiquaient le "Bonnet à la Charlotte Corday" comme faisant partie de la toilette des dames."  
(251)

That the drama "Charlotte Corday" was composed with considerable care and with some regard for historical accuracy, is shown by the notes which accompany it. Vatel says: "Elle a enrichi les tableaux dramatiques qu'elle publiait de notes excellentes, d'autographes inédits, de portraits originaux qui prouvent qu'avant tout, elle s'est inspirée de l'histoire. ....Elle publie le facsimile d'une lettre de Charlotte Corday au Comité de Sûreté générale, inconnue jusqu' alors et du plus haut intérêt."  
(252)

Madame Colet's principal source seems to be the biography of Charlotte Corday by Dubois, published in 1838, for she quotes rather extensively from this work.

Louis Dubois, himself a native of the department of the Calvados, was personally acquainted with Charlotte Corday.  
(253)  
His book, while containing several errors, was perhaps, at that time, the most reliable authority on Charlotte's life.

Among other things included in the notes are a copy

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of Charlotte Corday's birth certificate, several extracts from the memoirs of the Girondins, the interesting notes on the trial by Charlotte Corday's counsel, Chaveau-Lagarde, Charlotte's letters to her father and to Barbaroux, Adam Lux's dissertation on the heroine, the Ode of André Chénier, and a translation of Klopstock's Ode "Die beiden Gräber," in which he laments the futility of Charlotte's sacrifice. (254) (255)

The play itself is divided not into acts, but into seven "tableaux."

In the first scene the Girondins are deliberating on the means of delivering France from the Montagne. Barbaroux objects to using Wimpfen and his army, because Wimpfen is, secretly, a royalist. Louvet wants to wait for the armies from Marseilles and Bordeaux. Guadet and Buzot argue that there is no time to waste if they hope to save their colleagues imprisoned at Paris, and that Wimpfen is their only hope at present: "Toute alliance est juste au parti généreux." (256)  
"Qui s'arme pour sauver un peuple malheureux."

They have talked long enough, they think. Now it is time for action.

Pétion says that Barbaroux is content to stay at Caen and wait, on account of the "belle royaliste" who comes to the club to hear him. (257)

Barbaroux indignantly denies that Charlotte Corday is a

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Royalist and proposes her as the star, the guardian angel of the Gironde.

(258)

"C'est de l'amour," says Louvet, but Barbaroux declares that Charlotte Corday loves only liberty, that she resembles Emilie, the heroine created by Corneille, her great ancestor. To Barbaroux, "c'est un être sacré!" (259)

Just then, Pétion, at the window, announces that Charlotte herself is coming. When Charlotte enters, she asks Barbaroux's assistance in the errand she is about to undertake at Paris in behalf of her friend, Yolande de Forbin. Barbaroux tells her that he no longer has any friends at Paris, and urges her to stay away from the capital, where her beauty, her rank and the fact that she is from Caen will be more than sufficient to send her to the scaffold.

Charlotte says that she is curious to see the leaders of the Montagne, for it does not seem possible that they, especially Marat, could be as horrible as the Girondins have described them.

This brings on a new denunciation of Marat. It is true that he is not the sole author of all the crimes of the Montagne, but, according to Barbaroux, he has been the instigator of them all.

Charlotte reproaches the Girondins for letting such a

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monster live. Guadet assures her that within a month the Montagnards shall be punished, for already the armies are ready to march.

Civil war is very slow and uncertain, says Charlotte, and, aside, she adds: "Il est des coups plus prompts et  
(260)  
des moyens plus sûrs."

She takes leave of the Girondins, saying that she will precede them to Paris.

The scene of the second tableau is Charlotte's room at the Grand Manoir. It is night. Charlotte is preparing to leave. She does not dare to say good-bye to her aunt for fear her resolution will weaken. She opens her Bible and reads the story of Judith. This assassination, commanded by God himself, seems to her to justify the killing of tyrants.

Then turning to the portrait of Corneille on the wall, she appeals to the genius of her family to guide her. The great poet with the roman soul, she decides, would not hesitate, if he were living, to strike down the despot.

The next scene shows Charlotte at the hôtel de la Providence at Paris. A crowd of people enter, crying "Vive Marat!" They have bread and wine and other provisions from a shop they have just pillaged. One man remains just outside the door, holding at the end of a pike, the head of the merchant.

They sit down at the table to eat their spoils, discuss-

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ing joyfully the manner in which the grocer met his death. A woman suggests that they give the head some wine. Charlotte cannot restrain a horrified protest. This arouses the suspicion of the people, but the hostess, Marie-Louise Graulier, vouches for her, saying that the girl loves liberty as much as any of them. Charlotte discusses with the leader the news of the day.

A peasant woman from the Vendée enters, cursing Marat. The leader is going to kill her, but Charlotte intercedes for her, and she is allowed to tell her story. Her son's wife has been guillotined along with a score of other women from the Vendée. Her child has been sent to an orphanage, and the poor grandmother has just made a futile appeal to Marat to be allowed to keep the baby. The old woman is carried away by the mob, who shout: "A la guillotine", while Charlotte pleads for her in vain.

In the fourth tableau, Charlotte, seated on a bench in the garden of the Palais-Royal, is meditating. She has just purchased the knife, which she carries hidden in her bosom. She is not yet thoroughly convinced that the thing she is about to do is right.

"Eh quoi! ce bras aussi va frapper?...est-ce à moi

"Contre le meurtrier de remplacer la loi?"

She begins to think about her own death. The sight



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of a mother passing with her little son makes her regret the life and the happiness she is giving up. The child comes to Charlotte, and she takes it in her arms and weeps. She intimates that she loves Barbaroux.

But at this moment, a crier passes selling Marat's paper and telling of that morning's executions. This awakens Charlotte from her dream, and she hastens away, her resolution stronger now than ever.

At the opening of the fifth tableau, Marat, in his bath is talking to Laurent Basse, who is busy folding papers. Marat fears that Robespierre is stealing his popularity, but Basse assures him that he still holds the hearts of the people, even though Robespierre may, perhaps, be more powerful in the Convention.

Marat asks if the woman from Caen who has written to him has returned. Basse replies that she has, but that, in accordance with Marat's orders, she has been turned away. Marat gives him some papers to take to the printers. It is, he says, his "liste au tribunal." (263)

Left alone, Marat confesses that love for the people is but the mask he uses to hide his thirst for vengeance. Envy has been his dominating passion--envy of the nobility, of the rich, of all those who have risen above him.

"Après avoir détruit les hommes du passé,

"Je frappe maintenant ceux qui m'ont dépassé;

"Mon cœur sent une rage incessante et nouvelle. (264)

"Chaque front qui grandit, je veux qu'on le nivelle."

He realizes that he cannot live much longer:

"Bientôt à cette terre il faudra dire adieu;

"Le néant vient après....mais s'il était un Dieu? (265)

"S'il devait me juger? Ah! j'aurais peur peut-être!....

Just then, Charlotte Corday is heard disputing with Marat's servant. Marat gives orders to admit her.

He asks what the conspirators are doing at Caen, and she answers that all Normandy and Brittany are arming themselves to march on Paris. She gives him the names of the Girondist deputies at Caen, he promises to send them all to the guillotine, and she stabs him. Hearing his cry for help, Laurent Basse and the servant rush in to find him already dead.

The next scene represents Charlotte Corday's trial before the Tribunal.

The seventh and last tableau shows Charlotte in her prison, ready to go to the guillotine. She is not in the least afraid of death. The scene is changed to represent the "place de la Révolution." In spite of a storm which is threatening, there is an immense crowd of people. The tumbril, surrounded by soldiers, approaches. Adam Lux walks beside it, his eyes fixed on Charlotte.

(266)

Several voices shout: "A bas la condamnée!" Adam Lux

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begs them to spare her last moments from insults. This brings down a storm of threats on his head, and he declares that he would be happy to die with and for Charlotte Corday. Charlotte thanks him for this generous sentiment.

The tumbril stops, and the victim approaches the scaffold, saying:

"Peuple, au milieu de vous j'ai la plus noble place!

"Regardez! à la mort je monte le front haut:

"Le crime fait la honte et non pas l'échafaud."

(267)

The curtain falls.

Charlotte Corday is first mentioned in the play when Pétion, addressing Barbaroux, alludes to the "belle royaliste

"Qui va t'entendre au club et parfois t'applaudit."

(268)

The idea that Pétion regarded Charlotte as a royalist comes from a note left by Frédéric Vaulthier of Caen, which note was known to Madame Colet through Dubois. Vaulthier says:

"Durant l'entretien que Barbaroux eut alors avec Charlotte de Corday, Pétion survint et adressa quelques mots à 'la belle aristocrate qui venait voir des républicains.'"--

"Vous me jugez aujourd'hui sans me connaître, citoyen Pétion, répondit-elle, un jour vous saurez ce que je suis!"

