

ENGRAVED FOR MONTHLY BEAUTIES.



MARIE ANTOINETTE,

*Late Queen of France.*

*Published by J. Parsons, Paternoster Row, April 25, 1793.*

AUTHENTIC  
TRIAL AT LARGE  
OF  
*MARIE ANTOINETTE,*  
LATE  
QUEEN OF FRANCE,  
BEFORE THE  
REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL  
AT PARIS,

ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1793,

ON

A Charge of having been accessory to, and having co-operated in divers Manœuvres against the Liberties of France, entertained a Correspondence with the Enemies of the Republic, and participated in a Plot tending to kindle Civil War in the Interior of the Republic by arming Citizens against each other.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

HER LIFE,

AND A

VERBAL COPY OF HER PRIVATE EXAMINATION PREVIOUS TO HER PUBLIC TRIAL.

WITH A SUPPLEMENT,

CONTAINING

THE PARTICULARS OF HER EXECUTION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR CHAPMAN AND Co. No. 161, FLEET STREET.

1793.

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L I F E  
OF  
MARIE ANTOINETTE,  
*Late QUEEN of FRANCE.*

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OF the mutability of fortune, the precariousness of power, and the uncertainty of human grandeur, where shall we find a stronger example than in this unfortunate princess? The sun that ushered in the morning of her birth, shone with unusual splendour; but it has set in blood.

Maria-Antoinette-Josepha-Jeane of Lorraine, archduchess of Austria, sister to the late, and aunt to the present emperor of Germany, was the daughter of the celebrated Maria Theresa, empress and queen of Hungary, and was born Nov. 2, 1755.

On the 16th of May 1770, she was married to Louis, then dauphin of France, who, on the death of his grandfather, succeeded to the throne May 10, 1774, by the name of Louis XVI.

When the young dauphiness arrived in France, she was but in her sixteenth year. The fame of her beauty had gone before her, and her appearance at Versailles justified all the expectations formed of those charms that had irradiated the court of Vienna.

The celebration of her nuptials we remember to have been attended with a dreadful accident. Magnificent fireworks being exhibited on the occasion, in the Square of Louis XV. the immense crowds of people who thronged to see them were blocked up on all sides, except one narrow street, through which they must all pass in order to disperse. Some obstruction happening in that street, the people, not knowing the cause, took fright, and every one pressing forward to get away, the confusion increased so fast, that one trampled over another, till the people lay in heaps: It was even said that those who were undermost stabbed those who lay above them, in order to disengage themselves. The carnage was inconceivable, and the accounts of the time make the dead amount to one thousand, and the wounded to two thousand. The dauphin, in the first emotion of his grief, gave all the money allotted for his month's expences, toward the relief of the sufferers; and in this act of generosity he was followed by the dauphiness, who was so deeply affected at the account she received of the fatal accident, that she was with difficulty kept from fainting.

Of the beauty of her person, her accomplishments, and the engaging affability of her manners, when she first became known to the French, no doubt can be entertained. The powerful imagination of Mr. Burke has represented her as a divinity descending to earth to bless the eyes of mortals with the splendour of beauty more than human.

"It is now (says he, describing his sensations on recollecting the person and accomplishments of this princess) sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the queen of France, then the dauphiness, at Versailles: And surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seeme to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and  
cheering

cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in,—glittering like the morning-star, full of life, and splendour, and joy. Oh! what a revolution! and what an heart must I have, to contemplate without emotion that elevation and that fall! Little did I dream that, when she added titles of veneration to those of enthusiastic, distant, respectful love, she should ever be obliged to carry the sharp antidote against disgrace concealed in that bosom; little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honour and of cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult.—But the age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists, and calculators, has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever. Never, never more, shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom. The unbought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, is gone! It is gone, that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage whilst it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness\*."

Of her person and accomplishments in the latter part of her life, the following is an accurate description:

\* Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France, p. 61. of the edition published by J. Parsons, No. 21, Paternoster-Row. Price One Shilling.

She

She was rather above the middle size, with what the French call a captivating *en bon point*.

She was finely formed, with hands and arms surpassing the most finished efforts of the sculptor.

Her complexion was fair; her hair light brown; and her eyes large, brilliant, and blue, as the finest sapphire. She had that sort of mouth styled the *Austrian*:—Her teeth were white, but not remarkably beautiful; her nose was small, but aquiline; her forehead was rather high; but her whole countenance beamed with softness and benignity.

When she smiled, her cheeks were dimpled, and every feature bespoke infantine sweetness.

She was highly accomplished; in music and dancing, she excelled; the harp was her favourite instrument; which she touched with nice skill, and irresistible grace. She drew in crayons with infinite taste, and composed the words of several charming and favourite canzonetts.

In her dress she was either splendidly magnificent, or simply elegant.

She was condescending in her behaviour to all around her, and so unaffected in her manner, that every look and action seemed the spontaneous work of nature. Yet when, for a moment, her countenance settled into a thoughtful serenity, there was a dignity in every look, that bespoke a rich and intelligent mind.

She was polite to all foreigners; but particularly so to the English, from whom she had learned to speak the language, though not fluently.

She was doatingly fond of her children, and in every instance was the best of mothers.

She was a stranger to the manners of the people whom she was destined to know as her subjects and her judges—she came among them in the innocence  
of

of youth; and adorned a court, *until* her reign, the most dissolute and despotic beneath the face of heaven.—She introduced a new scene of polished splendour—though perhaps more dazzling, less vicious than any preceding one had been. Neither did the expences so vehemently execrated by the revolutionists, bear any comparison with those of a Maintenon or a Pompadour.

When she first came to France, she endeavoured to discourage as much as she was able, the odious practice of painting, by forbidding any of her attendants to appear before her in such a disguise; she had then remarkable vivacity, and was extremely obliging and easy of access to all ranks of persons. The freedom of carriage, in fact, to which she had been accustomed, made her find the ceremonial and formality of the French court somewhat disagreeable. She imagined, when first married to the dauphin, that she had a right to go where she pleased, without restraint; but to her great mortification she found the contrary. The constant question, upon her offering to stir abroad, was, “Where are you going, madam?”—“To see the king my papa,” replied the princess. “That cannot be, madam.”—“No? why so?”—“It is not the etiquette.” And thus, if she wished to visit any of the mesdames the king’s sisters or aunts, she was always told it was not the etiquette. Great princesses must have their guards when they go out, and they must give notice, &c. in short, they must observe the etiquette. If, by chance, she offered to speak to a poor person or a child that attracted her attention, she was told that she must not be so familiar, for it was contrary to the etiquette; in short, the princess was so frequently stopped short and teased with this word *etiquette*, that when the members of the French Academy  
came

came to compliment her on her marriage with the dauphin, she received them with great politeness, and told them she was extremely fond of the French language; that she would endeavour to understand it perfectly, and to speak it with elegance; but she heartily wished the members of that learned and respectable body, the French Academy, would all agree to expunge one word out of the language, which she never could understand, and which gave her a great deal of pain. The president begged to know what that offensive word was. "Sir," replied the princess, "it is etiquette; etiquette; etiquette; etiquette." The gentlemen of the Academy bowed and retired.

After she ascended the throne, she has been accused of intermeddling too much in state affairs, and governing the nation, or rather oppressing and irritating the people, by heading a party, and inducing her royal consort supinely to indulge in his pleasure, and leave the reins of government to be directed by her and her favourites.

One of the first acts of the Queen, after her elevation, was the forming and completing a treaty of alliance between the family from whence she sprung, and that with which she was now connected. This alliance was deemed as prejudicial to France, as it was advantageous to the house of Austria, and is said to have been the first action of her life that gave disgust to her new subjects.

A great and uncommon event, however, restored her to their esteem; for in a few years after, her Majesty warmly espoused the cause of the Americans, and is said to have induced her royal consort to enter into a war in their defence.—The birth of a dauphin, too, delighted the people, and their tears at his death being speedily dried up by the

the birth of another prince, the consort of Louis XVI. seemed to have acquired and merited the love, affection, and esteem of the people.

But France was now on the eve of a revolution, dissimilar to all others that had hitherto occurred, and fraught with events equally fatal to empires and to monarchs.

Unfortunately for the Queen, she had about this time rendered herself odious to the nation; in addition to the murmurs occasioned by the relief administered to the necessitous treasury of her brother the Emperor Joseph, an *equivocal* transaction relative to the famous diamond necklace, in which the Cardinal De Rohan first figured away as a dupe, had made her a number of enemies.

The report, too, of some *female frailties*, and the writings of Madame de la Motte, who pretended to have been the witness, and even the *pander* of her pleasures, rendered the Queen of France obnoxious to the censures, not only of the French, but of all Europe.

We leave the invidious task of recording the particulars on which these reports were founded, to the future historian.

Whatever may have been her errors and her crimes, such an atonement has been made, during three years of uninterrupted persecution, that the "recording angel" must have long since blotted out every venial fault with "a tear!"

That relentless faction, which had put an end to the life of her consort, and had vowed revenge upon herself, were not long in putting their threats in execution. Her Majesty was brought to trial; and this trial we shall now record from documents of indubitable authenticity.

# PRIVATE INTERROGATORIES

MADE TO

MARIE ANTOINETTE,

*Before one of the Judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal, previous to her Trial.*

**W**E Amant-Martial Joseph Hamart, President of the Revolutionary Tribunal, established by the law of March 10, 1793, without the jurisdiction of the Tribunal of Cassiering; invested by powers delegated to the tribunal, by the law of April 5th, of the year before mentioned; assisted by Nicholas Joseph Fabricius, Clerk of the Tribunal, in the presence of Anthony Quentin Fouquier, Public Accuser; ordered to be brought before us, from the prison of the Conciergerie, Marie Antoinette, widow of Capet, whom we asked her names, age, profession, country, and place of abode.

*Answer.* She answered, that her name was Marie Antoinette, of Lorraine and Austria, 38 years of age, widow of the King of France, born at Vienna.

**Q.** Which was the place of her abode the moment of her arrest?

**A.** That she had not been arrested, but that they came to take her in the National Assembly, and conducted her to the Temple.

**Q.** Had you, previously to the Revolution, any political connexions with the King of Bohemia and Hungary; and were not those connexions contrary to the interests of France, which loaded you with benefits?

**A.** That

**A.** That the King of Bohemia and Hungary was her brother; that the connexions she had with him were only those of consanguinity, but not of a political nature; those connexions could only be to the advantage of France, to which she was attached by the family into which she married.

**Q.** It was remarked to her, that, not contented with dilapidating in a shocking manner the finances of France, the fruits of the sweat of the people, for the sake of her pleasures and intrigues, in concert with infamous ministers, she had sent to the Emperor thousands of millions, to serve against the nation which fostered her.

**A.** Never; that she knows that this mean has frequently been made subservient against her; that she loved her husband too much to dilapidate the money of his country; that her brother did not want money from France; and that, from the same principles which attached her to this country, she would not have given him any.

**Q.** Observed, that, since the revolution, she has not ceased an instant to carry on manœuvres with the foreign powers, and within this country, against liberty, even at a period when we only had the image of that liberty which the French nation absolutely wishes for.

**A.** That, since the revolution, she has forborne all foreign correspondence; that she never meddled in domestic concerns.

**Q.** Whether she did not employ some secret agent to correspond with the foreign powers, chiefly with her brothers; and if De Lessart was not the principal agent?

**A.** Never in her life.

**Q.** Observed, that her answer does not appear exact to us; for it is notorious that there existed in the *ci-devant* palace of the Thuilleries, secret and nocturnal

nocturnal petty councils, over which she herself presided, and in which were discussed, deliberated upon, and resolved, the answers to be made to the foreign powers, and those to the successive constituent and legislative assemblies.

A. That the preceding answer is very exact; for the rumour of those committees has constantly existed whenever it was intended to amuse and deceive the people; that she never knew such a committee; that it has not existed.

Q. Observed, that it appears, however, that when there was a question to know if Louis Capet should sanction or affix his *veto* to the decree issued in the course of November 1791, concerning his brothers, the emigrants, and the refractory and fanatical priests, she, in despite of the most urgent representation of Duranton, then minister of justice, had brought Louis Capet to the determination of not affixing his *veto* to those decrees, the sanction of which would have prevented the ills which France has since suffered, and which evidently proves that she assisted at the councils and petty councils.

A. That in the month of November, Duranton was not minister; that, in other respects, her spouse did not require to be urged to do that which he believed to be his duty; that she was not of the council; and that only there, affairs of that description were transacted and decided.

Q. Observed, that it was she who taught Louis Capet that art of profound dissimulation by which he had too long deceived the kind French nation, who did not suppose that perfidy and villany could be carried to such a degree.

A. Yes, the people have been deceived—cruelly deceived! but it was neither by her nor her husband.

Q. By whom, then, has the people been deceived?

A. By

A. By those who felt it their interest; that it had never been theirs to deceive them.

Q. Observed, that she did not answer directly the question.

A. That she would answer it directly if she knew the names of the persons.

Q. Observed, that she was the principal instigatrix to the treason of Louis Capet; that it was by her advice, and perhaps by her importunities and teasing, that he resolved to fly France, to put himself at the head of the furious men who wished to tear his country.

A. That her husband did not wish to quit France; that she followed him on his journey; that she would have followed him every-where; but that if she had known that he wanted to quit his country, she would have employed all possible means to dissuade him; but that he had no such intention.

Q. What, then, was the purposed end of the journey known by the name of *Varennes*?

A. To procure himself that liberty which he could not enjoy here in the eyes of any person; and to conciliate thence all parties for the happiness and tranquillity of France.

Q. Why did you travel at that period by the borrowed name of a Russian baroness?

A. Because we could not get out of Paris without changing name.

Q. If, amongst other persons who favoured her escape, La Fayette, Bailly, and Renard the architect, were not of the number?

A. That the two former would have been the last they would have employed; that the third person was then under their orders, but that they never employed him for that purpose.

Q. Represented, that her answer was contradictory to declarations of the persons who fled with her; and it resulted from them, that the carriage of

La

La Fayette, at the moment when all the fugitives came down stairs through the apartment of a woman in her service, was in one of the court-yards; and that La Fayette and Bailly were upon the watch, while Renard directed their route.

A. That she does not know what declarations might have been made by the persons who were with her; that all she knows is, that she met, in the Square of Carouzel, the carriage of La Fayette; but that she went on her way, and was far from stopping it; that, with regard to Renard, she could assure us that he did not direct the march; that she alone opened the door and made every body go out.

Q. Observed, that from this confession of her having opened the door, and let out every body, there remains no doubt that she directed Louis Capet in all his actions, and made him resolve to fly.

A. That she did not believe that the opening of a door could prove that a person directs the actions of another; that her spouse desiring and thinking himself obliged to go out thence with his children, it was her duty to give her assent; and that she was to do every thing to render his going out safe.

Q. Observed, that she never concealed for a moment her desire of destroying liberty; that she wanted to reign at any rate, and re-ascend the throne upon the corpses of the patriots.

A. That they did not want to re-ascend the throne: That they were upon it; that they never had any other desire but the happiness of France. Be it happy; be it but happy! they would always be contented!

Q. Represented, that if such had been her sentiments, she would have used her influence over the mind of her brother, to induce him to break the treaty of Pilnitz, concluded between him and

William

William—a treaty, the sole end of which has been, and is, to associate with all the powers to annihilate that liberty which the French shall have in despite of that coalition and those treasons.

A. That she only knew that treaty after it had been concluded; that it had long been of no effect; that it ought to be observed that the foreign powers were not the first aggressors of France.

Q. Represented, that it is true that the foreign powers had not declared war; but that she ought not to be ignorant, that this declaration of war has only been occasioned by a liberticide faction, the authors of which will soon receive the just punishment which they deserve.

A. That she does not know who we meant to speak of; but that she knows that the Legislative Assembly had reiterated the demand of the declaration of war, and that her husband consented to it, with the unanimous advice of the members of his council.

Q. You have held a correspondence with the *ci-devant* French princes since their quitting France, and with the emigrants; you have conspired with them against the safety of the state.

A. She never held any correspondence with any Frenchmen abroad; that with respect to her brothers, she might possibly have written them one or two insignificant letters; but she does not believe she has; and recollects having often refused to do so.

Q. Does she recollect to have said, on the 4th of October 1789, that she was enchanted with the day of the first of that month, a day remarkable for the orgies of the *Gardes-du-corps*, and the regiment of Flanders, who, in a moment of ebriety, expressed their attachment to the throne, and their aversion for the people, trod the national cockade under foot, and put on the white cockade?

A. She



A. She does not recollect saying any such thing; but that it is possible she may have said, that she was touched with the first sentiment that animated this festival; that as to the rest of the question, drunkenness was not necessary to make the *Gardes-du-corps* testify attachment and devotion to persons in whose service they were. With respect to the affair of the cockade, if it existed, it could only be the error of a few, who now disapprove it; but that it was impossible that persons so attached, should tread under foot and with to change an emblem which the king himself then wore.

Q. What interest did she take in the success of the armies of the republic?

A. The happiness of France is what she desires above all things.

Q. Do you think that kings are necessary to the happiness of the people?

A. An individual could not positively decide such a matter.

Q. You regret, without doubt, that your son has lost a throne which he might have ascended, if the people, at length enlightened upon their true rights, had not themselves crushed that throne?

A. She shall never regret any thing for her son, so long as her country is happy.

Q. What is your opinion of the 10th of August, when the Swiss, by order of the master of the castle in the Thuilleries, dared to fire upon the people?

A. She was not in the castle when they began to fire; she only knows that no order was ever given to fire.

Q. Have you not, during your residence in the Temple, been exactly informed of political affairs, and have you not kept up a correspondence with the enemies of the republic, by means of some municipal officers who were in your service, or by some

some person introduced by them into your habitation?

A. During the fourteen months she has been confined, she has had neither news nor knowledge of any political affairs, which it was impossible for her to receive; that since the beginning of October, pen, paper, and pencil, had been taken from her; that she had never addressed any municipal officer, which there is reason to believe would have been ineffectual; and that she has seen none others than them.

Q. Your answer is contradictory to the declarations made by the persons who dwelt in the same place.

A. Not many persons lived in the Temple, and those who declare any thing of the kind, dare not prove it.

Q. Whilst she was at the *Conciergerie*, were not several persons introduced into her apartment? Did not one of them drop a carnation in which was a writing? and was it not she who took up this carnation, after repeated signs had been made to her by the same person?

A. Different persons entered her chamber, but with the administrators of the police; she did not know them at all; there was one whom she thought she recollected; it is true a carnation was dropped, as she had before declared, but she paid so little attention to the circumstance, that but for the signs, she should not have taken it up; and that she did so, fearing only that the person who threw it down might be exposed if it were found.

Q. Did you not recollect this person as having been at the castle of the Thuilleries on the 20th of June; and as having been one of those who remained with you on that day?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you not recollect this same person to have been at the Thuilleries on the 10th of August?

A. No.

Q. Do you know her name?

A. No. She does not recollect having ever known it.

Q. Observe; it is strange that you should not know her name, for the person said, that you had rendered her great services, which is seldom the case without knowing the person who is the object, in a manner more or less particular.

A. It is possible that those who have rendered services may forget them; and that those who have received them may recollect them.

Q. Has she replied to the billet found in the carnation?

A. She endeavoured with a pin; not with a view to answer her, but to engage her not to come there in case she should again present herself.

Q. Does she recollect the answer?

A. Yes.

Q. Has she produced the billet intended for a reply and pricked with a pin?

A. She has acknowledged it.

Q. Did she make a particular motion at the time when this person presented herself?

A. Not having seen any known face for thirteen months, she was a little startled at first from the idea of danger incurred by coming into her chamber; afterwards she thought she might be employed somewhere; and then was easy.

Q. What do you mean by the two last expressions?

A. As several people whom she did not know came to her with the administrators, she thought that this person might be employed in some place at the sections or elsewhere; and in that case did not run any danger.

Q. Did

Q. Did the administrators of the police often bring people with them?

A. They were almost always accompanied by one, two, or three unknown persons.

Q. Who were the administrators that came most frequently?

A. Michonis, Michel, Jobert, and Marino.

Q. Did these four administrators always bring persons unknown to you?

A. She believed so, but does not recollect.

Q. Has she any thing to add upon these different answers—has she a counsel?

A. No; because she knows not any one.

Q. Does she wish us to name her one or two counsellors?

A. She does.

After which two advocates belonging to the office were named; they are the citizens Fronson de Cou-dray and Chaveau De la Gards.

The present interrogatory having been read to her, she declared that it contained the truth; that she had nothing to add or to retract; that she persisted in what she had said, and has signed with us, the said public accuser and register.

Signed, MARIE ANTOINETTE,  
HERMAN,  
FOUQUIER, and  
J. N. FABRICIUS.

THE  
TRIAL  
OF THE  
QUEEN OF FRANCE.

OCTOBER 14.

**B**EING interrogated as to her names, surnames, age, qualities, place of birth and abode, answered, That her name is Marie Antoinette Lorraine, of Austria, aged about thirty-eight years, widow of the King of France, born at Vienna, finding herself at the time of her arrest in the place of the sitting of the National Assembly.

The Greffier read the act of accusation, as follows:

Antoine Quentin Fouquier, public accuser of the Criminal Revolutionary Tribunal, established at Paris, by a decree of the National Convention of the 10th of March 1793, second year of the Republic; without any recourse to the Tribunal of Cessation, in virtue of the power given him by the eleventh article of another decree of the Convention of April 5, following; stating that the public accuser of the said Tribunal is authorised to arrest, pursue, and judge upon the denunciation of the constituted authorities or of the citizens, states:—

That, by a decree of the Convention, of the 1st of August last, Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, has been brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal,

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Tribunal, as accused of conspiring against France; that by another decree of the Convention of Oct. 3, it has been decreed, that the Revolutionary Tribunal should occupy itself without delay, and without interruption, on the trial;—that the public accuser received the papers concerning the widow Capet, on the 19th and 20th of the first month of the second decade, commonly called the 11th and 12th of October of the present month;—that one of the judges of the Tribunal immediately proceeded to the interrogatories of the widow Capet; that an examination being made of all the pieces transmitted by the public accuser, it appears that, like Messaline, Brunchaut, Fredigonde, and Medicis, who were formerly distinguished by the titles of queens of France, whose names have ever been odious, and will never be effaced from the page of history,—Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, has, since her abode in France, been the scourge and the blood-sucker of the French; that even before the happy revolution which gave the French people their sovereignty, she had political correspondence with a man called the King of Bohemia and Hungary; that this correspondence was contrary to the interests of France; that, not content with acting in concert with the brothers of Louis Capet, and the infamous and execrable Calonne, at that time minister of the finances, and squandering the finances of France (the fruit of the sweat of the people) in a dreadful manner, to satisfy inordinate pleasures, and to pay the agents of her criminal intrigues; it is notorious that she has at different times transmitted millions to the Emperor, which served him, and still supports him to sustain a war against the republic; and that it is by such excessive plunder that she has at length exhausted the national treasury.

That

That since the revolution, the widow Capet has not for a moment withheld criminal intelligence and correspondence with foreign powers, and in the interior of the republic, by agents devoted to her, whom she subsidized and caused to be paid out of the treasury of the *ci-devant* civil list; that at various epochs she has employed every manœuvre that she thought consistent with her perfidious views to bring about a counter-revolution; first, having under pretext of a necessary re-union between the *ci-devant* gardes-du-corps, and the officers and foldiers of the regiment of Flanders, contrived a repast between these two corps on the 1st of October 1789, which degenerated into an absolute orgie as she desired, and during the course of which, the agents of the widow Capet perfectly seconded her counter-revolutionary projects; brought the greater part of the guests, in the moment of inebriety, to sing songs expressive of their most entire devotion to the throne, and the most marked aversion for the people; of having excited them insensibly to wear the white cockade, and to tread the national cockade under foot; and of having authorized, by her presence, all the counter-revolutionary excesses, particularly in encouraging the women who accompanied her, to distribute these white cockades among the guests; and having, on the 4th of the same month, testified the most immoderate joy at what passed during these orgies.

Secondly—Having, in concert with Louis Capet, directed to be distributed very plentifully throughout the kingdom, publications of a counter-revolutionary nature, some of which were pretended to have been published by the conspirators on the other side of the Rhine [meaning we suppose at Coblenz], such as—*Petitions to the Emigrants—Reply of the Emigrants—the Emigrants to the People—the shortest Follies are the best—the Order of March—the Return*

*the Emigrants*, and other such writings;—of having even carried her perfidy and dissimulation to such a height, as to have circulated writings in which she herself is described in very unfavourable colours, in order to cloak the imposture; thereby to make it be believed by foreign powers that she was extremely ill treated by Frenchmen, to instigate them to go to war with France.

That in order to carry on her counter-revolutionary designs with more efficacy, she, by means of agents, caused in Paris, towards the beginning of October 1789, a famine, which occasioned a new insurrection, in consequence of which an innumerable crowd of citizens of both sexes set out for Versailles on the 5th of the said month; that this fact is proved beyond all contradiction, as the next day there was a plenty of every thing, even after the time the widow Capet arrived with her family in Paris.

That being scarcely arrived in Paris, the widow Capet, fertile in intrigues of every kind, formed committees, consisting of all the counter-revolutionists and intriguers of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, which held their meetings in the dead of night; that plots were there formed, how to destroy the rights of man, and the decrees already passed, which were to form the basis of the new constitution; that it was at these committees, or meetings, that the necessary measures were deliberated to obtain a revision of those decrees which were favourable to the people.

That the flight of Louis Capet, his widow, and his whole family, was impeded, as they travelled under fictitious names, in the month of June 1791; that the widow Capet confesses in her interrogatory, that it was she who opened and locked the door of the apartment through which the fugitives passed; that,

that, independent of the confession of the widow Capet in this respect, it is confirmed, by the testimony of Louis Charles Capet, and by his sister, that De la Fayette favoured all the designs of the widow Capet, in the same manner as Bailly did while he was mayor of Paris, and that both were present when the fugitives escaped, and favoured their flight as much as lay in their power.

That the widow Capet, after her return from Varennes, recommenced her intriguing *coteries*, at which she herself presided; and that, aided by her favourite La Fayette, the gates of the Thuilleries were kept locked, which deprived the citizens of the power of passing backwards and forwards in the courts of the Thuilleries; that those only who had cards were permitted to pass.

That this order was given out by La Fayette as a measure of punishment to the fugitives; though it served only as a trick to prevent the citizens from knowing what passed at these midnight orgies, and from discovering the plots against liberty carried on in this infamous abode.

That it was at these meetings, that the horrible massacre which took place on the 17th of July 1791 was planned, when so many zealous patriots were killed in the Champ de Mars.

That the massacre which had previously taken place at Nancy, as well as those which have since happened in different parts of the republic, were ordered and determined on in these secret councils.

That these insurrections, in which the blood of such an immense number of patriots has been spilt, were plotted in order the more expeditiously and securely to obtain a revision of the decrees passed and founded on the rights of man, which were so obnoxious to the ambition and counter-revolutionary views of Louis Capet and Marie Antoinette.

That

That the constitution of 1791 being once accepted, the widow Capet took every means in her power to destroy its energy by means of her manœuvres; that she employed agents in different parts of the republic to effect this object of annihilating liberty, and to make the French once more to fall beneath the tyrannic yoke under which they had languished for so many years; that for this purpose, the widow Capet ordered it to be discussed in these midnight meetings, which were truly called the Austrian cabinet, how far it might be possible to counteract the laws passed in the Legislative Assembly.