(269)

Madame Colet comes back to the same anecdote when, at the end of the scène, she has Pétion say: "Ces vœux sont-ils sincères?", to which Charlotte replies:

"Je n'ai pas mérité ce doute injurieux.

(270)

"Citoyens, dans huit jours vous me connaîtrez mieux."

In a few lines, Barbaroux summarizes quite accurately Charlotte Corday's readings and her political opinions. He adds:

"Celle dont nous parlons descend du grand Corneille;

"Elle a droit au respect que ce beau nom réveille.

"Du sang dont elle sort, elle a pris la fierté.

.....

"A la voir, on dirait cette fière Emilie

(271)

"Que son aïeul créa dans un drame inspiré!"

It will be remembered from the résumé of the play, that this relationship between Charlotte Corday and the great poet reappears in the second tableau to play an important part in strengthening the former's resolution.

"C'est la première fois," says Vatel, "que la parenté entre Corneille et Charlotte Corday apparaît dans un drame. Elle avait déjà été signalée par les érudits.

"Les auteurs dramatiques ne s'étaient pas encore emparés de cette donnée féconde. Madame Colet en a eu la primauté parce qu'elle a su s'inspirer de Louis Dubois. Mal-

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heureusement il avait fait lui-même fausse route, et l'a induite en erreur sur un point essentiel. Charlotte de Corday n'était pas seulement la petite-nièce de Corneille, (272) elle était sa petite-fille en ligne directe."

This error does not appear in the play itself, but in the notes of the author, we find a genealogical table showing the descent of Charlotte Corday from Marie Corneille, the sister of Pierre Corneille. The same mistake is found in the pages she quotes from Louis Dubois. (273)

There has been much discussion on this question of the exact relationship of Charlotte Corday to Corneille, but it seems well established that she was a direct descendant of the great poet. DeFrance says: "Le chanoine Rombault a publié en 1884, un travail fort documenté sur la généalogie de Charlotte Corday. Ce travail, exécuté d'après des documents extraits de la riche collection de la gicotière, a été savamment repris par M. Abel Desauville-Lachénée, bibliothécaire-adjoint de la Bibliothèque municipale de Caen, et il résulte de ces deux études que Charlotte Corday est bien indiscutablement l'arrière-petite-fille du grand Corneille, et non pas son arrière-petite-nièce comme l'ont prétendu plusieurs historiens." (274)

"Or, il existe un document qui tranche nettement la question et qui rétablit l'ordre légal de cette généalogie.

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C'est le contrat de mariage de Marie, fille aînée du grand Corneille, contrat signé du père de la jeune femme, de Marie de Lampérière sa mère, de Thomas Corneille son oncle et de Marguerite de Lampérière sa tante, c'est-à-dire femme de Thomas Corneille, les deux frères Corneille ayant épousé les deux sœurs de Lampérière." (275)

In the play, when Charlotte Corday comes to the Intendance to see Barbaroux, she is accompanied by a "vieux domestique." (276) As authority for this detail, the author quotes from the memoirs of Louvet: "A l'Intendance où nous logions tous, s'était présentée pour parler à Barbaroux, une jeune personne, grande, bien faite, de l'air le plus décent....elle vint toujours accompagnée d'un domestique, et attendait toujours Barbaroux dans un salon par où quelqu'un de nous passait à chaque instant." (277)

Charlotte proceeds at once to tell Barbaroux her errand, leaving the reader to infer that this is her first and only visit to the Intendance. As we have already seen, she was there three times. (278) Also, according to the play, Barbaroux refuses to give her the aid she asks. Hence, there is no need to mention Duperret, and his name does not appear in the play. This omission is evidently for dramatic purposes and not from ignorance of the facts as Charlotte's relations with Duperret are recorded in the pages quoted from Dubois.

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Madame Colet again departs from the historical facts in representing Charlotte Corday's departure for Paris as having taken place in the night and resembling a flight. (279)  
In reality, Charlotte took every precaution that her leaving should seem natural and that her friends and relatives should find no reason to worry about her. (280) However painful the farewells, she did not avoid them.

Again, as in Esquiros and Lamartine, we see Charlotte Corday reading a passage from the book of Judith and receiving inspiration from it. In the notes, the author says:

"Dans plusieurs notices sur Charlotte de Corday, et entre autres dans celle de Couet de Gironville, on a prétendu qu'avant de quitter Caen elle souligna au crayon, dans une bible laissée dans sa chambre, la mort d'Holopherne par Judith." (281)

Vatel makes the following comment: "C'est une erreur. Couet de Gironville ne dit rien de semblable; il cite beaucoup d'héroïnes de l'antiquité, Palmyre, Daphné...., mais il ne prononce pas le nom de Judith." (282)

Although this story came originally from an oral tradition in Caen, we do not know just what Madame Colet's direct source was. Probably she took it from Esquiros, who, as we have already seen, was, in 1840, the first to publish it. (283)

The scene at the hôtel de la Providence is included, doubtless, to show the disposition of the Parisian mobs and

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the sway Marat had over them. The pillage of shops at the instigation of Marat is an historical fact.

"On trouve dans le 'Publiciste de la République française,' que Marat publia pour faire suite à son 'Ami du Peuple,' 25 février 1793: 'Dans tous pays où les droits du peuple ne sont pas de vains titres consignés fastueusement dans une simple déclaration, le pillage de quelques magasins, à la porte desquels on pendrait les accapareurs, mettrait bientôt fin à ces malversations.... Les députés ne sauront-ils donc jamais que bavarder sur les maux sans en présenter jamais le remède? Le même jour où parut ce numéro, la populace pilla les magasins des épiciers dans tous les quartiers de Paris.'  
(284)

In Buchez and Roux, we find mention of similar riots  
(285)  
on the 26th and the 28th of June.

But while such a scene as the one depicted by Madame Colet might easily have taken place, there is not the slightest evidence to show that Charlotte witnessed anything of the sort.

The same may be said of her meeting with the woman from the Vendée. The author bases the story of the latter's misfortunes on a passage from the memoirs of Riouffe. "Vingt femmes du Poitou, pauvres paysannes pour la plupart, furent assassinées ensemble.... Elles furent exécutées toutes peu de



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jours après leur arrivée. Au moment d'aller au supplice, on arracha du sein d'une de ces infortunées un enfant qu'elle nourrissait....O cris de douleur maternelle, que vous fîtes aigus! Mais vous fîtes sans effet! Quelques femmes sont mortes sur la charrette, et l'on a guillotiné des cadavres."  
(286)

While there is nothing impossible about the Vendean woman's story, we have no reason to believe that Charlotte Corday came in contact with any such person. On the contrary, the two days and a half that Marat's assassin spent in Paris before her crime, are accounted for in the trial, somewhat in detail, and she surely would not have failed to mention an incident as striking as this one.

The entire scene, therefore, though not beyond the realm of possibility, may be considered as fictitious, with one exception. There is an element of fact in a part of the conversation between Charlotte Corday and the leader of the mob. When the latter asks her about the army that the republicans of the provinces are sending against Paris, she replies:

"Ce feu va s'éteindre en fumée,

"Une armée! a-t-on dit, mais ils ne sont pas cent."  
(287)

The testimony of Louise Graulier before the tribunal, a testimony not refuted by Charlotte, shows that, asked a similar question by her hostess, she replied: "Je me suis

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trouvée sur la place de Caen le jour où l'on battait la générale pour venir à Paris; il n'y avait pas trente personnes." (288)

The incident of the child who comes to Charlotte Corday in the garden of the Palais-Royal, reappears in the drama of Madame Colet. As we have already seen, Esquiros is apparently the inventor of this legend. Vatel says: "Madame Colet est encore la première qui ait mis cette scène au théâtre. Elle a été plus tard reprise par divers." (289) (290)

In the same scene, it is suggested that Charlotte loves Barbaroux. She says:

"L'amour! Ce sentiment n'est-il pas dans mon âme?

"Incertain, vague encor, mystérieuse flamme,

"Image qui me suit, rêve qui m'attendrit,

"Vision qui m'attache au destin d'un proscrit!

"Que l'exil avec lui serait doux! sa pensée

"Me trouble; en le fuyant, ah! j'étais insensée!" (291)

"Lui peut-être il m'aimait! peut-être....

This purely fictitious love affair has been sufficiently discussed in the chapters on the novel of Esquiros and on the tragedy of Salle.

Once again the question arises as to what Marat had been writing before Charlotte Corday entered. Madame Colet answers it by having Marat say: "C'est ma liste au tribunal." (292)

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It will be remembered that D'Alm ras maintains that Marat had been revising some old numbers of "l'Ami du Peuple", (293) for republication.