That it was in consequence of these councils and her advice that Louis Capet was persuaded to oppose his *veto* to the famous and salutary decrees passed in the Legislative Assembly against the *ci-devant* Princes, brothers of Louis Capet—against the Emigrants—and against the horde of refractory and fanatical priests who were spread all through France;—a *veto* which has proved one of the principal causes of the evils which France has since experienced.

That it is the widow Capet who caused perverse ministers to be nominated, and placed her creatures in the armies and public offices, men who were known by the whole nation to be conspirators against liberty; that it was by her manœuvres and those of her agents, as able as they were perfidious, that she got a new guard formed for Louis Capet, composed of ancient officers who had quitted their corps, and had refused to take the constitutional oath; that she gave appointments to refractory priests and strangers; and in short, to all those who were disliked by the nation, and who were worthy of serving in the army of Coblenz, whither many of them fled after being cashiered.

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That

That it was the widow Capet, who, in conjunction with a scandalous faction, at that time domineered over the Legislative Assembly, and for some time over the Convention; who declared war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia, her own brother: That it was through her manœuvres and intrigues, at all times pernicious to France, that the French were obliged to make their first retreat from Flanders.

That it is the widow Capet who forwarded to the foreign courts, the plans of the campaign, and the attacks which were agreed upon in the council; so that, by means of this double treason, the enemies of France were always informed before-hand of the movements of the armies of the republic; from whence it follows, that the widow Capet is the authoress of all those reverses of fortune, which the armies of the republic have experienced at different times.

That the widow Capet combined and plotted with her perfidious agents, the horrible conspiracy which broke out on the day of the 10th of August; which failed only through the courageous and incredible efforts of the patriots; that to this end, she seduced into her dwelling of the Thuilleries, and even into the subterraneous passages under it, Swiss soldiers, who, at the expiration of a decree then passed, were no longer to belong to the body-guards of Louis Capet.

That the widow of Capet kept them in a state of drunkenness, from the 9th to the 10th in the morning, the day appointed for the execution of this horrible conspiracy; that for the same purpose she had re-united on the 9th a body of those beings known by the name of the Knights of the Dagger, who had figured away with the same infamous designs, and in the same place, on the 28th of February 1791, and again on the 21st of June 1792.

That

That the widow Capet, fearing no doubt that this conspiracy might not have the promised effect, went on the evening of the 9th of August, at half after nine, into the room where the Swiss, and others in her interest, were busy making cartridges; that in order to excite them the more, she took up the cartridges and bit them.

That the next day, the 10th of August, she pressed and solicited Louis Capet to go to the Thuilleries at five in the morning, to review the real Swiss guards and those who had assumed their uniform; and at his return she presented him with a pistol, saying—*This is the moment to show yourself*; and on his refusing, she called him a coward.

That notwithstanding the widow Capet denies having given any orders to fire on the people, her conduct on the 9th—her deeds in the room of the Swiss guards—the councils she held all the night long—the article of the pistol and her words to Louis Capet—their sudden retreat from the Thuilleries, and the firing on the people at that very moment he and she entered the room of the Legislative Assembly—in one word, all these circumstances united, leave no doubt but that in her councils during the night, it was resolved that the people must be fired at; and that Louis Capet and Marie Antoinette, the female director of that conspiracy, should themselves give the orders to fire.

That to the perfidious intrigues and manœuvres of the widow Capet, in confederacy with that infamous faction of which we have just spoken, and with all the enemies of the republic, France is indebted for the internal war which has distressed her so long; but the end of which is fortunately not much more distant than that of its authors.

That at all times, the widow Capet, by the influence she had acquired over Louis Capet, insinuated

ated into him that perfidious and dangerous art of dissimulation, to promise by public acts the very contrary he intended to perform; and that they both in their midnight councils plotted the ruin of that liberty, so dear to Frenchmen (and which they will take care to preserve), and to recover the plenitude of the royal prerogatives.

That finally, the widow Capet, in every respect immoral, and a *new Agrippina*, is so dissolute and so familiar with all crimes, that, forgetting her quality of mother, and the limits prescribed by the law of nature, she has not hesitated to prostitute herself with Louis Charles Capet, her son; and according to the confession of the latter, she has committed indecencies with him, the very idea and name of which strikes the soul with horror.

According to this report, the Public Accuser brings the above accusations against Marie Antoinette, qualifying herself in her interrogatory by the title of *Lorraine and Austria*, widow of Louis Capet; and states,

1st, That, in conjunction with the brothers of Louis Capet, and the infamous ex-minister Calonne, she squandered away in the most horrid manner the French finances, sent innumerable sums to the Emperor, and drained the national treasury.

2d, That as well by herself as by the aid of her counter-revolutionary agents, she kept up a correspondence with the enemies of the republic, and informed these enemies, or caused them to be informed, of all the plans of campaigns and attacks resolved on and determined in the council.

3d, That through her intrigues and manœuvres, and those of her agents, she formed conspiracies and plots against the interior and exterior safety of France; and to that effect kindled a civil war in di-

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vers provinces of the republic; armed one citizen against another, and by these means spilled the blood of an incalculable number of citizens, contrary to the sixth article of the first section of the penal code, and to the second article of the second section of the same code.

In consequence of all which charges, the Public Accuser requests that an act of the present accusation be given him by the Tribunal; that it be ordained, that on his requisition, and through the channel of a serjeant at arms, Marie Antoinette, qualifying herself by the title of *Lorraine and Austria*, widow of Louis Capet, actually confined in the prison called the Conciergerie of the Palace, be entered on the registers of the said prison, there to remain in the same as in a house of justice; and that the sentence to be given shall be notified to the municipality of Paris and to the accused.

Done in the Chamber of the Public Accuser, the first day of the third decade of the first month of the second year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) ANTOINE QUENTIN FOUQUIER.

The Tribunal, in compliance with the request of the Public Accuser, grants him an act of the accusation by him made against Marie Antoinette, called of *Lorraine and Austria*, widow of Louis Capet; and orders that, agreeable to the said request, and through the means of a serjeant at arms, bearer of this ordonnance, Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, shall be bodily arrested, and entered on the registers of the prison called the Conciergerie, where she is actually detained, there to remain, the same as in a house of justice; and that the present ordonnance

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nance be notified to the municipality of Paris, and to the accused.

Done and judged at the Tribunal, the 2d day of the 3d decade of the first month of the 2d year of the republic, by the citizens—all judges of the Tribunal.

AMANT-MARTIAL-JOSEPH HAMART  
ETIENNE FOUCAULT  
GABRIEL TOUSSAINT SECELLIER  
PIERRE ANDRE COFFINHAL  
GABRIEL DE LIEGE  
PIERRE LOUIS RAGMAY  
ANTOINE MARIE MAIRE  
FRANÇOIS JOSEPH DENIZOT  
ETIENNE MAÇON.

The President said to the Queen, after the act of accusation had been read—"This is what you are accused of: Lend an attentive ear; you are going to hear the charges laid against you."

He then proceeded to the examination of the witnesses.

*Laurent Lecointre*, Deputy to the National Convention, deposed against the accused, for having formerly been the wife of the *ci-devant* King of France; and for being the person who, at the time of her removal to the Temple, had charged him with a memorial to the Convention, in order to gain over 12 or 14 persons, whom she mentioned, to what she called her service. The Convention, on that occasion, passed to the order of the day, upon the ground that he should address himself to the municipality.

The deponent then entered upon the detail of the festivals and orgies which took place at Versailles, from the year 1789; the result of which had been, a dreadful dilapidation in the finances of France.

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The witness gave a detail of what preceded and followed the assemblies of the Notables, till the epocha of the opening of the States-General; the state of the generous inhabitants of Versailles; their grievous perplexities on the 23d of June 1789, when the artillery-men of Nassau, whose artillery was placed in the stables belonging to the accused, refused to fire upon the people.

At length, the Parisians having shaken off the yoke of tyranny, this revolutionary movement re-animating the energy of their brethren at Versailles. They formed the very hardy and courageous project of freeing themselves from the oppression of the despot, or of his agents.

On the 28th of July, the citizens of Versailles formed a wish to organize themselves into National Guards, like their brethren of Paris. They nevertheless proposed to consult the King; the negociator was the *ci-devant* Prince de Poix. Endeavours were made to prolong the matter; but the organization having been made, the staff was appointed; D'Estaing was named commandant general, and Gouvernet second in command.

The witness here entered into the detail of the facts which preceded and followed the arrival of the regiment of Flanders. The accused, on the 29th of September, sent for some officers of the National Guard, and made them a present of two colours; a third remained, which they were told was destined for a battalion of pretended guards, paid for the avowed purpose, as it was declared, of relieving the inhabitants of Versailles, who were thus cajoled; at the same time that it was affected to pity them, they in reality were abhorred.

On the 29th of September 1789, the National Guard gave a repast to its brave brethren, the soldiers



diers of the regiment of Flanders. The public journals gave an account at the time, that, at the request of the citizens, nothing passed contrary to the principles of liberty; but that the feast given October the 1st, by the *gardes-du-corps*, had no other aim than to provoke the National Guard against the *ci-devant* soldiers of Flanders, and the *chasseurs des trois Evêchés*.

The witness observed, that the accused appeared at this latter part with her husband; that they were loudly applauded there; that the air *O, Richard! O, my King!* was played; that the health of the King and Queen was drank, as well as that of her son; but that the health of the nation, which had been proposed, was rejected.

After this orgie, they removed themselves to the castle of the *ci-devant* court, called *Marble*; and there, in order, to give the King a just idea of the manner in which they were disposed to defend the interests of his family, if occasion required it, a person named Perceval, Aid-de-Camp to D'Estaing, mounted first; after him, a grenadier of the regiment of Flanders; a third dragoon having also attempted to scale the said balcony, and not being able to succeed, would have destroyed it. With respect to the said Perceval, he took the cross with which he was decorated, in order to give it to a grenadier, who, like him, had scaled the balcony of the *ci-devant* King.

[Upon the request of the Public Accuser, the Tribunal ordered, that a mandate should be issued to bring forth Perceval and D'Estaing.]

The witness added, that on the 3d of the same month of October, the *gardes-du-corps* gave a second repast. It was there that the most violent outrages were committed upon the national cockade, which was trodden under foot.

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The deponent here detailed what happened at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October. He observed, that on the day of the 6th of October, D'Estaing being informed of the movements which were making in Paris, went to the municipality of Versailles, in order to obtain permission to carry away the *ci-devant* King, who was then hunting, and who was entirely ignorant of what was passing; with a promise to bring him back when tranquillity should be restored. The witness deposited upon the desk the pieces relative to the facts contained in his declaration, which were added to the process.

*President to the Queen.* Have you any observations to make upon the witness's deposition?

*Queen.* I have no knowledge of the greater part of the facts which the witness mentions. It is true that I gave two colours to the National Guard of Versailles; and it is also true that we walked round the table on the day of the repast given by the *gardes-du-corps*; but this is all.

*President.* You acknowledge that you were in the hall of the *ci-devant* *gardes-du-corps*. Were you there when they played the air of *O Richard! O my King?*

*Queen.* I do not recollect.

*President.* Were you there when the health of the nation was proposed, and rejected?

*Queen.* I do not think that I was.

*President.* It is notorious, that the report all over France at that time was, that you had yourself visited the three armed corps at Versailles, for the purpose of engaging them to defend what you called the prerogatives of the throne.

*Queen.* I have nothing to answer.

*President.* Did you not, before the 14th of July, hold nocturnal meetings, at which Polignac assisted;

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and was it not there deliberated upon the means of sending money to the Emperor?

*Queen.* I never assisted at any such meetings.

*President.* Have you any knowledge of the famous *Bed of Justice*, held by Louis Capet, in the midst of the representatives of the people?

*Queen.* I have.

*President.* Was it not D'Espremenil and Thourer, assisted by Barentin, who revised the articles that were proposed?

*Queen.* I am entirely ignorant of this matter.

*President.* Your answers are not accurate; for it was in your apartments that the articles were revised.

*Queen.* It was in the council that this affair was determined.

*President.* Did not your husband read his speech to you half an hour before he entered the hall of the representatives of the people, and did you not engage him to pronounce it with resolution?

*Queen.* My husband had great confidence in me, and that made him read his speech; but I made no observations.

*President.* What were the deliberations upon surrounding the representatives of the people with bayonets, and assassinating half of them if possible?

*Queen.* I never heard mention of such a thing.

*President.* You cannot have been ignorant that there were troops in the Champ de Mars. You must know the cause of their being assembled.

*Queen.* I knew at the time that troops were assembled, and I am absolutely ignorant of the motive.

*President.* But enjoying the confidence of your husband, you must have known the cause.

*Queen.* It was to restore public tranquillity.

*President.*

*President.* What use have you made of the immense sums which you have been entrusted with?

*Queen.* No enormous sum has been entrusted to me; the accounts of my household will prove what use has been made of all I have received.

*President.* How did the family of the Polignacs, who were so poor at first, grow so rich?

*Queen.* The family held offices at court which were very lucrative.

*Jean Baptiste Lapiere, ci-devant* Aide-Major of the National Guards, deposed, that being on guard in the Chateau the 20th of June 1791, the day of the flight to Varennes, he had heard a report, that the Aristocrats were to carry off the Queen and the royal family during the night, but that notwithstanding his vigilance he had seen nothing.

*Public Accuser.* By what quarter did you depart on the day that you fled?

*Queen.* By the door of the apartment of M. de Villequier.

*Public Accuser.* Who opened that door?

*Queen.* It was I.

*Public Accuser.* Were you on foot, or in a carriage, in crossing the Square du Carouzel?