Vatel criticizes the lines in which Marat expresses fear of the future. "Nous regrettons que l'auteur n'ait pas eu sous les yeux le journal de Marat; elle ne lui aurait pas fait dire:

"Bient t   cette terre il faudra dire adieu,

"Le n ant vient apr s!....mais s'il  tait un Dieu?

"S'il devait me juger? ah! j'aurais peur peut- tre!"

"Marat n'avait ni les doutes d'Hamlet ni ses craintes.

La derni re ligne de l'Ami du Peuple, le matin du 13 juillet, est une invocation au poignard de Brutus, qu'il aurait voulu diriger contre les monarques de l'Europe. On sent quel parti un  crivain dramatique travaillant comme Madame Colet, d'apr s les sources, pouvait tirer d'un pareil rapprochement. Le poignard de Brutus entrant sous le fichu de Charlotte de Corday chez Marat, et se levant sur lui au moment o  il l'invoquait contre le roi de Prusse! (294)

In the dramatis personae of the fifth tableau, appears the name "La Citoyenne Evrard, servante de Marat," (295) but in the body of the play, she is referred to merely as "la servante." (296) Neither is her relationship to Marat brought out by Dubois, whose biography of Charlotte Corday is Madame Colet's

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principal source of information. He says: "Marat était au bain; il était occupé à écrire. Marie-Barbe Aubin, portière de la maison, et Catherine Evrard, refusèrent l'entrée de l'appartement." (297) Dubois, apparently, like several other writers, has confused Simonne Evrard with her sister Catherine.

In the sixth tableau, the author reproduced very faithfully the most important of Charlotte's answers before the tribunal. She paraphrases them about as closely as it is possible to do and still maintain the poetic form of the play.

Charlotte's soliloquy in the Conciergerie, just before she is taken to the guillotine, includes the following:

"Il me semble aujourd'hui que mourir c'est renaître,  
"Que tous les nobles cœurs doivent se retrouver,  
"Que les biens qu'ici-bas l'on n'a fait que rêver,  
"Bonheurs évanouis, espérances brisées,  
"Attendant nos esprits dans les Champs Elysées." (298)

These lines were probably suggested by the following passage from Charlotte's letter to Barbaroux: "Une imagination vive, un cœur sensible promettent une vie bien orangeuse; je prie ceux qui me regretteraient de le considérer, et ils se réjouiront de me voir jouir du repos dans les Champs-Elysées avec Brutus et quelques anciens." (299)

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As regards Adam Lux's connection with Charlotte Corday, Madame Colet adheres more strictly to the historical facts than do Esquiros and Lamartine. In the scene of the execution, he walks beside the tumbril and begs the spectators to spare the condemned woman from insults. It is true that he draws more attention than the historical accounts we have would lead us to believe, and that Charlotte Corday is represented as seeing him and thanking him for his solicitude, which, in all probability she did not do. On the other hand, the author does not invent previous communication between the two, as Esquiros and Lamartine do. She makes Adam Lux say:

"Je la vois (300)

"Aujourd'hui, citoyens, pour la première fois."

This, according to all indications, was strictly true.

Some of Adam Lux's lines are paraphrases of passages from his manifesto of July 19th, which appears in Madame Colet's notes.

For example, in the play, he says:

"Regardez-la: ses yeux si pénétrants, si doux, (301)

"Avec sérénité se reposent sur vous."

And in his discourse, we find: "....je vis.....ce regard si doux et si pénétrant, ces étincelles vives et humides qui éclataient dans ces beaux yeux, et dans lesquels

parlait une âme aussi tendre qu'intrépide....."

Again:

"Eh bien! enchaînez-moi sur la même charrette,

"Versez sur l'échafaud mon sang avec le sien,

"De toutes vos fureurs, je ne redoute rien;

"Car depuis que j'ai vu cette héroïque femme,

"Mourir à côté d'elle est le vœu de mon âme.

"Puisqu'un peuple égaré l'outrage et la maudit, (302)

"Oh! qu'elle entende au moins ma voix qui l'applaudit."

The same sentiments are expressed in Lux's eulogy of his heroine: "La seule idée de cet ange allant à la mort me fera mépriser la puissance de ses bourreaux. S'ils veulent aussi me faire l'honneur de la guillotine, qui désormais à mes yeux n'est qu'un autel sur lequel on immole les victimes, et qui, par le sang pur versé le 17 juillet, a perdu toute ignominie; s'ils le veulent dis-je, je les prie, ces bourreaux, de faire donner à ma tête abattue autant de soufflets qu'ils en firent donner à celle de Charlotte; je les prie de faire pareillement applaudir à ce spectacle de tigre par leur populace cannibale." (303)

The play ends with Charlotte at the foot of the scaffold, quoting the following verse from the "Comte d'Essex" of Thomas Corneille:

"Le crime fait la honte et non pas l'échafaud."

(304)

This quotation really occurs in Charlotte's letter to her father, written from the Conciergerie. (305)

On the whole, the work of Madame Colet, considering the requirements and limitations of its poetic and dramatic form, adheres very closely to the historical facts. While several of the incidents are fictitious, they are not impossible, nor are they so contrary to the nature of the characters as are some of those invented by Salle and by Esquiros. The character of Charlotte Corday is not so visibly colored by the author's personality as in Lamartine's book, nor used so evidently as a mouthpiece for the author's political opinions as in the tragedy of Salle.

.....

C. Ponsard's "Charlotte Corday."

François Ponsard, born in 1814 at Vienne in Dauphiné, led a rather uneventful life. He was the son of a lawyer, and in 1836, was himself admitted to the bar.

His first literary success was a tragedy, "Lucrèce", produced at the Odéon in 1843. Coming, as it did, just at the time of the failure of "les Burgraves", "Lucrèce" was violently attacked by the "hugolâtres", who pretended to see in it an insolent reply to the "Préface de Cromwell", and enthusiastically applauded by those who were tired of the excesses of the Romantic drama. The modest, unassuming author was astonished to find himself hailed as the chief of a new school. Urged to write a manifesto after the manner of the "Préface de Cromwell", he refused and retired to his province.

He returned to Paris in 1846 with "Agnès de Méranie", but the enthusiasm of the reaction against Romanticism was beginning to wane, and this play had only a lukewarm reception. Lamartine's "Histoire des Girondins" inspired Ponsard to write his third historical tragedy, "Charlotte Corday", which was presented at the Théâtre-Français, March 23rd, 1850.



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After the somewhat doubtful success of this drama, he turned to comedy, producing "Horace et Lydie" and "l'Honneur et l'Argent." The latter, produced at the Odéon in 1853, had a run of two hundred performances in succession, something almost unheard of at that theater.

In 1856, Ponsard was elected to the Académie Française. His marriage to Mlle Dormay took place in 1863.

After a few years of literary inactivity, he wrote two more dramas, "le Lion Amoureux" and "Galilée". By this time, his health had begun to fail. He was unable to be present at the first performance of "Galilée", and shortly afterwards he died, in 1867.

In 1847, after the publication of Lamartine's "Histoire des Girondins", Ponsard undertook a tragedy in verse, centered around the story of Charlotte Corday. As early as July of that year, it was known that the play was being written. (306) It was finished in 1849, but due to the political situation at that time, there was some difficulty about putting it on the stage. By a bare majority, the "comité de lecture" of the Théâtre-Français voted to admit it. Discouraged by the coldness of this reception, Mlle Rachel, for whom the role of Charlotte had been written, refused to play it. A second reading was held, before the Minister of the Interior. Important government officials, deputies, and mem-

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Members of the Academy were present. This audience proved favorable to the play, though not enthusiastic.

The role of Charlotte Corday was given to Mlle Judith, and that of Marat to Geoffroy, who was very successful in it. Arsène Houssaye, director of the Théâtre-Français, declared: "Il fit un portrait de Marat que David eût signé". (307)

The play was first presented on March 23rd, 1850. Precautions had been taken to prevent any disorder. "S'il faut en croire les feuilletonistes, en entrant au Théâtre-Français on aurait pu se croire en pleine Préfecture de Police dans les grands jours de la rue de Jérusalem." (308)

The play was very well received but had only thirty-nine performances at that time. It was revived at the Odéon in October 1880.

The tragedy opens with a prologue recited by Clio, the Muse of History, who declares the author's intention to depict the past impartially.

The scene of the first act is laid at Madame Roland's house in Paris, the time is eight o'clock in the evening of September 22nd, 1792. The Girondins are having a dinner to celebrate the proclamation of the Republic by the convention. They drink to the prosperity of the new government, but Vergniaud has misgivings as to the future. Barbaroux urges an immediate attack upon the Jacobins, the Com-

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mune and the Triumvirate, composed of Danton, Robespierre and Marat. Vergniaud counsels moderation, and Sieyès advises winning the support of Dumouriez with his army and of Danton with his power over the people. Just then Danton is announced.