*Queen.* On foot.

*Public Accuser.* Were Bailly and La Fayette informed of your departure?

*Queen.* No.

*Public Accuser.* Did you meet with La Fayette as you were going away?

*Queen.* We saw him in his carriage in the Square du Carouzel.

*Public Accuser.* What o'clock was it?

*Queen.* Half past eleven at night.

*Public Accuser.* Had you seen La Fayette that day?

*Queen.* I do not recollect.

*Rouffillon, ci-devant:* Judge of the Revolutionary Tribunal—"All the facts contained in the act of accusation are of such public notoriety that it is unnecessary to spend time on them. If my fullest conviction can be of any weight, I will not hesitate to affirm, that I am fully persuaded that this woman is guilty of the greatest crimes; that she has always conspired against the liberty of the French people. The following is a circumstance which I have to relate to you.—On the 10th of August, I was present at the siege of the château of the Thuilleries. I saw under the bed of Marie Antoinette full or empty bottles, from which I concluded that she had herself distributed wine to the Swiss soldiers, that these wretches in their intoxication might assassinate the people." Rouffillon then declared, that his intention, and that of the other patriots, was, after having inflicted justice on the *Etat Major* of the Swiss Guard, to proceed to the Convention, to sacrifice the royal family who had taken refuge there. "We met," added he, "Brissot and Gaudet, who conjured us not to commit that political crime. I say, political crime, for it can never surely be a crime in morals to rid the earth of tyrants."

*President.* Have you any observations to make, Marie Antoinette?

*Queen.* I am not acquainted with that gentleman—I do not know what he means.

*Jacques-René-Hebert,* substitute of the *Procureur* of the Commune, deposed, that as a member of the Commune of the 10th of August, he was charged with different important functions, which afforded him an opportunity to be convinced of the conspiracy of Antoinette, particularly one day in the Temple

ple he found a copy of the ritual belonging to her, in which was one of the counter-revolutionary emblems, representing an inflamed heart pierced with an arrow, on which was written, *Jesus miserere nobis*. Another time he found in the chamber of Elizabeth, a har, which was known to have belonged to Louis Capet. This discovery left him no room to doubt that there were among his colleagues some men base enough to degrade themselves so far as to be the servants of tyranny. He recollected that Toulan had one day entered with his hat into the Temple, and had come out bareheaded, saying that he had lost it. He added that Simon having apprised him that he had something important to communicate, he went to the Temple, accompanied with the Mayor and *Procureur* of the Commune; they there received a declaration, on the part of young Capet, to this purport: That at the period of the flight of Louis Capet to Varennes, La Fayette was one of those who had most contributed to facilitate it; that they had with this view spent the night in the palace; that during their residence in the Temple, the prisoners had for a long time been informed of all public transactions; and a correspondence was transmitted to them in clothes and shoes. Young Capet named thirteen persons as being concerned in carrying on this correspondence; that one of them having shut him up with his sister in a turret, he heard what his mother said: "I will procure you the means of being informed of the news, by sending you every day to cry near the Tower, *Le Journal du Soir*." In fine, young Capet, whose constitution became every day impaired, was surprised by Simon in practices destructive to his health, and at his period of life very uncommon; he was asked who had instructed him in these practices; he replied, that it was his mother and his aunt. From the declaration made by young Capet,

Capet, in presence of the Mayor of Paris and the Procureur of the Commune, it appeared, that these two women had often made him sleep between them, in which situation he had been accustomed to the most abominable indulgences; and that from what he had said, there was not even room to doubt but that the charge on this head, alleged in the act of accusation, was true.

There is reason to believe that this criminal indulgence was not dictated by the love of pleasure, but by the political hope of enervating the constitution of the child, whom they supposed destined to sit on the throne, in order that they might acquire an ascendancy over his mind. In consequence of these practices he was attacked with a rupture which rendered the use of a bandage necessary, and since he has been removed from his mother his constitution becomes vigorous and robust.

*President to the Queen.* What have you to answer to the deposition of the witnesses?

*A.* I have no knowledge of the facts of which Hebert speaks; I know only that the heart he mentions was given to my son by his sister; with respect to the hat, it was a present to my sister by her brother while alive.

*Q.* Did the administrators Michonis, Jobert, Marino, and Michel, when they came to you, bring any persons along with them?

*A.* Yes, they never came alone.

*Q.* How many did they bring each time?

*A.* Frequently three or four.

*Q.* Were not these persons administrators?

*A.* I do not know.

*Q.* Did Michonis and the other administrators, when they came to you, wear their scarfs?

*A.* I do not recollect.

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The witness Hebert was called upon to state whether he was acquainted with the manner in which the administrators executed their functions. He answered, that he was not exactly acquainted, but that he remarked on the occasion of the declaration made by the accused, that the family of Capet, during their residence in the Temple, were informed of every thing that occurred in the city; they knew all the municipal officers who were called there every day by their duty, both their particular history, and the nature of their different functions.

*Public Accuser.* Did not citizen Michonis bring along with him into prison an individual, who let drop a pink, in which was inclosed a billet?

*Queen.* The fact is true.

*Public Accuser.* Who was the man who delivered to you this billet?—Did you know him?—What is his name? What were the contents of the billet?—Did you answer it?

*Queen.* His name I do not recollect.—The contents of the billet were, that he had been thrown into prison, but had found means to extricate himself; that he offered me money; and that he would return the Friday following.—I answered, by pricking upon a paper with a pin, that my guards never suffered me to be out of their sight; so that I had no opportunity to write or communicate with any one.

*Public Accuser.* Why were you startled upon seeing this individual?

*Queen.* Because I was alarmed at the danger which he ran in getting into my prison.

The Tribunal was going to proceed to hear another witness, when one of the jury requested the President to demand of the Queen to answer with respect

respect to the crimes, the proof of which rested on the declarations of the young Capet.

*Queen.* I remained silent on that subject, because nature holds all such crimes in abhorrence!

Then, turning with an animated air to the people —“ I appeal to all mothers who are present in this auditory, is such a crime possible?”

*Abraham Silly*, Notary, deposed, that being on duty at the *ci-devant* palace of the Thuilleries, on the night of the 20th of June, the accused came to him about six o'clock in the evening, and said that she wished to walk with her son; that he charged the *Sieur Laroch* to accompany her; that some time after he saw *La Fayette* come five or six times to *Gouvion*; that the latter, about ten o'clock, gave orders to shut the gates, excepting that looking into the court called the court of the *ci devant* princes; that on the morning, *Gouvion* entered the apartment where the deponent was, and said to him, rubbing his hands with an air of satisfaction, *They are gone*; that he delivered to him a packet which he carried to the Constituent Assembly, for which *Citizen Beauharnois*, the President, gave him a receipt.

*President.* At what hour of the night did *La Fayette* quit the palace?

*Witness.* At midnight, within a few minutes.

*President to the Queen.* At what hour did you depart?

*Queen.* I have already said at three quarters past eleven.

*President.* Did you depart with *Louis Capet*?

*Queen.* No, he departed before me.

*President.* How did he depart?

*Queen.*

*Queen.* On foot, by the great gate.

*President.* And your children?

*Queen.* They departed an hour before, with their governess; they waited for us in the Square of the *Petit Carouzel*.

*President.* What was the name of the governess?

*Queen.* *De Tourzel*.

*President.* Who were the persons along with you?

*Queen.* The three *gardes-du-corps* who accompanied us, and who returned with us to Paris.

*President.* How were they dressed?

*Queen.* In the same manner as at their return.

*President.* And how were you dressed?

*Queen.* I wore the same robe as at my return.

*President.* How many persons were there apprized of your departure?

*Queen.* There were only the three *gardes-du-corps* at Paris who were acquainted with it; but on the road *Bouillé* had placed troops to protect our departure.

*President.* You said that your children departed an hour before you, and that the *ci-devant* King departed alone; who then accompanied you?

*Queen.* One of the *gardes-du-corps*.

*President.* Did not you at your departure meet *La Fayette*?

*Queen.* I saw, as I was departing, his carriage passing along the *Carouzel*, but I took care not to speak to him.

*President.* Who furnished you, or caused you to be furnished with the famous carriage in which you departed with your family?

*Queen.* A foreigner.

*President.* Of what nation?

*Queen.* A Swede.

*President.* Was it not *Ferfeu*, who resided at Paris, *Rue de Bacq*?

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*Queen.*

*Queen.* Yes.

*President.* Why did you travel under the name of a Russian baroness?

*Queen.* Because it was impossible any other way to get out of Paris.

*President.* Who procured you the passport?

*Queen.* It was demanded by a foreign minister.

*President.* Why did you quit Paris?

*Queen.* Because the King was desirous to go from it.

*Pierre Joseph Terrason*, employed in the office of the minister of justice, deposed, that upon the return from Varennes, being upon the steps of the *ci-devant* palace of the Thuilleries, he saw the accused come out of the carriage and throw upon the national guards who escorted her, and likewise upon the other citizens who were in her way as she passed along, a most vindictive glance; which suggested to him, the deponent, the idea that she would certainly take an opportunity of revenge; in reality, some time after the scene of the Champ de Mars took place. He added, that Duranthon, who was minister of justice, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Bourdeaux, as they had there exercised together the same profession, said to him that the accused opposed the King's giving his sanction to different decrees, but that he had represented to her that this affair was of more importance than she thought, and that it was even of the utmost urgency that these decrees should be speedily sanctioned; that this observation made an impression upon the accused, upon which the King gave his sanction.

*President to the Queen.* Have you any observations to make on the evidence of the deponent?

*A.* I have only to say, that I never assisted at the council.

*Pierre*

*Pierre Manuel*, a man of letters, deposed that he knew the accused, but never had any connexion with the family of Capet, except when he was Procureur of the Commune; that he went several times to the Temple, to carry into execution the decrees; as to the rest, he never had any particular conversation with the wife of the *ci-devant* King.

*President to the Witnesses.* You have been administrator of police?

*Witness.* Yes.

*President.* In this situation you must have had some connexion with the court?

*Witness.* It was the mayor who had the connexion with the court. For my own part, I was, I may almost say, always at La Force, where, from motives of humanity, I did as much good as possible to the prisoners.

*President.* Did Louis Capet at that time highly commend the administration of the police?

*Witness.* The administration of police was divided into five branches, of which there was one of subsistence; it was upon this branch that Louis Capet bestowed so many commendations.

*President.* Have you any details to give with respect to the day of the 20th of June?

*Witness.* On that day I did not quit my post, as the people might have been alarmed at not finding one of their principal magistrates; I went into the garden of the palace. I there spoke with different citizens, and discharged no municipal function.

*President.* Tell what came within your knowledge with respect to what passed in the palace in the night between the 9th and 10th of August.

*Witness.* I did not choose to quit the post where the people had placed me; I remained all night at the bar of the commune.

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*President.*

*President.* You were intimate with Petion; he must have told you what passed?

*Witness.* I was his friend both from the ties of office and of esteem; and if I had conceived him capable of deceiving the people, and of being a party in the coalition of the palace, he would have forfeited my esteem. He had, however, told me that those in the palace were desirous of the 10th of August, in order to re-establish the royal authority.

*President.* Do you know that the masters of the palace had given orders to fire upon the people?

*Witness.* I knew it from the commandant of the post, an excellent republican, who came to inform me of it. Upon this, I immediately issued orders to the commandant general of the armed force, and, as Procureur of the Commune, expressly forbade him to fire upon the people.

*President.* How happens it that you, who have just declared that in the night of the 9th of August you never quitted the post where the people had placed you, have since abandoned the honourable function of legislator, to which their confidence had called you?

*Witness.* When I saw disturbances excited in the bosom of the Convention, I retired; I thought that thus I should act better. I adopted the principle of THOMAS PAINE, my master in republicanism; I despaired along with him of seeing the reign of liberty established upon a fixed and durable basis; I might vary in the means which I proposed, but my intentions were always pure.

*President.* How! you call yourself a good republican; you say that you love equality, and you proposed to pay to Petion honours equivalent to those of royalty?

*Witness,*

*Witness.* It was not to Petion, who was only president fifteen days, but to the president of the National Convention, that I wished to pay honours; I desired that a huissier and a gendarme should go before him, and that the citizens of the tribune should rise at his entrance. It was suggested at that time, in better speeches than mine, and I went into the opinion.

*President.* Do you know the names of those who gave notice that Petion was in some danger at the palace?

*Witness.* No, I only believe that they were deputies, who gave notice of it to the Legislative Assembly.

*President.* Why did you take it upon you to enter alone into the Temple, and particularly into the apartments called royal?

*Witness.* I never allowed myself to enter alone into the apartments of the prisoners; I, on the contrary, took care always to be accompanied by several of the commissioners who were on duty there.

*President.* Why did you shew a degree of solicitude for the valets of the accused, in preference to the other prisoners?

*Witness.* It is true, that at La Force the girl Tourzel believed her mother to be dead; the mother supposed the same of the daughter; guided by a principle of humanity, I brought them together.

*President.* Did not you hold correspondence with Elizabeth Capet?

*Witness.* No.

*President to the Queen.* Had you ever any particular conversation with the witness in the Temple?

*A.* No.

*Jean Silvain Bailly,* a man of letters, deposed, that he never had any intercourse with the family formerly

formerly called royal; he protests that the facts contained in the act of accusation, touching the declaration of Louis Capet, are absolutely false; he observed on that head, that some days before the flight of Louis, when the rumour of his flight was spread, he communicated the intelligence to La Fayette, recommending him to take all necessary measures on that subject.

*President to the Witnesses.* Were you not connected with Pattoret and Reederer, Ex-procureur-general Syndics of the department?

*Witness.* I had no connexion with them except what related to the magistracy.

*President.* Was it not you who, in conjunction with La Fayette, founded the club known by the name of 17-9?

*Witness.* I was not the founder; and I only belonged to it because some Bretons, who were my friends, were members. I was invited, and told it would only cost me five louis, which I gave, was admitted, and have never since been present but at two dinners.

*President.* Have you not assisted at the concilia-bules, held at the house of the *ci-devant* La Rochefoucault?

*Witness.* I never heard any mention of concilia-bules; such may have existed, but I never was at them.

*President.* If you held no concilia-bules, why, when by the decree of the 19th of June 1790, the Constituent Assembly desired to convey the loud testimony of a grateful nation to the conquerors of the Bastille, and reward their courage and zeal by placing them in a distinguished manner among their brethren in the Champ de Mars on the day of the federation; why, I say, did you excite quarrels between them and their brethren in arms, the former French guards, and afterwards act the weeper  
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before their assembly, and induce them to reject the gratification with which they had been honoured?

*Witness.* I went, at the request of their leaders, for the purpose of reconciling the parties. It was one of them who made the motion to return the decorations with which they had been honoured by the Constituent Assembly, and not I.

*President.* Those who made the motion having been discovered to be your spies, the brave conquerors did themselves justice by expelling them.

*Witness.* There were strange mistakes concerning that affair.

*President.* Were not you active in favour of the journey to St. Cloud, in the month of April; and did you not, in concert with La Fayette, solicit from the department the order to hoist the red flag?

*Witness.* No.

*President.* Were you informed that the late King concealed in the palace a considerable number of refractory priests?

*Witness.* Yes; I even went to the King at the head of the municipality, to petition him to dismiss the priests that had not taken the oaths.

*President.* Can you tell the names of those residents in the palace, who were known by the title of Knights of the Dagger?

*Witness.* Not one.

*President.* At the time of the revision of the constitution of 1791, were not you connected with the Lameths, Barnave, Desmeunier, Chapellier, and other famous combined revisors, or rather men bribed by the Court to strip the people of their real rights, and leave them only the shadow of freedom?

*Witness.* La Fayette was reconciled to the Lameths, but I had no reconciliation to effect, for I had never been intimate with them.

*President.* It appears you were very intimate with  
La



La Fayette, and that your opinions were much the same ?

*Witness.* My intimacy with him related to his office ; and, as to the rest, my opinion was at that time the general one.

*President.* You say you have never been present at any conciliabule ; but how did it happen that, at the moment when you appeared before the Constituent Assembly, Charles Lameth drew the answer he made you ready written from under his desk ? That proved the existence of a criminal coalition.

*Witness.* The National Assembly, by a decree, had sent for the constituted authorities. I went up with the members of the department and the public accusers. I did no more than receive the orders of the Assembly, and was not the speaker. It was the president of the department who pronounced the discourse on the occasion.

*President.* Did not you likewise receive the orders of Antoinette to massacre the best patriots ?

*Witness.* No ; I did not go to the Champ de Mars till after an arret of the council general of the commune.

*President.* The patriots assembled in the Champ de Mars with the permission of the municipality ; they had made their declaration to the register, and had obtained their receipt. Why did you hoist against them the infernal red flag ?

*Witness.* The council came to their resolution in consequence of two men having been murdered in the Champ de Mars. The succeeding accounts were more and more alarming ; the council was deceived, and determined to employ an armed force.

*President.* Were not the people, on the contrary, deceived by the municipality ? Was it not the municipality that provoked the assembling of the people,

people, in order to collect the best patriots together, and have them murdered ?

*Witness.* No, certainly.

*President.* What did you do with the dead ; that is, the patriots who were assassinated ?

*Witness.* The municipality having drawn up the proces-verbal, transported the dead to the court of the military hospital, at Gros-Caillou, where most of them were owned.

*President.* How many were they ?

*Witness.* The number was ascertained, and rendered public in the proces-verbal ; which was published at the time by the municipality ; there might be twelve or thirteen.

*One of the Jury.* I wish to inform the court, that being on that day at the Champ de Mars with my father, at the time the massacre began, I saw seventeen or eighteen persons, of both sexes, killed near the river where we stood. We could only escape death ourselves by wading up to the chin.

The witness was silent.

*President to the Queen.* What was the number of priests you had in the palace ?

*Queen.* We had none about our persons but the priests who said mass.

*President.* Had they taken the oaths ?

*Queen.* The law allowed the King to choose whom he pleased.

*President.* What was the subject of conversation with Barnave and Petion, on the return from Varennes to Paris ?

*Queen.* A variety of different things.

*John Baptist Hibain, alias Perceval, formerly a game-keeper, and now employed at the manufactory of arms, says, " That being at Versailles on the first of October 1789, he knew at that time of the first feast of the gardes-du-corps, but was not present*

at the same. That, on the fifth of the same month, in his capacity of Aid-de-camp of the *ci-devant* Count d'Estaing, he acquainted the latter that some commotions had happened at Paris, of which D'Estaing took no notice; that the same afternoon, the crowd having considerably increased, he spoke to D'Estaing a second time, but that he would not so much as hear him.

The witness next entered into a detail of the arrival of the Parisians at Versailles between eleven and twelve at night.

*President.* Did you not wear a decoration at that period?

*Witness.* I wore the ribbon of the order of Limbourg, of which I had, like any one that wished to have it, bought the brevet for 1500 livres.

*President.* Were not you, after the disorderly feasts of the *gardes-du-corps*, in the Court of Marble, and were you not one of the first that scaled the balcony of the *ci-devant* King?

*Witness.* I came to the feast of the guards when it was nearly finished, and as they went to the castle I accompanied them thither.

*President to Witness Lecoindre.* Inform the Tribunal what you know relating to the present witness.

*Lecoindre.* I know that Perceval scaled the balcony of the apartment of the *ci-devant* King—that he was followed by a grenadier of the regiment of Flanders, and that being arrived at the apartment of Louis Capet, Perceval embraced the said grenadier, in presence of the tyrant, then present, saying, "There is no more a regiment of Flanders, we are all of us royal guards." A dragoon from the regiment *Les Trois Evêchés*, having attempted unsuccessfully to follow them, was going to destroy himself.

The witness observed, that he did not speak to the above fact as an eye-witness, but that Perceval, the evidence

evidence present, had at the time entrusted it to him, Lecoindre, in confidence, and he found it afterwards to be strictly true. He, in consequence, desired the President to require Perceval to declare, whether or not he remembers having related at the time the above circumstances to him the witness.

*Perceval.* I remember having seen citizen Lecoindre; I even believe that I acquainted him with the history of the balcony. I know he was, on the 5th and 6th of October, commander of the National Guards in the absence of D'Estaing, who had absconded.

*Lecoindre* maintained his deposition as strictly true.

Another witness was heard.

*Rene Mallet*, a servant-maid, deposed, that having in 1788 lived as servant on the Great Common at Versailles, she asked one day the *ci-devant* Count Coigny, in a moment of good humour, "Will the Emperor still continue to wage war against the Turks? Surely that must ruin France on account of the immense sums the Queen sends her brother for that purpose, which must at least amount to 200 millions."—"Thou art right enough," answered the Count, "it has cost already more than two hundred millions, and we are not at the end of it yet." I know further," says the witness, "that happening to be, after the 23d of June 1789, in a place where some guards of Artois and some officers of hussars were present, I heard the former say, at the time the massacre of the French guards was in agitation, "Every one must be at his post and do his duty." But that the French guards having been informed of the business intended against them, cried out *To arms!* which defeated the project entirely.

I further observe (continued the witness), that I have been informed by divers persons, that the prisoner had formed a plan to assassinate the duke of Orleans. The King being acquainted therewith,  
G 2 ordered

ordered her to be instantly searched; on which two pistols were found on her. The King, in consequence, had her confined a prisoner in her own room during a fortnight.

*Queen.* It is possible I might have received an order from my husband to remain a fortnight in my apartment, but it was not for a case similar to the above.

*Witness.* I know farther, that in the first days of October 1789, some ladies of the court distributed white cockades to divers private gentlemen at Versailles.

*Queen.* I remember having heard, that one or two days after the feast of the body-guards, some women distributed these cockades, but neither I nor my husband were the authors of similar disorders.

*President.* What steps did you pursue to punish these women, after you were acquainted with this circumstance?

*Prisoner.* None at all.

Another witness is heard.

*Jean Baptiste Labenette* deposes, that he is perfectly acquainted with a number of facts contained in the act of accusation; and he adds, that three private men came to assassinate him, in the name of the prisoner.

*President to the Queen.* Did you ever read *The Orator of the People*?

*Queen.* No, never.

*François du Fresne*, gen-d'arme, deposes, that having been in the room of the prisoner, at the time a pink was brought her, knows that on the billet therein concealed the following words were written: "What are you doing here? we have men and money at your service."

*Magdelaine Rosay*, wife of Richard, ci-devant keeper of the house of arrest in the Conciergerie of the palace,

palace, deposes, that a gen-d'arme, named Gilbert, had told her that the prisoner had received a hint from a private gentleman, brought there by Michonis, administrator of the police, which gentleman had given her a pink, in which a billet was concealed; that, considering that the said gentleman might bring her, the witness, into trouble, she acquainted Michonis thereof, who answered, that he would not introduce any further persons to the widow Capet.

*Toussaint Richard* declared, that he well knows the prisoner, for having been put under his guard since the 2d of October last.

*Marie Devaux*, wife of Arell, deposes, that she had been with the prisoner during forty-one days, at the Conciergerie; and had neither seen nor heard any thing, except a gentleman coming one day with Michonis, who gave the prisoner a billet folded up in a pink; that she, the witness, was then working, and she saw the same gentleman call again in the course of that day.

*Queen.* He came twice in the space of a quarter of an hour.

The Queen being asked respecting a small packet which was shown her, she acknowledged it was the same as that on which she had put her seal when she was transferred from the Temple to the Conciergerie.

The packet being opened, one of the officers of the court took an inventory of it, and called over its contents.

The first were some locks of hair of different colours.

*Queen.* They are the hairs of my children living and dead, and of my husband.

The next was a packet marked with cyphers.

*Queen.* This is only a table to teach my child to reckon,

Several

Several papers were then read, containing memorandums of washing-bills, &c.

A port-feuille of parchments and other papers was then produced, on which were written the names of different people.

The President demanded that the Queen should explain them.

*President.* Who is the woman called *Salentin*?

*Queen.* She was for a long time charged with my affairs.

*President.* Who is the Demoiselle *Vion*?

*Queen.* She was employed in the care of my children's clothes.

*President.* And who is Mrs. *Chaumette*?

*Queen.* She succeeded Miss *Vion*.

*President.* What is the name of the woman who took care of your laces?

*Queen.* I do not know her name; some of my ladies employed her.

*President.* Who is *Le Bernier*, whose name is written here?

*Queen.* It is the name of the physician who attended my children.

The Public Accuser here demanded that mandates of arrest should be issued against the above-named ladies; and that *Le Bernier* should be simply ordered to attend.

The Tribunal complied with this requisition.

The Register then continued the inventory of the effects in the packet found on Marie Antoinette.

A small pocket-book, containing scissars, needles, thread, silk, &c.

A small looking-glass.

A golden ring with hair-work.

A paper, on which are two hearts in gold, with some initial letters.

Another

Another paper, on which is written, *Prayers to the sacred Heart of Jesus, Prayers to the immaculate Conception.*

A portrait of a lady.

*President.* Whose portrait is this?

*Queen.* That of Madame De Lamballe.

Two other portraits of ladies.

*President.* Who are the persons these portraits represent?

*Queen.* Two ladies whom I was brought up with at Vienna.

*President.* What are their names?

*Queen.* The ladies of Mecklenburgh and of Hesse.

A paper containing 25 single louis d'ors.

*Queen.* They are some that were lent me while we were at the Feuillans.

A small canvass, with a heart painted in flames on it, pierced by a dart.

The Public Accuser desired the witness Hebert to examine this heart, and to declare if he knew it to be the same he found in the Temple.

*Hebert.* This heart is not the same I found, but very much like it.

The Public Accuser remarked, that in the number of prisoners accused of conspiracy, and brought before the Tribunal as such, and who have suffered under the sword of the law, most of them wore that counter-revolutionary sign.

Hebert observed, that he does not know any thing of the women *Salentin*, *Vion*, and *Chaumette*, having ever been employed in the service of the prisoners in the Temple.

*Queen.* They were so at the beginning.

*President.* Did you not a few days after your evasion on the 20th of June order some apparel of the *Sœurs Grises* (a description of nuns)?

*Queen.*

*Queen.* I never gave any such order.

Another witness was called.

*Philip-François Gabriel Latour Dupin Gouverneur*, an ancient officer in the French service, declares, that he knew the prisoner ever since she came to France, but has no knowledge of any of the facts contained in the act of accusation.

*President to the Witness.* Have you not been present at the feasts in the castle?

*Witness.* I never went to court.

*President.* Were you not at the feast of the Gardes du Corps?

*Witness.* I could not be there, as I was at that time commander in Burgundy.

*President.* What! were you not minister at that time?

*Witness.* I never was minister, nor would I have accepted it, if those then in office had made me an offer of such an appointment.

*President to the Witness Lécointre.* Do you know the witness present to have been minister at war in 1789?

*Lécointre.* I know this witness was never minister.—He that was minister at that time, is here now, and going to be examined.

The witness was ordered in.

*Jean-Frédéric Latour Dupin*, officer and ex-minister of war, deposes, that he knows the prisoner, but nothing of the charges in her indictment.

*President to the Witness.* Were you minister on the 1st of October 1789?

*Witness.* Yes, I was.

*President.* You no doubt at that time heard of the feast of the *ci-devant* Gardes du Corps?

*Witness.* Yes, I have.

*President.*

*President.* Were you not minister in the month of June 1789, when the troops arrived at Versailles?

*Witness.* No, I was then deputy of the Assembly.