He has come by the invitation of Sieyès and brings the news of the victory over the Prussians at Valmy. He declares his willingness to forget the past and to work in harmony with the Girondins for the glory of France. Pétion and Vergniaud are ready to accept this offer, but Barbaroux, Louvet and Buzot refuse on account of the part taken by Danton in the September massacres. The latter leaves in anger.

The first scene of the next act shows Charlotte Corday, in her aunt's meadow, directing the work of some hay-makers. As night is coming on, she sends them away.

Left alone, Charlotte falls into a reverie, which is interrupted by the arrival of Barbaroux, Louvet, Pétion and Buzot. They inquire the road to Caen, and Charlotte, on learning that they are from Paris, asks for news. Barbaroux relates the events of the 31st of May and the 2nd of June, which days marked the overthrow of the Girondist party. Charlotte expresses her enthusiasm for the Girondist cause, and the deputies reveal their identity. She welcomes them warmly

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and accompanies them to Caen.

The next scene is at Madame de Bretteville's. The latter is entertaining some of her friends--aged aristocrats with royalist sympathies. One old gentleman is going to England and advises the others to take refuge there too. Madame de Bretteville says that she is too old, to leave her home, but that she would like to send Charlotte away with her old friend.

Charlotte enters, and after seeing to her aunt's comfort, and speaking a few words to the guests, sits down to play cards with a group of them. But she is preoccupied, and when shouts are heard in the street, she tells of the arrival of the Girondins. Madame de Bretteville tries to persuade her to go to England with her friend, but Charlotte will not consent. Betraying her sympathy for the Girondins, she is led into an argument with the old Royalist gentleman. Madame de Bretteville ends the argument by breaking up the party.

Left alone, Charlotte gives vent to her emotions. Her horror of Marat is growing. She speaks of an idea which has come to her that evening and which she cannot banish from her mind.

The next scene is in Charlotte's bedroom at day-break.

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The girl has been reading and meditating all night. All her favorite authors seem to her to justify the act she is contemplating. She reads a passage from the book of Judith and one from Montesquieu. Then she turns to the portrait of Corneille, her illustrious ancestor, and asks his guidance. It seems to her that the poet would approve her project.

In the third act, Charlotte Corday is talking to Barbaroux at the Intendance. She asks him which of the triumvirs is the most odious. He describes each, but paints Marat the blackest. Barbaroux is weary of the Revolution and longs for a quiet life. He hints at an attachment for Charlotte. She replies that it is the duty of all to renounce dreams of private happiness and to think only of the good of France. She predicts that a new Brutus will arise.

Pétion, Louvet and Buzot enter. Louvet jokes Barbaroux and Charlotte on their supposed flirtation, but being reproved by Barbaroux, asks the girl's pardon. General Wimpfen's troops are heard marching by outside. Barbaroux prophesies their defeat. He thinks that Wimpfen is a Royalist, not a Girondin. Charlotte is indignant that it should take an army to overcome one man.

The rest leave, but Charlotte detains Barbaroux. She tells him that she is going to leave for London, and bids him

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farewell, promising to write to him.

In the next scene, Charlotte is taking leave of Madame de Bretteville. The latter gives her her blessing and advises her about the details of her journey to London.

The fourth act begins in the garden of the Palais-Royal. Some children are singing and dancing. Citizens meet and discuss the Girondist army that is said to be on the way to Paris. One man stands on a chair and harangues the rest, denouncing the rich and the Girondins. He reads extracts from Marat's paper. Charlotte, crossing the stage, stops a moment to listen. Then she enters a cutler's shop. The Jacobin speaker leads a group away to start a riot.

Charlotte, having bought a knife, meditates on the deed she is about to commit. She decides that when the law ceases to function, it is not wrong for a private citizen to punish crime.

A little girl appears, jumping rope. Charlotte opens her arms, and the child comes to her. Charlotte thinks of the happiness she might have had, for she loves Barbaroux and knows that he loves her. The mother of the child comes up and talks to Charlotte. Learning that the girl is alone in Paris and has no family, the woman offers to give her a home and employment, but Charlotte declines.

The next scene is at Marat's house. Danton, Robespierre

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and Marat are discussing their future policies. Danton recommends moderation and the establishment of law and order. Robespierre urges education of the people. That is very well, says Danton, but it will take years. For the present, more practical measures are necessary. Marat declares that the only means of saving the country is to appoint a dictator whose sole duty would be to execute the enemies of the Republic. His aim is to make the poor, the "canaille", masters of the rich. Danton maintains that all classes should be equal, with the law reigning supreme. He has desired the defeat of the Girondins, but not their death. Robespierre tries to bring about a compromise. He holds that some executions are necessary until civil discord is ended. Danton becomes angry and leaves.

Marat advises Robespierre to destroy Danton and promises to help. When Robespierre departs, Marat expresses his contempt for both of them and exults in his own power over the people. But he is seized with the realization that he cannot live long, and he begins to work again feverishly, sending out letters, papers, placards and pamphlets.

Marat's wife, Albertine, announces that his bath is ready and he steps into the curtained bathroom. Just then, the voice of the door-keeper is heard disputing with someone, and Charlotte Corday appears at the threshold. Albertine tries

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to send her away, but Marat, hearing that she is from Caen, asks to see her.

Left alone with him, she gives him the names of the Girondist deputies at Caen, and when he threatens to send them to the guillotine, stabs him. Hearing the cry of the dying man, Albertine and the people employed by Marat rush in, discover his dead body, and seize Charlotte.

The fifth act takes place in the prison. In answer to a message Charlotte has sent to the Comité de salut public, Danton comes to talk to her. She gives him two letters, one to Barbaroux and one to Madame de Bretteville, and requests that they be forwarded. Danton expresses his admiration for her heroic bearing and asks if there is any favor that he might grant her. She inquires about the Girondist army and learns that it has been decisively defeated. Danton also tells her that Marat's popularity has only been increased by his assassination. Charlotte realizes that her sacrifice has been in vain. She pleads with Danton to use his influence to check the Reign of Terror, even though he will probably die for it. She then goes to her execution, and Danton realizes that it will be a battle to the death between him and Robespierre.

In discussing the criticism, both favorable and unfavor-



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able, that the drama received, Vatel says: "Un point sur lequel tous paraissent se rallier, c'était l'influence trop visible du livre de M. de Lamartine sur l'œuvre de Ponsard... Un homme d'esprit très-connu (qu'on désigne ainsi sans le nommer et que nous ne connaissons pas), lance un mot à effet qui est recueilli et qui circule: "La Charlotte Corday de Ponsard, c'est l'histoire des Girondins racontée par Théramène."<sup>(309)</sup>

It is true that Ponsard received his first inspiration from the work of Lamartine, but he did not fail to consult other sources as well. We have seen that he spent almost three years in composing his tragedy. In a note, he says, "J'ai consulté soigneusement les mémoires des girondins et les discours et journaux des montagnards; j'ai eu entre les mains la collection complète des journaux de Marat, et je les ai tous lus. Je crois n'avoir rien fait dire à aucun de mes personnages qu'il n'ait dit ou pu dire, d'après le cours général de ses idées. Je m'en rapporte, sur ce point, au témoignage de ceux qui connaissent les documents originaux."<sup>(310)</sup>

The first act, which includes the Girondist banquet and Danton's offer of conciliation is taken largely from Lamartine. Ponsard mentions also as sources the memoirs of Meilhan and Garat.<sup>(311)</sup>

The scene in which the Girondins drink to the health of

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the Republic, follows Lamartine's account very closely.

"Vergniaud....montrait dans son attitude et dans ses traits la quiétude insouciant de la force qui se repose avant et après le combat.....A la fin du souper, il prit son verre, le remplit de vin, se leva et proposa de boire à l'éternité de la république. Madame Roland, pleine de souvenirs de l'antiquité, demanda à Vergniaud d'effeuiller dans son verre, à la manière des anciens, quelques roses du bouquet qu'elle portait ce jour-là. Vergniaud tendit son verre, fit nager les feuilles de rose sur le vin et but; puis se penchant vers Barbaroux avant de se rasseoir: 'Barbaroux, lui dit-il, à demi-voix, ce ne sont pas des roses mais des branches de cyprès qu'il fallait effeuiller dans notre vin ce soir. En buvant à une république dont le berceau trempe dans le sang de septembre, qui sait si nous ne buvons pas à notre mort? N'importe, ajouta-t-il, ce vin serait mon sang que je le boirais encore à la liberté et à l'égalité. Vive la république! s'écrièrent à la fois les convives." (312)

Danton's attempt to reach an agreement with the Girondins seems to be generally accepted as a fact, though it happened at a later date. (313)

The meeting of Charlotte Corday with the Girondins on the road to Caen is of course fictitious, as it is not definitely known where she first saw them. However, Vatel