*President.* The court apparently laid you under restrictions, in naming you minister at war?

*Witness.* I do not think the court did.

*President.* Where were you on the 23d of June, when the *ci-devant* King came to hold that famous Bed of Justice in the midst of the representatives of the people?

*Witness.* I was at my place as deputy to the National Assembly.

*President.* Do you know then who were the authors who framed the declaration of the King, then read to the Assembly?

*Witness.* No, I do not.

*President.* Did you not hear say they were Linguet, Espremenil, Barentin, Dally Tollendal, Desmeuniers, Bergasse, or Thouret?

*Witness.* No.

*President.* Was you at the *ci-devant* King's council on the 5th of October 1789?

*Witness.* No, I was not.

*President.* Was D'Estaing there?

*Witness.* I did not see him there.

*D'Estaing* said, "Well then, my sight at that day was better than yours, for I remember perfectly well having seen you there."

*President to Latour Dupin, Ex-minister.* Did you know that on that very day, the 5th of October, the royal family were going to Rambouillet, and from thence to Metz?

*Witness.* I remember the question being deliberated that day in the council, whether the King should go or not.

H

*President.*

*President.* Do you know the names of those that were for his departure?

*Witness.* I do not know them.

*President.* What could be their motive for that departure?

*Witness.* The concourse of people arriving at Versailles, which gave reason to think that the prisoner was then going to be murdered.

*President.* What was the result of the deliberation of the council?

*Witness.* That they should not go.

*President.* Where were they going?

*Witness.* To Rambouillet.

*President.* Did you at that time see the prisoner in the castle?

*Witness.* Yes, I did.

*President.* Did she not assist at the council?

*Witness.* I did not see her in the council, but only saw her enter the cabinet of Louis XVI.

*President.* You say the court was going to Rambouillet, but was it not rather to Metz?

*Witness.* No.

*President.* In your capacity as minister, did you not order coaches to be in readiness, and troops to be on the road to protect the departure of Louis Capet?

*Witness.* No.

*President.* We know, however, to a certainty, that apartments were fitted up; and every thing got ready at Metz for the reception of the Capet family.

*Witness.* This I know nothing of.

*President.* Was it by the order of Antoinette that you sent your son to Nancy, there to direct the massacre of those brave soldiers who had incurred the hatred of the court by shewing themselves patriots?

*Witness.*

*Witness.* I only sent my son to Nancy to see the decrees of the National Assembly executed there; of course I acted not by the orders of the court, but agreeable to the wishes of the people. Even the Jacobins, at whose assembly Mr. Camus went to read the particulars of this affair, applauded it loudly.

*A Jurymen.* Citizen President, I desire you will observe to the witness, that he must either be in error, or have bad intentions; because Camus never was a member of the Jacobins; and that society was very much displeased at the rigorous measures of a licentious faction, which had passed a decree of arrest against the best citizens of Nancy.

*Witness.* That is what I heard say at the time.

*President.* Was it by Antoinette's orders you left the army in the state in which it was found?

*Witness.* I certainly do not expect a reproach on that head, as the French army, at the time of my resignation, was on a very respectable footing.

*President.* Was it to render it respectable, that you disbanded more than 30,000 patriots, to whom you ordered yellow cartridges to be distributed, with a view therewith to intimidate the defenders of their country, and prevent them from proving their patriotism and love of liberty?

*Witness.* This has nothing to do with the minister; the disbanding soldiers is not his business; the colonels of the regiments have the ordering of that.

*President.* But you, as minister, ought to make those commanders of regiments render you an account of similar operations, in order to judge who was right or wrong.

*Witness.* I do not believe there is one soldier who has any reason of complaint against me.

*Labenette* desired leave to mention a fact. He declared himself to be one of those that were honoured by the minister with a yellow cartridge, signed by his hand; and that in the regiment in which he served, he remarked the aristocracy of the Muscadins, a number of whom were in the staff. He observes, that he, the deponent, was a subaltern officer, and that very likely Du Pin may remember his name to be Clairroyant, corporal of the regiment of —.

*La Tour Du Pin.* Sir! I never heard of you!

*President.* Did not the prisoner, during your administration, desire you to deliver to her the exact state of the French army?

*Witness.* Yes.

*President.* Did she tell you what use she meant to make of it?

*Witness.* No.

*President.* Where is your son now?

*Witness.* He is either in a country seat near Bourdeaux or at Bourdeaux.

*President to the Queen.* At the time you asked the witness the state of the armies, was it not with the view to send it to the King of Bohemia and Hungary?

*Queen.* As that list was quite public, I had no occasion to send it him; the public papers were sufficient to make him acquainted therewith.

*President.* What were your reasons then for demanding it?

*Queen.* As there was a rumour that the Assembly was going to make considerable alterations in the army, I was curious to have the list of the regiments intended to be suppressed.

*President.* Have you not abused the influence you had over your husband, in asking him continually for daughts on the public treasury?

*Queen.* I never did so.

*President.*

*President.* Where did you then get the money to build and fit out the *Petit Trianon*, in which you gave feasts, of which you were always the goddess?

*Queen.* There was a fund destined for that purpose.

*President to the Queen.* This fund was then very considerable! for the *Petit Trianon* has cost enormous sums.

*Queen.* It is possible that the *Petit Trianon* may have cost immense sums; may be more than I wished. This expence was incurred by inches; in fact, I desire more than any one that every person may be informed what has been done there.

*President.* Was it not at the *Petit Trianon* that you saw for the first time the wife of La Motte?

*Queen.* I never saw her.

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

*Queen.* How could she be so? as I did not know her.

*President.* So you persist in denying that you ever knew her?

*Queen.* My intention is not to deny; I only speak the truth, and shall persist in so doing.

*President.* Was it not you that caused the ministers and other civil and military officers to be named?

*Queen.* No.

*President.* Had you not a list of the persons you wished to get places for, with notes framed in glass?

*Queen.* No.

*President.* Did you not force divers ministers to name to the vacant places those whom you had given them a list of?

*Queen.* No.

*President.* Did you not force the ministers of finances to give you money? and some of them refusing

refusing to do so, have you not threatened them with all your indignation?

*Queen.* No, never.

*President.* Have you not been teasing Vergennes to send six millions to the King of Bohemia and Hungary?

*Queen.* No.

Another witness examined.

*Jean François Mathey*, keeper of the Tower in the Temple, deposed, that on the occasion of a song, called, "*Ah! il t'en souviendra du retour de Varennes*," ("Ah! thou wilt remember thy return from Varennes,") he said to Louis Charles Capet, "Dost thou remember the returning from Varennes?" to which the latter answered, "O, yes! I remember it well." That the witness having asked him further, how they did to carry him away? he answered, "That they took him out of his bed when asleep, and they dressed him in girl's clothes, saying, *Come, you are going to Montmédy*."

*President to the Witness.* Did you not observe during your residence in the Temple, a familiarity between some members of the community and the prisoners?

*Witness.* Yes, I even heard Toulan say one day to the prisoner, at the time of the new elections made for the organization of the definitive municipality, "Madam, I am not in repute, because I am a *Gascon*." I observed that L'Épître and Toulan came frequently together; that they went up stairs directly, saying, "Let us go up, we shall there wait for our colleagues." Another day he saw Jobert hand some medallions to the prisoner. That the daughter of Capet let one fall to the ground, and broke it. [After which the deponent entered into the details of the history of the hat found in Elizabeth's box.]

*Queen.*

*Queen.* I have to observe that the medallions mentioned by the witness were three in number; that that which fell on the floor and was broken was the portrait of Voltaire; of the other two, one represented Medea, and the other some flowers.

*President to the Queen.* Did you not give to Toulan a gold snuff-box?

*Queen.* No, neither to Toulan nor any body else.

The witness *Hebert* observed, that a justice of the peace brought him to the town-house a denunciation, signed by two town-clerks of the Committee of Taxation, of which Toulan was the chief, proving this fact in the clearest manner.

Another witness examined.

*Jean Baptiste Olivier Garnarin*, *ci-devant* secretary to the commission of twenty-four, deposed, that having been commissioned to examine and enumerate the papers found in the house of Septeuil, he found in those papers a check for eighty thousand livres, signed Antoinette, to the profit of the *ci-devant* Polignac, with a note relating to one La-zaille; another paper proving that the prisoner had sold her diamonds to send their produce to the emigrants.

The deponent observed, that he delivered all these papers at the time to one Falazé, member of the commission to frame the indictment against Louis Capet; but that he the deponent was very much surprised to find, that Falazé, in the report he made to the National Convention, never mentioned any thing of these papers signed Marie Antoinette.

*President to the Queen.* Have you any observations to make on the evidence of the witness?

*Queen.*



*Queen.* I persist in saying, that I never gave nor signed any checks.

*President.* Do you know Lazaille?

*Queen.* Yes, I do.

*President.* How did you know him?

*Queen.* I know him to be a naval officer, and to have seen him at court, as well as others.

*Witness.* I have to observe, that the papers I spoke of were after the dissolution of the committee of twenty-four, and were carried to the committee of general safety, where they must be still; because having met within these few days two of my colleagues employed with me in the commission of twenty-four, we spoke of the process that was going to be instituted against Marie Antoinette.—I asked them what became of the papers in question? they said, they were deposited with the committee of general safety.

The witness Tillet begs of the President to interrogate citizen Garnerin, to declare if he does not equally remember having seen among the papers found at Septeuil's, accounts of purchases of sugar, coffee, corn, &c. &c. &c. having been made to the amount of two millions; out of which fifteen thousand livres were already paid; and whether he does not recollect that, a few days after, these vouchers could not be found.

*President to Garnerin.* You just now heard the interrogatory. Be so good as to answer it.

*Garnerin.* I know nothing of this business; at the same time it is notorious that there were plenty of forestallers all over France to buy up any article, in order to enhance the price of it, and thereby to disgust the people with the revolution and liberty, and force them by this means to forge their own chains.

*President to the Queen.* Have you any knowledge of the immense forestallings of commodities of the first

first necessity, made by order of the court, to starve the people, and compel them to demand again the former government, so favourable to tyrants?

*Queen.* I have no knowledge whatever of any forestallings.

Another witness examined.

*Charles Eleonore Dufriché Valazé*, formerly delegate to the National Assembly, deposes, that betwixt the papers found at M. Septeuil's, and which with others served to frame the indictment against Louis Capet, deceased, and at the making out of which he himself co-operated as a member of the commission of twenty-four, he observed two of them relating to the prisoner.

The first was a check, or rather a receipt by her, signed for a sum of 15 or 20,000 livres, as near as he remembers; the other was a letter in which the minister begs of the King to communicate to Marie Antoinette the plan of the campaign presented to him.

*President to the Witness.* Why did you not speak of these vouchers when you made your report to the Convention?

*Witness.* I did not mention them, because I thought it superfluous to speak in the process of Louis Capet of a quittance of Antoinette.

*President.* Have you been a member of the commission of twenty-four?

*Witness.* Yes, I have.

*President.* Do you know what became of these two vouchers?

*Witness.* The pieces which served to form the indictment against Louis Capet were claimed by the community of Paris, because they contained charges against

against sundry individuals, suspected to have had an intention to compromise with several members of the National Convention, in order to obtain decrees favourable to Louis Capet. I believe that all the vouchers have now been returned to the committee of general safety.

*President to the Queen.* What have you to answer to the depositions of this witness?

*Queen.* I know nothing, either of the check or the letter he mentions.

*Public Accuser.* It seems to be proved, notwithstanding your denials, that through your influence over the *ci-devant* king, your consort, you made him do what you pleased.

*Queen.* There is a wide difference between advising an action, and executing it.

*Public Accuser.* You mean to say, that from the declaration of the witness, it results, that the ministers so well knew your influence over Louis Capet, that one of them desired of him to communicate to you the plan of the campaign he a few days before had presented to him. The consequence of which is, that you had entirely become master over his feeble character, and made him do any thing *bad*; for supposing even that of all your advices he followed the very best, you must be convinced within yourself, that he never could have made use of worse means to conduct France to the brink of destruction.

*Queen.* I never knew him to have that character you are speaking of.

Another witness examined.

*Nicholas Le Boeuf*, heretofore a municipal officer, protests against having any knowledge of the facts rela-

relating to the indictment; for, says he, "if I had observed any thing, I should have made you acquainted therewith."

*President to the Witness.* Did you ever converse with Louis Capet?

*Witness.* No.

*President.* Did you not, when you was on duty in the Temple, enter into conversation on political affairs with your colleagues and the prisoner?

*Witness.* I frequently conversed with my colleagues, but we did not speak of politics.

*President.* Did you frequently address Louis Charles Capet?

*Witness.* Never.

*President.* Did you not offer him the *New Telemaque* to read?

*Witness.* No.

*President.* Have you not manifested a desire to be his governor?

*Witness.* No, never.

The prisoner being interrogated to declare if she ever had any private conversation with the witness, declares that she never spoke to him.

Another witness is heard.

*Augustin Germain Jobert*, a municipal officer, and administrator of the police, declares, that he has no knowledge whatever of any of the facts contained in the indictment against the prisoner.

*President to the Witness.* Have you not, during your time of service in the Temple, had some conference with the prisoner?

*Witness.* No, never.

*President.* Did you not shew her one day something curious?

*Witness.* I have, in fact, shewn to the widow Capet and her daughter, medallions in wax, allegorical to the revolution.

*President.* Was there not a man's portrait betwixt them?

*Witness.* I do not believe there was.

*President.* For instance, the portrait of Voltaire?

*Witness.* Yes.—But I have in my house 4 or 5000 of these sort of medallions.

*President.* Why was the picture of Medea among the number? Did you mean it as an allusion to the prisoner?

*Witness.* It was all chance, I have so many of them. They are an article from England which I trade in, and sell them to the merchants.

*President.* Have you any knowledge that from time to time young Capet was shut up during the time you and other administrators had private conferences with the prisoner?

*Witness.* I know nothing of it.

*President.* And so you persist in saying that you never had any private conference with the prisoner?

*Witness.* Yes.

*Joseph Boye*, a painter, declared, he had known the accused for eight years, as he then took the portrait of the King; but he had never spoken to her. He then gave an account of the project of reconciliation between the people and the *ex-dévant* King, by the intervention of Thierry, Valet-de-chambre of Louis Capet.

The Queen drew from her pocket a paper, which she gave to one of her defenders.

The Public Accuser demanded of Antoinette to declare what was the paper she had given him?

*Queen.*

*Queen.* Hebert said this morning, that correspondence was carried on by means of our clothes and shoes. I wrote, for fear of forgetting, that all our clothes and effects were examined when they came near us, which was done by the administrators of the police.

*Hebert* observed, that there was no foundation for this declaration, but because the number of shoes was very considerable, fourteen or fifteen pairs a month.

*Dedier Jourdeuil*, serjeant, declared, that, in the month of September 1792, he found a string of papers in the house of Affry, in which was a letter from Antoinette, that contained these words—“Can we trust the Swiss? will they be firm when it may be necessary?”

*Queen.* I never wrote to Affry.

The Public Accuser observed, that last year, being director of the jury of accusation near the tribunal of the 17th of August, he was entrusted with the drawing up of the process against Affry and Cuzotte; that he perfectly well recollects having seen the letter of which the witness speaks; but the faction of Roland having caused this tribunal to be suppressed, got the papers removed by means of a decree which they procured, notwithstanding the objections of all good republicans.

*President.* What were the papers which were burnt at the manufacture of Serve?

*Queen.* I believe it was a bible; as for the rest, I was not consulted about it; I was told of it afterwards.

*President.* How can you be ignorant of this fact? Was it Riston who was charged with the negotiation of this affair?

*Queen.* I never heard any thing of Riston; and I persist in saying, that I did not know La Motte; if I had

I had been consulted, I would have opposed the burning of papers against me.

Another witness was called.

*Pierre Fontaine*, wood-merchant, declared himself ignorant of every part of the accusation, knowing the prisoner only by reputation, and having no connexion with the late court.

*President to the Witness.* How long have you known Michonis?

*Witness.* About fourteen years.

*President.* What is the name of the individual who dined with you in company with Michonis?

*Witness.* His name is Rougy; I do not remember any thing about him; he was introduced by Madame Dutibleul.

*President.* How do you know that lady?

*Witness.* I once met her with another woman on the Boulevards; we entered into conversation and drank coffee together; since that time she has been often at my house.

*President.* Has she not communicated to you some secrets?

*Witness.* Never.

*President.* What are the names of the deputies who were found with Rougy and Michonis?

*Witness.* There was only one.

*President.* His name?

*Witness.* Santerreav, deputy from Nièvre to the Convention, and two other commissioners, sent by the primary assemblies of the same department to carry their act of the acceptance of the constitution.

*President.* What are their names?

*Witness.* Balendnor, Curé of Beaumont, and Paulimer, also of that department.

*President.*

*President.* Do you know what is become of Rougy?

*Witness.* No.

Another witness was called.

*Michael Gointre*, employed in the war-office, said he had read attentively the act of accusation, and was much surprised not to find in it the articles of the forged assignats of Passy. As Polverel, who had been ordered to inquire into this affair, answered, it was impossible for him to proceed, unless the Assembly decreed that no person but the King was inviolable; this made him imagine, that there was no other person than the accused, about whom Polverel wished to speak, as she alone could furnish the funds necessary for such an enterprise.

The witness *Tisset*. Citizen President, I wish the prisoner to be asked to declare, if she did not give the cross of St. Louis, and a captain's brevet, to a person named Lareguie?

*Queen.* I know none of that name.

*President.* Did you not procure the nomination of Collet de Verrière to serve in the *ci-devant* guard of the late King?

*Queen.* Yes.

*President.* Did you not procure Parriseau a similar appointment?

*Queen.* No.

*President.* You so influenced the organization of the late royal guard, that it was composed only of individuals against whom the public opinion was directed; and, indeed, could the patriots behold without pain the Chief of the nation surrounded with guards composed of non-juring priests and assassins? Happily your politics were wrong: Their anti-civic conduct, their counter-revolutionary sentiments, forced the legislative assembly to dismiss them;

them; and Louis Capet, after that operation, kept them in pay till the tenth of August, when he was overturned in his turn.

On your marriage with Louis Capet, did you not conceive the project of re-uniting Lorraine to Austria?

*Queen.* No.

*President.* You bear its name?

*Queen.* Because we ought to bear the name of one's country.

*President.* After the affair of Nancy, did you not write to Bouillé, to congratulate him on his having massacred seven or eight thousand patriots in that town?

*Queen.* I never wrote to him.

*President.* Did you not employ yourself in founding the opinion of the departments, districts, and municipalities?

*Queen.* No.

The Public Accuser observed to the prisoner, that there was found upon her secretary a paper, which attests that fact in the most precise manner, and in which were found inscribed the names of Vaublanc and Jancourt.

The said paper being read, the Queen persisted in saying, that she did not recollect that she had ever written any thing of the kind.

*Witness.* I should request, Citizen President, that the accused may be obliged to declare, whether, on the day the people did her husband the honour of decorating him with the red bonnet, there was not held a nocturnal council in the palace, where the destruction of Paris was resolved, and where it was decided to post up royal bills by Esmenard, Rue Platrière?

*Queen.* I do not know that name.

*President.*

*President.* Did you not, on the 9th of August 1792, give your hand to Tassin, of Etang, to kiss, who was captain of the armed force of the Filles Saint Thomas—saying to his battalion, “ You are brave fellows, and of good principles; I will ever count on your fidelity?”

*Queen.* No.

*President.* Why did you, who had promised to bring up your children in the principles of the revolution, teach them nothing but errors—in treating, for instance, your son with a respect which might make it be believed that you thought of seeing him one day the successor of the *ci-devant* King his father?

*Queen.* He was too young to speak to on that subject. I placed him at the head of the table, to give him myself what he wanted.

*President.* Have you any thing to add to your defence?

*Queen.* Yesterday I did not know the witnesses: I knew not what they were to depose against me; and nobody has produced against me any positive fact. I finish by observing, that I was only the wife of Louis XVI. and it was requisite in me to conform myself to his will.

The President announced, that the interrogatories were closed.

*Fouquier*, the Public Accuser, then spoke. He reminded the jury of the flagitious conduct of the late French court—of its constant machinations against liberty, which it did not like, and the destruction of which it sought to encompass at any rate—its efforts to kindle civil war, in order to turn its result to its own advantage, by appropriating to itself this Machiavelian maxim, *Divide and reign!*—its criminal and culpable connexions with the foreign powers with

with whom the republic is at open war—its habits of intimacy with a villanous faction, which was devoted to it, and seconded its designs, by exciting in the bosom of the Convention animosities and dissensions, by employing all possible means to ruin Paris, and arming the departments against that city, and by incessantly calumniating the generous inhabitants of that city, the mother and preserver of liberty—the massacres perpetrated by the orders of that corrupted court in the principal towns of France, especially at Montauban, Nismes, Arles, Nancy, in the Champ de Mars, &c. &c. He considered Marie Antoinette as the avowed enemy of the French nation—as the principal instigatrix of the troubles which had taken place in France for these four years past, and to which thousands of Frenchmen fell victims.

Chaveau and Fronson de Coudray, officially appointed by the Tribunal to defend Antoinette, acquitted themselves of that duty, and solicited the clemency of the Tribunal. They were heard with the most profound silence.

The Queen was then taken out of the Hall:

“There is one general observation to be attended to—namely, that the accused has owned that she had the confidence of Louis Capet. It is evident, too, from the declaration of Valaze, that Antoinette was consulted in political affairs, since the late King was desirous that she should be consulted upon some plan of which the witnesses could not tell the object. One of the witnesses, whose precision and ingenuity are remarkable, has told you, that the late Duke of Coigny had told him in 1788, that Antoinette had sent the Emperor, her brother, 200 millions, to enable him to carry on the war which he then waged against the Turks. Since the revolution,

lution, a bill of between 60 and 80,000 livres, signed Antoinette and drawn upon Septeuil, has been given to the woman Polignac, then an emigrant; and a letter from La Porte recommended it to Septeuil, not to leave behind the least trace of that gift. Leconte of Versailles told you, as an ocular witness, that since the year 1779, enormous sums had been expended at court, for the *fêtes* of which Marie Antoinette was always the idol.”

The Public Accuser here enumerated the heads of the charges brought against the Queen in the act of accusation. In commenting on her conduct while confined in the Temple, he spoke as follows:

“The persons whose business it was to superintend in the Temple, always remarked in Antoinette an air of rebellion against the sovereignty of the people. They seized an image representing an heart; which is a sign of *raillment*, and was worn almost upon all the counter-revolutionists, who came within the grasp of national vengeance. After the tyrant's death, Antoinette observed in the Temple, with regard to her son, all the etiquette of the ancient court. The son of Capet was treated as a king. In all domestic occurrences he had the precedence before his mother. At table he sat at the upper end, and was served first.

“I shall forbear, Citizens of the Jury, to mention here the interview of the Chevalier de St. Louis—of the carnation flower left in the apartment of the accused—of the pricked paper given, or rather prepared for an answer. But this incident is a mere gaol intrigue, and only a trivial object in such a grand act of accusation. It is the French nation which accuses Antoinette; and all the political events prove evidence against her.

“These are the questions which the Tribunal has determined to submit to you:

" 1st, It is proved that there existed machinations and private intelligence with powerful foreign states, and other external enemies of the republic; such machinations and intelligences tending to furnish succours in money, and to give them ingress into the French territory, for the purpose of facilitating the progress of their arms.

" 2d, Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having co-operated in the machinations, and of having entertained those intelligences?

" 3d, It is proved, that there existed a plot or conspiracy to light up a civil war in the heart of the republic.

" 4th, Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having had a share in that plot and conspiracy?"

The Jury, after having deliberated about an hour, returned into the hall, and gave a verdict—*Guilty of all the charges laid in the indictment.*

The President then addressed the people as follows:—

" If the citizens who compose this audience were not liberal men, and, consequently, capable of feeling all the dignity of their state, I ought perhaps to recall to their memory, that at the moment when the national justice is about to declare the law, reason and morality impose upon them the greatest silence, and forbid every mark of approbation; and that a person, of whatever crimes he may be convicted, and attainted by the law, is then only entitled to pity and humanity."

The Queen being again brought in, the President said, " Antoinette! hear the sentence of the Jury."

*Fouquier* then spoke, and demanded that the accused should be condemned to die, conformably to the first article of the first section of the first head of the

the second part of the penal code, which is thus expressed:

" Every manœuvre or intelligence with the enemies of France, tending to facilitate their entrance into any part of the empire, whether it be to deliver up to them towns or fortresses, whether by corrupting the fidelity of the officers, soldiers, or other citizens towards the French nation, shall be punished with death."

And the second article of the first section of the first title of the second part of the same code is thus expressed:

" Every conspiracy and plot, tending to trouble the state by a civil war, in arming citizens against citizens, or the exercise of regal authority, shall be punished with death."

The President called upon the accused to declare, whether she had any objection to make to the sentence of the laws demanded by the public accuser?

*Antoinette* bowed her head.

Upon the same demand being made of her defenders, *Frenson* spoke, and said, " Citizen President, the declaration of the jury being precise, and the law formal in this respect, I announce that my professional duty with regard to the widow Capet is terminated."

The President then moved for the court to adjourn; and the Queen was conducted back to prison.

*Hamart*, President of the Tribunal, summed up the evidence in the following manner:

" Citizens of the jury! The French nation, by its organ the public accuser, has accused before the national jury, Marie Antoinette of Austria, widow of Louis Capet, of having been the accomplice, or rather instigatrix of most of the crimes of which the last tyrant of France was found guilty—of having herself

herself kept up a secret understanding with powerful foreign nations, especially with the King of Bohemia and Hungary, her brother—with the *ci-devant* emigrant French princes, and traitorous generals—with having furnished the enemies of the republic with supplies of money, and of having conspired with them against the external and internal security of the state.

“A great example is this day given to the universe, and it will surely not be lost upon the nations which inhabit it. Nature and reason, so long outraged, are satisfied at last, and equality is triumphant. A woman who lately possessed all the most brilliant appendages which the pride of kings and the baseness of slaves could invent, occupies now, before the tribunal of the nation, the place which was occupied two days ago by another woman; and this equality secures impartial justice.

“This trial, citizens of the jury, is not one of those where a single fact, a single crime, is submitted to your conscience and your knowledge. You have to judge all the political life of the accused, ever since she came to sit by the side of the last King of the French; but you must, above all, fix your deliberation upon the manœuvres which she never ceased to employ, to destroy rising liberty, either from within the kingdom, by her close connexion with infamous ministers, perfidious generals, and faithless representatives of the people, or from without the kingdom, by causing the negotiation of that monstrous coalition of the despots of Europe, which history holds up to ridicule for their impotence: In short, by her correspondence with the *ci-devant* emigrant French princes, and their agents.

“Had we wished for an oral proof of all those deeds, the prisoner ought to have been made to appear

pear before the whole French nation. The material proof rests in the papers seized in the abode of Louis Capet, enumerated in a report made to the National Convention by Goheir, one of its members, in the collection of the justificatory pieces of the act of accusation passed against Louis Capet by the Convention. Lastly and chiefly, citizens of the jury, the proof lies in the political events of which you have all been witnesses and judges.