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justifies this scene as follows: "Il fallait bien qu'à un moment quelconque les Girondins et Charlotte de Corday fusent mis en contact: le moyen imaginé par Ponsard est des plus heureux. Nous ajouterons surabondamment qu'il est non-seulement vraisemblable, mais vrai, puisque Madame de Bretteville possédait une maison de campagne à une lieue de Caen, située sur une grande route que les fugitifs pouvaient parfaitement parcourir."<sup>(314)</sup>

Ponsard makes the same mistake as does Madame Colet with regard to the relationship of Charlotte Corday to the great Corneille. This relationship is alluded to only twice in the play, and in each case, Charlotte speaks of the poet as "mon aïeul".<sup>(315)</sup> In the notes, however, the author explains that she was descended from Marie Corneille, the sister of Pierre Corneille.<sup>(316)</sup> The evidence against the truth of this statement has already been sufficiently discussed.<sup>(317)</sup>

Like Lamartine, Ponsard pictures Madame de Bretheville as a poor old lady, who gladly shares her substance with Charlotte,<sup>(318)</sup> rather than as the rich, miserly woman who at first received her young relative grudgingly and with suspicion.<sup>(319)</sup>

Again, he creates the impression that Charlotte was really Madame de Bretheville's niece and that both her parents were dead. In the play, Madame de Bretheville says:

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(320)  
Je l'ai prise orpheline", and later: "Je te bénis, enfant  
(321)  
que me laissa mon frère." This necessitates another change  
in the fifth act, when Charlotte sends a letter to Madame  
(322)  
de Bretheville instead of to her father. We have seen  
that Charlotte was only a distant relative of Madame de  
(323)  
Bretheville's, though she called her aunt.

According to the play, Madame de Bretheville wants to  
send Charlotte to England. The latter refuses at first, but  
later consents when her plans have taken shape and she needs  
a pretext for leaving Caen. She also makes Barbaroux think  
that London is her destination. In reality, Madame de Brethe-  
ville thought that she was going to visit her father, while  
Barbaroux knew that she was going to Paris. It was to her  
father that Charlotte gave the excuse of going to England, in  
(324)  
a letter written just before her departure from Caen.

It is told that two or three days before Charlotte's  
journey to Paris, Madame de Bretheville noticed tears in her  
eyes, and when she asked the cause, Charlotte replied: "Je  
pleure sur la France, sur mes parents et sur vous. Tant que  
(325)  
Marat vit, qui donc est sûr de vivre? A trace of this anecdote  
is found in scene V of the second act, when Charlotte,  
announcing to her aunt's friends the fall of the Girondins,  
says:

"Nul de nous n'est sûr de vivre une heure.

"Tant que Marat vivra, que chacun tremble et meure!"  
(326)

Like Madame Colet, Ponsard shows Charlotte studying and meditating in her room at night. There is enough similarity between this scene and the one in the "Tableaux dramatiques" to lead one to believe that Ponsard was familiar with Madame Colet's work. In both, Charlotte begins by reading from the book of Judith and ends by turning to the portrait of Corneille for guidance and approval.

In Ponsard's scene, she reads also a passage from Montesquieu: "A Rome, surtout depuis l'expulsion des rois, la loi était précise, les exemples reçus. La République armait le bras de chaque citoyen, le faisait magistrat pour le moment, et l'avouait pour sa défense....La vertu semblait s'oublier, pour se surpasser elle-même, et l'action qu'on ne pouvait d'abord approuver, parce qu'elle était atroce, elle la faisait admirer comme divine."<sup>(327)</sup>

In the "Tableaux dramatiques", Charlotte only mentions Montesquieu among other writers, but in the notes, Madame Colet says: "Sans doute aussi elle (Charlotte) avait médité plus d'une fois sur le passage suivant de Montesquieu,"<sup>(328)</sup> and she quotes the same passage as that quoted by Ponsard.

In the play, Barbaroux says of Marat:

"Il m'a dit de sang-froid tout comme il le ferait,

"Que l'unique moyen de calmer nos tempêtes,

"C'est d'abattre deux cent soixante mille têtes!

"Voilà son taux.--Deux cent soixante seulement;

(329)

"Jusques à trois cent mille il monte rarement."

This is apparently taken from the memoirs of Barbaroux. In relating a visit to Marat, under whom he had once taken a course in optics, Barbaroux says: "Il me dit sérieusement que les Français n'étaient que de mesquins révolutionnaires, et que lui seul avait des moyens de fonder la liberté....Il voulait me prouver que c'était un calcul très humain d'égorger dans un jour deux cent soixante mille hommes. Sans doute il avait de la prédilection pour ce nombre, car depuis il a toujours demandé deux cent soixante mille têtes: rarement il allait jusqu'à trois cent mille." (330)

In the third act, Louvet jokes Barbaroux about his supposed flirtation with Charlotte. It will be remembered that according to Vaultier's story, it was Pétion who made a remark about the "belle aristocrate qui vient voir les républicains", and who received the rebuke: "Vous me jugez aujourd'hui sans me connaître, citoyen Pétion, un jour vous saurez ce que je suis!" (331) In the play, Charlotte's reply to Louvet is similar:

(332)

"Vous me jugerez mieux m'ayant pu mieux connaître."

That Louvet, as well as Pétion, may have doubted the sincerity of Charlotte Corday's republicanism is indicated by Lamartine, who says: "Louvet, qui depuis écrivit un hymne à la pureté et à la gloire de la jeune héroïne, crut d'abord (333)

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à une de ces vulgaires séductions des sens dont il avait  
accumulé les tableaux dans son roman de "Faublas". (334)

Ponsard has Barbaroux say to Louvet:

"Ei! ce ton ne sied pas.

(335)

"Charlotte n'a pas lu les amours de Faublas."

(336)

Vatel sees in this an attempt on the part of Ponsard  
to refute Lamartine's assertion that "Les livres passionnés  
ou légers de l'époque, tels que l'"Héloïse" ou "Faublas",  
étaient feuilletés par elle." (337)

The fictitious love affair between Barbaroux and the  
assassin of Marat appears once more in Ponsard's tragedy.  
Discussing its introduction into this work, Vatel says: "Les  
trois premiers actes sont admirables jusqu'au moment où ap-  
paraît l'amour de Barbaroux pour Charlotte, et l'aveu de  
Charlotte elle-même qui ne repousse pas cet amour. Dès que  
cette malheureuse fiction est admise, la pièce devient lan-  
guissante, le quatrième acte "in parte qua" est faible, le  
cinquième tout à fait défectueux." (338)

Latreille, another critic, says: La Charlotte de Pon-  
sard ne serait-elle pas plus grande, si elle n'avait pas  
même été effleurée par les hommages discrets de Barbaroux?  
En tous cas, puisque cet amour ne pèse pour rien dans la ba-  
lance de ses hésitations, puisqu'il n'entrave ni n'avance

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son départ, on s'étonne que Ponsard ait jeté ce sentiment  
inerte et passif dans le cœur de son héroïne." (339)

In the course of her soliloquy in the garden of the Palais-Royal, Charlotte says:

"Puissent puissent aussi trembler les malfaiteurs!

"Et si jamais Marat a des imitateurs,

"Ils songeront du moins que la vengeance veille,

"Et que Charlotte aussi peut avoir sa pareille:

"Un monstre tel que lui, s'il échappe à la loi, (340)

"Craindra de rencontrer un monstre tel que moi."

This passage was doubtless suggested by one of Charlotte's answers before the Revolutionary Tribunal. In reply to the question, "Croyez-vous avoir tué tous les Marat?", she said: "Non, mais celui-là mort, les autres auront peur  
(341)  
peut-être."

Ponsard elaborates more than the other writers do, the story of Charlotte's meeting with the child in the garden of the Palais-Royal. The conversation between Charlotte and the mother of the child is apparently Ponsard's own invention. The rest of the incident seems to be taken from Esquiros, the  
(342)  
first to publish the anecdote. According to Ponsard, the child on Charlotte's knees, draws from the girl's bosom the knife that she has just bought. This detail occurs in Esquiros's story, but is omitted by both Lamartine and Colet.

In the same scene, we find the following lines, spoken



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by Charlotte:

"C'est étrange! toujours les enfants vont à moi;

"Je les attire tous, je ne sais pas pourquoi.

"A Caen, c'était le fils d'une pauvre ouvrière,

"Qui s'était pris pour moi d'une amitié singulière;

"Il me suivait partout, et, dans les prés voisins,  
(343)

"J'ai souvent crayonné pour lui quelques dessins."

This must be an allusion to Louis Lunel, the child to whom Charlotte gave her sketches on leaving the Grand Manoir.  
(344)

It is generally conceded that the master scene of the drama is the 7th scene of the fourth act, the one in which the Triumvirs discuss matters of state. At the first performance of the play, "La scène des Triumvirs produisit un effet énorme, comparable au deuxième acte de 'Cinna'. Il n'y eut qu'une voix, c'est que Ponsard s'était élevé à la hauteur de Corneille, qu'il avait atteint le sublime qu'on admire dans la délibération d'Auguste et l'entretien des deux conjurés, Cinna et Maxime."  
(345)

Alfred de Musset is quoted as having exclaimed: "Avouons qu'un pareil langage ne s'était plus entendu au théâtre depuis Corneille."  
(346)

"La fameuse scène du IV<sup>e</sup> acte entre Danton, Robespierre et Marat, says Vatel, est d'une grandeur incomparable; et elle n'est grande que parce qu'elle est vraie, inspirée par l'étude

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profonde des personnages. Marat est peint d'après nature, c'est-à-dire d'après son journal, qui est politiquement sa personnalité vivante."  
(347)

(348)  
Like Lamartine, Ponsard confuses Marat's sister, Albertine Marat, and his mistress, Simonne Evrard. The woman who appears in the play is designated as "Albertine, femme de Marat."  
(349)

Since the first presentation, the fifth act has always been omitted in the performance, and with good reason. It weakens the effect of the rest of the play. The conversation between Charlotte Corday and Danton, and their repentance is contrary not only to history, but to the characters of both. As Vatel says: "Charlotte de Corday repentante!!! Rien n'est plus faux. En présence de ses interrogatoires, de sa lettre à Barbaroux et à son père, il est impossible de lui faire dire:

(350)  
"Je suis un assassin tant que je suis en vie."

"Un désaveu de sa conduite n'est pas plus concevable de sa part que de celle de Danton, de celui qui avait dit après le 2 septembre: "J'ai regardé mon crime en face, et je l'ai commis."  
(351)

Neither was Charlotte Corday far sighted enough to say to Danton:

"Mais vos imitateurs s'avancent sur vos pas;

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"Où vous vous arrêtez, ils ne s'arrêtent pas,

"Et l'émulation de leur sanglante délire.

"Recule, chaque jour, les limites du pire.

"En vain, vous reniez leurs excès triomphants, (352)

"Ils sont nés en septembre, et ce sont vos enfants."

Had she been so wise, she would not have imagined that the assassination of Marat would bring peace to France.

Charlotte's letters, written during her imprisonment and given, in the play, to Danton, were, in reality, surrendered to the Revolutionary Tribunal and read at the trial. (353)

"Ponsard avait senti lui-même ce que son cinquième acte avait de vicieux, ... Il devait le refaire. La pièce de Salle, quoique bien faible, l'y avait décidé; cette particularité nous a été attestée par M. George Moreau-Chaslon qui la tient de Ponsard qu'il connaissait intimement. (354)

Throughout the play, other characters, notably that of Marat, are more accurately portrayed than is that of the heroine herself. The Charlotte Corday of Ponsard is more vacillating than the Charlotte Corday of history. She hesitates longer before making her decision, trembles more in the presence of Marat, and finally repents of her crime! Besides she is too verbose.

M. Fortoul in "L'Ordre" (of March 25, 1850) makes this very just criticism: "Charlotte Corday, qu'on a peinte comme

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une âme profonde et exaltée, n'éclatait pas à tout propos en élégies et en harangues de la longueur de celle que nous avons entendues." (355) The outstanding characteristics of Charlotte's answers in her various examinations are their brevity and simplicity.

Unquestionably Ponsard's tragedy is, from a literary and dramatic point of view, the best play written on the subject, but Madame Colet has been more successful in depicting the character of the heroine. In spite of the title, one feels that Ponsard is less interested in presenting the story of Charlotte Corday than in painting a picture of the Revolution itself at that particular stage. The most successful scene is that of the Triumvirs, in which Charlotte Corday is not even mentioned.

Although the influence of Lamartine is noticeable in this drama, it must not be overestimated. Ponsard read very widely and used many sources. He is, in general, more impartial than Lamartine.

Of all the dramas inspired by the story of Charlotte Corday, the tragedy of Ponsard is the only one that has ever attained any degree of success on the stage, and even it has never been played in its entirety. "La dernière scène du premier acte et la dernière scène du troisième n'ont jamais été représentées. Le cinquième acte ne l'a été qu'une fois,

Page 158.

Le monologue de Charlotte au Palais-Royal, scène du qua-  
trième acte, est abrégé à la représentation." (356) These facts  
are arguments in favor of Gautier's contention that the  
story of Charlotte Corday is not suited to dramatic treat-  
ment. (357)

Ponsard's tragedy was translated into German by Pahn in  
1851. Vatel has been unable to learn whether this transla-  
tion was ever presented on the stage. (358) No other translation  
is known, although the original has been edited with English  
notes by Professor Cassal of University College, London, and  
(359)  
by Arthur M. Ropes, late fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

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### Conclusion.

Of the five works studied in this thesis, Salle's "Charlotte Cordai" has the least historical basis. Practically all of his drama is invention of the most fantastic kind. Esquiros, also, alters facts freely and supplies much from his own imagination, but his fabrications are more plausible than those of Salle. Lamartine, although he invents little, accepts incidents from very doubtful authorities. Colet and Ponsard are more impartial and, if we except the latter's fifth act, deviate less from the story as presented by the most reliable historians, although the necessity of conforming to the requirements of poetry and drama would give them more excuse for altering the story than Lamartine and Esquiros have.

It is to be noted that in each case the scene of the assassination and that of the trial before the Tribunal are the most accurate. This, obviously, is because those incidents are better documented than the others. Salle does not picture the assassination, and Ponsard omits the trial.

With the exception of the tragedy of Salle, which, though completed in 1794, was practically unknown until after Ponsard's drama was finished, all these works are more or less closely connected. Each either borrows details from previous

writers, or influences later ones. This fact is best shown by several incidents which, though not established as historical, appear in two or more of these books.

For example, there is the legend that Charlotte gained inspiration from the book of Judith. Esquiros, the first to publish it, says that Madame de Bretheville found in Charlotte's room, a Bible open at an underlined passage in this book. Lamartine follows Esquiros very closely, while Colet and Ponsard vary the story a little by showing their heroine reading the passage.

Another story apparently original with Esquiros and used by the other three, is that of Charlotte's meeting with the child in the garden of the Palais-Royal.

All four introduce the relationship between Charlotte Corday and Corneille, but Colet and Ponsard, in notes, both state that she was descended, not from the great poet himself, but from his sister. Ponsard undoubtedly borrowed from Madame Colet the scene in which Charlotte, after a night of reading and meditation, turns to the picture of her illustrious ancestor for guidance.

It is interesting to note that not one of the five writers feels that the story can be complete without some love affair, although historians agree that love played no part in the tragedy, and although in each case the addition of this element detracts rather than adds. Three of them, Esquiros,

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Colet and Ponsard, follow the most widely circulated tradition in giving her Barbaroux as a lover. This fiction is stressed most by Esquiros and least by Colet, who does little more than hint at it.

Lamartine chooses the less commonly known legend of Franquelin, in which the unfortunate suitor dies of grief, instead of by the guillotine. Salle invents the most incongruous story of all in imagining a love affair between Charlotte Corday and Hérault de Séchelles, one of the most rabid and unprincipled of the Montagnards.

The Adam Lux affair seems to appeal strongly to the fancy of Esquiros, who adds much to the scanty facts that history gives, showing Adam Lux witnessing Charlotte's arrest, volunteering to take her place in the prison, following every detail of the trial, and finally sending her a letter just before her execution. Lamartine, not quite so lavish, adds merely Lux's presence at the trial and an exchange of glances between him and Charlotte. Madame Colet adheres rather closely, for the most part, to the historical facts. Ponsard and Salle do not mention Adam Lux.

Although in each of the five, Charlotte appears as a sympathetic character, there is a noticeable difference in the treatment. Salle, more intent on exposing the perfidy of his enemies than on eulogizing his heroine, makes her on every possible occasion the mouthpiece of his political theories



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and of his bitterness against the Montagne, thus detracting from her dignity and charm.

Esquiros, whose chief purpose is to glorify Marat, praises also the beauty, courage and devotion of his assassin, but cannot resist making her somewhat masculine and cold. Lamartine, on the other hand, makes her a little too romantic and sentimental, lending her his own personality, rather than the one which properly belongs to her.

Ponsard, creates an almost Cornelian character, sublime, heroic, philosophical, in spite of the domestic touch introduced in the scene at the Grand Manoir, and then weakens it in the last act by making her repent.

It is in Madame Colet's drama that we find her the most consistent, the most feminine and resembling most the Charlotte Corday that her letters and the records of her trial reveal. Her simple, brief, direct speeches in this play contrast with the oratorical flights lent her by Ponsard and the somewhat undignified and almost ridiculous invectives that we find in Salle's tragedy.

The "Tableaux Dramatiques" is perhaps the only one of the five in which the character of Charlotte really occupies the central place. In Salle's tragedy, the Montagne is in the foreground, In Esquiros, Marat, and in Ponsard, the Revolution, while in the "Histoire des Girondins", the reader

is conscious, above all, of the style and the personality of the author.

The portrayal of Marat is about the same in Lamartine, Colet and Ponsard. Ponsard, it is generally agreed, has characterized him the most fully and accurately in his famous scene of the Triumvirs. In Salle's "Charlotte Corday", we see Marat only through the eyes of the members of his own party, and that very briefly. Esquiros paints him as the greatest hero of the Revolution.

The story of Charlotte Corday has proved very popular in literature, especially in the theatrical field. In 1872, Vatel had counted twenty-nine pieces in dramatic form, <sup>(360)</sup> and there have doubtless been several others since. But although it is a subject which has tempted many writers, very few of the works which it inspired are of any importance.

Vatel says: "Nul sujet historique n'a été traité autant de fois (à l'exception, peut-être, de Jeanne d'Arc). Mais, si le sujet de Charlotte Corday est celui qui a été traité le plus souvent, c'est aussi peut-être la pièce qui a été le moins jouée." <sup>(361)</sup> Of the three dramas discussed here, only Ponsard's has ever been presented on the stage, and that not without extensive cutting.

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Notes.

- (1) DeFrance, Eugène, Charlotte Corday et la Mort de Marat--Pp. 18-19.
- (2) Ibid. P. 19
- (3) Alméras, Henri d', Charlotte Corday d'après les documents contemporains: --P.1
- (4) DeFrance, op. cit.-P. 20
- (5) Alméras, op. cit. -P.2
- (6) Ibid. -P. 7, Note (1)
- (7) DeFrance, op. cit.- P. 34
- (8) Ibid.- P.35
- (9) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 11
- (10) Ibid.-P. 11
- (11) Ibid.-Pp. 13-14 (Several authors, including Vatel, use the spelling "Bretheville"; others spell it "Bretteville.")
- (12) Ibid.-P. 16
- (13) Buchez et Roux, Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution Française-Vol. 28, P. 331
- (14) Vatel, Charles, Charlotte de Corday et les Girondins- Vol.I, P. ccxll
- (15) DeFrance, op.cit,-P. 64
- (16) Ibid.-P. 54
- (17) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 51
- (18) DeFrance,op.cit.-P. 102
- (19) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 62
- (20) Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur-vol. 17, P.246.

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- (21) Buchez et Roux, op.cit.- vol. 28, p. 328
- (22) Defrance, op.cit.- P. 111
- (23) Almérás, op.cit.-P. 68
- (24) Ibid.-P. 104
- (25) Ibid.-P. 106
- (26) Ibid.P. 105, Note (2)
- (27) Buchez et Roux, op.cit.-vol. 28, P. 327
- (28) Ibid.
- (29) Defrance, op.cit, pp. 150-151
- (30) Ibid.-P. 153
- (31) H. Wallon, Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire de Paris-vol. I, P. 194
- (32) Defrance, op.cit.-P. 166
- (33) Almérás, op.cit,-Pp. 182-183
- (34) Buchez et Roux, op.cit.-vol. 28, P. 328
- (35) Wallon, op.cit.- vol I, P. 202
- (36) Ibid.
- (37) Ibid.-vol. I, P. 203
- (38) Ibid.-vol. I, P. 204
- (39) Almérás, op.cit.-P. 192
- (40) Wallon, op. cit.-vol.I, P. 209
- (41) Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur-vol. 17, p. 245.
- (42) Wallon, op.cit,-vol. I, Pp. 210-212
- (43) Vattel, op.cit.-vol.I, P. CCXCV
- (44) Wallon, op.cit.-vol I, P. 212

- (45) Colet, Madame Louise, Charlotte Corday et Madame Roland-P. 164
- (46) Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur-vol. 17, P. 225
- (47) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 215
- (48) Ibid.-P. 217
- (49) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. 380
- (50) Wallon, op.cit.-vol.I, P. 217
- (51) Buchez et Roux, op.cit, vol.22, P. 334
- (52) DeFrance, op.cit,-P. 396
- (53) Ibid.-P. 397
- (54) Wallon, op.cit.-vol.I, P. 220
- (55) Ibid.
- (56) Esquiros, Alphonse, Charlotte Corday-vol.I, P. 38
- (57) Alméras, op.cit,-P. 259
- (58) Esquiros, op.cit.-P. 41, vol.I
- (59) Ibid.-P. III
- (60) Colet, op.cit.-P. 155
- (61) Esquiros, op.cit.-vol.II, P. 32
- (62) Ibid.-vol.I, P. 21
- (63) Introduction-P. 4
- (64) Esquiros, op.cit.-vol.I, P. 110, note (1)
- (65) Larousse, Pierre, Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle-vol.10, P. 1122

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- (67) Ibid.-vol.II, P. 32
- (68) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. 53
- (69) Vattel, op.cit.-vol.I, Pp. LXII-LXIII
- (70) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 25
- (71) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. 306
- (72) Esquiros, op.cit.-Vol.II, P. 35
- (73) Vattel,op.cit.-vol.I, P. CCLXIX, note
- (74) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. 304
- (75) Vattel, op.cit.-vol. II, P. CCCXXXII
- (76) Esquiros, op.cit.-vol.II, P. 49
- (77) DeFrance, op.cit.,-Pp. 151-152
- (78) **Ibid. -P 299**
- (79) Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur-vol.17,P. 131
- (80) Ibid.
- (81) Esquiros, op.cit.-vol.II, P. 77
- (82) Introduction-P. 15
- (83) Esquiros, op.cit.-vol.II, P. 91
- (84) Ibid.-vol.II, P. 96
- (85) Ibid.-vol.II,P. 137
- (86) Ibid.-vol.II, P. 87
- (87) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 112
- (88) Esquiros, op.cit.-vol.II, P. 101
- (89) Ibid.-vol.II, P. 97
- (90) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. 138
- (91) Esquiros, op.cit.-vol.II, pp. 106-107

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- (92) Introduction-P. 19
- (93) Ibid.-P. 23
- (94) Defrance, op.cit.-P. 288
- (95) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 243
- (96) Buchez et Roux, op.cit.-vol.28,P. 311
- (97) Colet, op,cit.-P. 169
- (98) Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur-vol.17, P.261
- (99) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 248
- (100) Esquiros, op.cit.-vol.II,P. 154
- (101)Ibid.-vol.II, P. 169
- (102)Alméras, op.cit.-P.246.
- (103)Colet, op.cit.-P.-186.
- (104)Esquiros,op.cit.-vol.II,P. 148
- (105)Defrance,op.cit.-P. 381
- (106)Ibid.-P. 391
- (107)Esquiros,op.cit.-vol.II,P. 157
- (108)Ibid.-vol.II,P. 152
- (109)Defrance,op.cit.-P. 391
- (110)Esquiros,op.cit.-vol.II,P. 162
- (111)Defrance,op.cit.-P.400, note
- (112)Révolutions de Paris-vol.17,P. 16
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- (114) Doumic, René, Lamartine-P. 179
- (115) Whitehouse, H. Remsen, The Life of Lamartine-vol.II,  
P. 161.

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- (116) Lamartine, Alphonse de, Histoire des Girondins.  
(Paris 1881) -vol. VI, p. 379
- (117) Ibid.
- (118) Lamartine, Alphonse de, Histoire des Girondins  
(Bruxelles, 1847) - vol.VI, P. 139
- (119) Ibid.-vol.VI, P. 143
- (120) Introduction-Pp. 4-5
- (121) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 17
- (122) Vatel, op.cit.-vol.I, P. CCXCI
- (123) Introduction-P.5
- (124) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 13
- (125) Lamartine, op.cit. (1847)-vol.VI-Pp. 136-137
- (126) Ibid.P. 142
- (127) Ibid.
- (128) Defrance, op.cit.- P. 303
- (129) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI,P. 144
- (130) Vatel, op.cit.-vol.I, Pp. CCCLV-CCCLIX
- (131) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, P. 144
- (132) Defrance,op.cit.-P. 50
- (133) Vatel,op.cit.-Vol.I, P. CCCLV
- (134) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, Pp. 150-151
- (135) Vatel, op.cit.-vol.I, Pp. CCCXI-CCCXII.
- (136) Chapter I-P.43



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(137) Lamartine, op.cit.-vol.VI, P. 153

(138) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. 305

(139) Ibid.-P. 291

(140) J.-J. Savary, author of "Guerres des Vendéens et des Chouans contre la République française....par un officier supérieur de la République habitant dans la Vendée avant les troubles; Paris, 1824-27, 6 vol. in -8.

- La Grande Encyclopédie-vol.31, P. 796

(141) Colet, op.cit.-P. 179

(142) Esquiros, op.cit.-vol.II, P. 35

(143) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, P. 154

(144) Chapter I-P. 44

(145) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol. VI,P. 155

(146) Esquiros, op.cit.-vol.II, P. 37

(147) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, P. 155

(148) Chapter I-P. 44

(149) Ibid.-P. 45

(150) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, P. 157

(151) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. 421

(152) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, Pp. 157-158

(153) Fuchez et Roux, op.cit.-vol.28,P. 328

(154) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, P. 158

- (155) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. 298
- (156) Chapter I-P. 46
- (157) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, P. 161
- (158) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. 152
- (159) Ibid.-P. 310
- (160) Chapter I-P. 48
- (161) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, P. 161
- (162) Ibid.
- (163) Ibid.-vol.VI, Pp. 161-162
- (164) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. 152
- (165) Introduction-P. 15
- (166) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. **343**
- (167) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, P. 165
- (168) Ibid.-vol.VI, P. 166
- (169) Chapter I-P. 49
- (170) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol. VI, P. 169
- (171) Vattel, op.cit.-vol.I, P. CCLXXXI, note
- (172) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. 155, note 2
- (173) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 70, note (2)
- (174) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, P. 174
- (175) Ibid.-vol.VI, Pp. 176-77
- (176) Chapter II-P. 68
- (177) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 185

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- (178) Introduction-P. 7
- (179) Corneille, Thomas, le Comte d'Essex-acte IV, scène III.
- (180) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, P. 182
- (181) Ibid.-P. 178
- (182) Alméras, op.cit.-P. 188
- (183) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, P. 186
- (184) Chapter I-P. 54
- (185) DeFrance, op.cit.-P. 380
- (186) Lamartine, op.cit.(1847)-vol.VI, P. 188
- (187) Ibid.-P. 159
- (188) Ibid.-P. 191
- (189) Chapter I-P. 57
- (190) Doumic, op.cit.-P. 180
- (191) Ibid.-P. 181
- (192) Vatel, op.cit.-vol.I, P. CCCCLXXXIX
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- (361) Ibid.-P. CCCCLXC

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Appendix

In addition to the plays discussed in this thesis, Vattel, in his "Bibliographie dramatique-historique de Charlotte de Corday", lists the following:

1. L'Ami du Peuple ou la Mort de Marat, fait historique en un acte, suivi de sa Pompe funèbre, représenté pour la première fois sur le théâtre des Variétés amusantes, boulevard du Temple, le 8 août 1793, par le citoyen Gassier Saint-Amand.

2. A-propos sur la mort de l'infortuné Marat, joué par le théâtre de la Cité en août 1793.

La citoyenne Clericourt la jeune, artiste de ce théâtre, remplissait le rôle de Charlotte de Corday. C'est le seul renseignement que nous possédions sur cette pièce.

3. La Mort de Marat, tragédie en trois actes et en vers, par Jean-François Barrau, citoyen de Toulouse, représentée pour la première fois à Toulouse sur le Théâtre de la République française.— Toulouse, de l'imprimerie du citoyen Jean-Florent Baour (1793), in-8° de quarante-huit pages.

4. Les Catalinas modernes ou la Mort de Marat, pièce en deux actes, par Ferru fils, le 9 ventôse, an II.

5. Le Véritable ami du peuple ou la Victime du fédéralisme, joué à la Gaîté le 17 messidor, an II. Pièce mentionnée par le journal "le républicain français" à la date susdite.

6. The Maid of Normandy, or the Death of the Queen of France, tragedy in four acts, by E. J. Eyre. 8°. 1793-1794.

7. C. Corday oder die Rebellion von Calvados, etc.

(Charlotte Corday ou la Rébellion du Calvados, tragédie républicaine en quatre actes, épisode du temps de la Révolution française, en iambes. Stettin, 1794, chez Jean-Sigismond Kaffke.)

8. Charlotte Corday, tragédie en trois actes et en vers, avec cette épigraphe: "Dulce pro patria mori." (Prix:36 sols) 1795. sans nom d'auteur ni d'éditeur.

9. Charlotte Gorday oder Marat's Emordung, dramatisirt, etc. (Charlotte Corday ou l'assassinat de Marat, mis en drame. Dédié à la Sérénissime Princesse Louise de Hesse-Darmstadt. Frankfort-sur-le-Mayn, chez Georges-Louis Macklot. 1797.)

Ce drame a paru sans nom d'auteur. D'après Meusel, il fut composé par le baron René-Léopold-Christian-Charles de Senkenberg..... Il ne paraît pas avoir été joué sur aucun théâtre. L'auteur, qui garde l'anonyme, raconte dans la préface qu'après avoir lu la mort de Marat dans le Moniteur et les autres journaux français, ce tragique événement saisit si fortement son imagination qu'il perdit le sommeil, et qu'en deux matinées il traça sans désespérer le drame de "Charlotte Gorday" ou "Corday". Le manuscrit resta trois ans sans être publié.

10. Charlotte Corday, Trauerspiel en fünf Acten mit Chören, etc. (Charlotte Corday, tragédie en cinq actes avec chœurs, ornée d'un portrait sur cuivre.- Hambourg, 1804, chez B. G. Hoffmann.)

Ce drame a été composé par une dame de Hambourg, née le

8 décembre 1758, morte le 10 mai 1840, madame Angèle-Christine Westphalen, née de Axen, épouse du négociant et sénateur Jean-Ernest-Frédéric Westphalen, dont la maison était le point de réunion de beaucoup d'hommes spirituels et où étaient accueillis avec la plus affectueuse hospitalité les émigrés français les plus marquants.

11. Sept Heures, mélodrame en trois actes, par MM. Victor Ducange et Anicet Bourgeois, musique de M. Alexandre Piccini, divertissement de M. Coraly, etc., représenté pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin, le 23 mars, 1829.

12. Charlotte Corday, drame en cinq actes et en prose de Regnier Destourbet. — Paris, Dumont et Barba, 1831, in 8°.

13. Charlotte Corday, drame en trois actes, mêlé de chants, par MM. Dumanoir et Clairville, représenté pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le théâtre du Gymnase dramatique, le 14 juillet 1847, publié chez Michel Lévy. Paris, 1847, in-18 anglais.

14. Charlotte Corday, Tragédie, par M. Constant Berrier. (Inédite.) — (1840-1847).

15. Charlotte Corday, ou les Girondins, Tragédie en trois actes et en vers, trilogie historique, par P.C. Gasc. — Bruxelles, Decq. 1848. In-8° de 77 pages.

16. Charlotte Corday, ou la Mort de Marat, par Frédéric Digand. — Bruxelles, chez Perichon, rue de la Montagne, 26. 1847. In-8° de 116 pages. Suivi d'une notice sur Charlotte Corday.

17. Charlotte Corday, dramatisches Gedicht von Julius Bamme. (Charlotte Corday, Composition dramatique par Julius Bamme. - Magdebourg, imprimerie de Walter Delbruck, 1852.)

18. Charlotte Corday, eine historische Tragödie in fünf Acten, von Ernst Rommel, etc. (Charlotte Corday, Tragédie historique en cinq actes, par Ernest Rommel. - Hanovre, de l'imprimerie de Victor Lohse, 1856.)

19. Charlotte Corday, Tragédie historique en cinq actes, dans les œuvres dramatiques de Villiet, t. 1er, p. 107-198. Riom, 1858. petit in-8° (Bibl. nat., v. 65-9).

20. Fragment d'une tragédie de Charlotte Corday, tiré d'un ouvrage intitulé "Les Veilles d'un Artisan", par Jules Prior, tonnelier à Beaumont-le-Roger. Paris, Dentu, 1866. In-12. (Pp. 62-69).

21. Un des Jurés de Charlotte Corday, esquisses dramatiques en trois tableaux, en prose, par Madame Louise Colet.... une étude philosophique en prose, faisant en quelque sorte pendant aux Tableaux historiques en vers du même auteur.

22. Charlotte Corday, Trauerspiel in fünf Acten, etc. (Charlotte Corday, tragédie en cinq actes (en vers et en prose), par Carl von Appen. - Kiel, chez K. Schöder et Comp., 1861.)

23. Charlotte Corday, Drama in fünf Acten, etc. (Charlotte Corday, drame en cinq actes en vers et en prose, par Otto Girndt. Œuvres dramatiques, deuxième volume. - Hambourg, Otto Meissner, 1867.)

24. Charlotte Corday, a Play, in four Acts. - London, Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1870. Grand in-12 de cinquante et

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25. Marat's Tod, eine dramatische Skizze, 1830, von Graf von Platen Hallermünde. (vermischte Schriften.) - Erlangen, C. Heyder, 1822.

26. Charlotte Corday, tragédie composée en langue danoise par mademoiselle Athalie Schwartz, jouée à Copenhague, en 1864. (Non imprimée.)

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