“If it were permitted to me, in fulfilling a limited office, to have yielded to emotions of humanity, we should have invoked before the jury the manes of our brothers at Nancy, at the Champ de Mars, at the frontiers of La Vendée, at Marseilles, at Lyons, at Toulon, in consequence of the infernal machinations of this modern Medicis: We should have brought before you the fathers, the mothers, the wives, the infants of those unhappy patriots!—What do I say? Unhappy! They have died for liberty, and faithful to their country. All those families, in tears and despair, would have accused Antoinette of having snatched from them every thing that was most dear to them in the world, and the deprivation of which renders life insupportable. In effect, if the satellites of Austrian despotism have broken in for a moment on our frontiers, and if they have there committed atrocities of which the history even of barbarous nations does not furnish a parallel example; if our ports, our plains, and our cities, are sold or given up, is it not evidently the result of the manœuvres planned at the Thuilleries, and of which Marie Antoinette was at once the instigatrix and the moving principle? These, citizen jurors, are the public events which form the mass of proof that overwhelms Marie Antoinette.

“With regard to the declarations which were made in bringing on this trial, and the debates which



which have taken place, there result from them certain facts, which come directly in proof of the principal accusation brought against the widow Capet. All the other details, given either as a history of the revolution, or in the proceedings against certain notorious personages, and some treacherous public functionaries, vanish before the charge of high treason, which weighs heavily upon Antoinette of Austria, widow of the *ci-devant* King."

SUPPLE-

## SUPPLEMENT.

WHEN the sentence of the National Convention was read to the widow Capet, she cast down her eyes, and did not again lift them up. "Have you nothing to reply upon the determination of the law?" said the President to her: "Nothing," she replied. "And you, official\* defenders?"—"Our mission is fulfilled with respect to the widow Capet," said they.—She was then conducted back to the Conciergerie.

Immediately after the sentence had been passed, the committee, as a measure of general safety, ordered the two official pleaders who had been allowed to defend Marie Antoinette, to be taken into custody. It was supposed, that they might have been entrusted with some secrets of importance. The committee directed them to be sent to the Luxembourg, and to be treated with all that attention and respect which was due to them. Their confinement was to expire in 24 hours.

On Wednesday the 16th, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, Marie Antoinette was conducted from the prison of the Conciergerie to the Place de la Revolution, beyond the Garden of the Thuilleries, where Louis had suffered before her.

\* A strange perversion of this question has been made by the newspaper reporters of this trial, who have (rather too *literally*, it should seem) copied each other: "And you *official* defenders." Why *official*, most accurate editors? Were they not persons voluntarily and *officially* offered by the Convention to the Queen as her counsel? Why then treated with contempt?

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All the national guards in the several sections of Paris were under arms. The streets were lined by two very close rows of armed citizens; and Henriot, the commandant in chief, attended the Queen in a private coach\*, with a guard of cavalry to the place of execution.

Nothing like sorrow or pity for the Queen's fate was shown by the people who crowded the streets through which she was to pass. On her arrival at the Place de la Revolution, she was helped out of the carriage, and ascended the scaffold with seeming composure. She had on a half-mourning dress, evidently not adjusted with much attention. Her hands were tied behind her back, and she looked round apparently without much terror. She was accompanied by the *ex-député* curate of St. Landrey, a constitutional priest, who discharged the office of confessor, and gave her absolution before she was tied to the fatal board. Being then laid on the machine, and the groove fitted to her neck, the axe was let down, and in an instant separated the head from the body.

After the head was displayed by the executioner, three young women were observed dipping their handkerchiefs in the streaming blood of the deceased Queen, and were instantly arrested.

The corpse was immediately after buried in a grave, filled with quick-lime, in the church-yard called de la Madeleine, where Louis XVI. was buried in the same manner.

When Voulland, in the name of the committee of general safety, informed the Convention that the sentence on Marie Antoinette had been executed, some of the members of that committee were

\* Not in a *cart*, as ridiculously asserted in many of the papers.

deputed

deputed to wait on Fronson de Coudray and Chaveau de le Gards, the two pleaders assigned her as counsel, to take their separate declarations.

Chaveau's declaration was as follows:—"My conference with Marie Antoinette lasted no more than three quarters of an hour, and the conversation was carried on loud enough to be heard by the four persons who were in the room. Antoinette made no declaration to me of importance; she spoke only of her trial. In all her questions she discovered the deepest dissimulation. The only unguarded phrase she made use of, was the following: *I fear no one but Manuel.*

"The subsequent trait is a sufficient proof of her artifice. As she was on her way from the Revolutionary Tribunal to the Conciergerie after her first examination, she asked me, *If I did not think that she infused too much dignity into her replies? I put the question to you in consequence of hearing a woman say to her companion, "Observe how proud she is."*

#### FRONSON'S DECLARATION.

"Marie Antoinette confided nothing of importance to me: She only gave me two pieces of gold and a lock of her hair, which she requested me to send to a woman of the name of Piorris, who lives at Lyvry, with the female citizen La Porte. Piorris, she said, was her particular friend."

Voulland concluded his report from the committee of general safety, by proposing that Chaveau and Fronson de Coudray should be set at liberty, and that it should be declared that they had done nothing in the course of their defence of Marie Antoinette, to merit censure. This was decreed.

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THUS

THUS died, in the 38th year of her age, by the hands of the common executioner, and in consequence of the verdict of her late subjects, the daughter of an Emperor, the wife of a King, and the mother of a Prince, who was called the Dauphin at his birth, nominated the Prince Royal by the Constituent Assembly, and looked upon for several years as the heir to the greatest and most splendid throne in Europe.

Such has been the *useless* cruelty exercised against this beautiful and unhappy princess, that her errors have been forgotten in the magnitude of her sufferings, and all men unite in accusing the perpetrators of a deed, who were instigated to it by no marked necessity, and who basely attempt to veil the workings of personal hatred under the name of public justice.

Her late Majesty had four children: Louis Joseph Xavier Francis, Dauphin of France, born October 27, 1781, and who died in 1788; Louis Charles, born March 27, 1785, now a close prisoner in the Temple; Marie Theresia Charlotte, born December 19, 1788; and Sophia Helena Beatrix, born July 9, 1786.

WE shall now offer some remarks on the general character of the Queen, and on the equal injustice and impolicy of her execution.

#### CHARACTER, &c.

THE time is at length arrived, when the pen may, without suspicion, be employed in the delineation of her character; when its panegyric or its censure alike must be indifferent to the object.

Of

Of impartiality, no boast is even pretended; for in a mind well constituted, upon the present occasion it cannot be felt. The call is immediate upon our feelings, to commiserate the deepest calamity; and political necessity and presumptive guilt are neglected as nugatory, and ought not to be received, if they were even probable.

We are not of that number upon whose pity the sufferings of the exalted alone attach: We have a kindred emotion for every sufferance of humanity; but we own ourselves more severely shocked by an *exalted* fate, and droop with more acuteness of sorrow, when, from the summit of earthly glory, a being is dragged down to a lot of ignominy by the artifices of ambitious leaders, and the fury of an abused people.

When we would attach our minds to the character of the unhappy Marie Antoinette, a crowd of mingling ideas and struggling emotions makes it difficult to think with sufficient distinctness for language to convey the interesting alarm, the grief, the indignation, that each presses for utterance, and, to be heard,

“Cry as it were from earth to heav’n  
For vengeance.”

It is still more difficult to seduce the fancy from the spectacle of bleeding majesty, sacrificed with the most merciless barbarity, that we may be at liberty to estimate the private value of the Woman, or trace the conduct of the Queen. The latter task indeed has been simplified by herself—for with politics she seldom or never interfered.

However imperfect, from sensibilities it were vain to conceal, the execution may be, the following lines which aim to follow her progress through life are deemed to be a duty, and may be received as a  
tribute

tribute of sincere esteem and laudable commiseration.

An eloquent writer has, with contending sublimity and beauty, laboured to display the daughter of Maria Theresa, when arriving in France; she shed an additional lustre on a court, that had ever given the tone of elegance to the other nations of Europe. But it was not alone the regions of splendour and grace that were brightened by her presence: The people seemed animated by one soul of love, and every eye followed her with admiration, every tongue was occupied by her praise.

But the contrast may be taken nearer to the present times. Five years are scarcely past since she was the idol of a populace, that so lately, infuriated by calumny, cried aloud for her assassination, and have finally brought her to the scaffold. Who can reflect upon such a change without anguish? Who can sordidly stifle his grief, and command his tears not to flow—for the object was only a woman?

Who?—There are many such, who are so deeply immersed in the systems of politics and the sea of ambition, that they are absolutely indifferent even to a royal wreck.

But when we survey this elevation and this fall, it will be necessary to examine by what indirect and crooked ways the sentiments of her subjects have been completely perverted. So many accusations have striven to blacken her fame, that we shall not be surprised to find them contradictory of each other, and accusation and invalidation following at every step.

She has been accused of ill-judged tenderness and facility to entreaties—softened by improper solicitations, and attached to unworthy objects. They who can survey the heroic fortitude and serenity of temper with which she has supported the  
greatest

greatest of evils, and believe her shaken by such weak assaults, should seem to know little indeed of the human mind.

But what a fund of delusion must have been poured out to the people, to make them imagine themselves aggrieved by imposts for her bounty, which never reached the fourth part of the civil list decreed by the Constituent Assembly? The real causes of oppressions, so terrible in their effects, were industriously concealed—a war in America, and the enormous depredations of a corrupt ministry—the machine of government through all its principal and petty movements corrupted and sullied, past any hope of amendment.

We have said that with politics she had little to do; and although barbarous ignorance has affirmed her the perpetual enemy of France, and the incessant and exclusive friend of the House of Austria, we shall take upon us to refute an aspersions so unjust.

Louis XVI. unquestionably loved her with true affection; but yet it is an indubitable fact, that in the choice of his ministers he never consulted her; nay, they in general declared themselves from the beginning of his reign inimical to the Queen.

Maurepas, for instance, obtained such an influence, that he not only rivalled her in the esteem of the King, but by his ascendancy made him dismiss in fact ministers she was known to think valuable men—We mean Turgot and Necker.

Vergennes succeeded to the ruinous measures and the corruptions bequeathed by Maurepas; and, like him, seduced the young monarch from counsel that might have produced for his reign events less miserable to his family and the kingdom. Calonne was then chosen to succeed the late minister Vergennes.

M. de Calonne had a mind that was at least facile and accommodating. It would have been no difficult

ficult task for a princess of an intriguing spirit to have made him enter into her views, and carry her designs into effect. She disdained to flatter where she did not esteem, and even quitted her neutrality of political conduct; came forward, and attacking him with the severity of sound judgment and indignant morality, drove him from the councils of the King.

It was by this solitary and fatal influence the archbishop of Sens became the minister: He, whose administration sowed the seeds of a revolution, so unequalled either in its convulsions or its ruin!—But can Democracy account this a crime? Is this to be an enemy to Liberty, to have herself selected a man who projected the emancipation of the country from an arbitrary and a venal government?

“But Antoinette has been the enemy of France!” and so ridiculous is credulity, the proof is said to be the alliance of Austria with France, concluded even before the birth of the young Queen, in 1756. If since, no occasion occurred to break this pact; if no minister even proposed it; where can blame be attached upon her for its subsisting?

And yet, perhaps, no fact has ever received such clear and positive testimony as this which establishes her devotion merely to the good of France. Was it even her interest to ruin a country in which she was the *first* object, for one in which she never could take the lead?

But—to forbear all reasonings from hypothesis—Now, when treachery has been graced with favour—when fidelity has been tortured for disclosure, and terror might betray without shame—what one circumstance has transpired to fasten such an imputation upon her?

Cleared therefore from every shadow of political guilt, we may proudly reflect upon those virtues in  
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the woman which, independent on situation or opinions, enabled her to live with firmness, and to suffer with patience every accumulated indignity and outrage.

Her maternal fondness seems to have been the principal string upon which the hand of violence produced most discord.—The mother alone was vulnerable; and the separation from her children subdued her to exquisite and fruitless entreaties.—To bear, however, the dreadful precariousness of their lives, to contemplate in advance the savage termination of her own, were horrors. She did not sink below—her heroism was of a permanent pitch; it flattened not by continual stress, but preserved its truth of tone to the last.

The nature of her trial will leave a perpetual stain upon the pretended justice of their tribunals. The death they have inflicted will call for, and probably draw down, a vengeance too dreadful for utterance.—Yet, in one point of view, Death may be considered as a mercy: It delivered her from persecution that was to end only with life; and she but repeated a lesson that had been taught her by her martyred husband. In every breast she will now excite an interest; or those who do not believe her character thus amiable, will readily agree, that her sacrifice was unnecessary to any cause, and disgraceful to any people!

## IMPOLICY OF EXECUTING

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## QUEEN OF FRANCE.

WE will so far indulge the French tendency to inhumanity and injustice, as not to examine whether justice and pity did not alike demand the liberation of  
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the Queen; we merely examine the question of policy, as it went to condemn or to save her.

And, first, it will be necessary to reflect upon the probable operation of her death upon the people now enemies to France. If, in despite of inferior discipline among their soldiers, and treachery in their generals, the French have yet defeated or withstood all the attacks hitherto made, what has been the primary cause? Enthusiasm, that power which vivifies method, and puts soul in every operation of the man.

Striking off the head of the unhappy Antoinette will give this dreadful animation to every soldier who loves the sex; and, to the men sprung from the same soil with her, a thirst for vengeance unappeasable and incessant. The war must in future be divested of every clemency in the victor, and this fatal act has been the signal for undistinguishing destruction.

But among Frenchmen, this criminal act will yet operate with indeed a slower but more certain effect. During the convulsions of a revolution, the mind is stretched beyond common feelings; and injustice and murder are so familiar, that they neither startle nor astound the conscience; but the period of retroaction always arises by a law of our being, which naturally shudders at death, and the object is surveyed by the milder eye of scrutiny or pity:

“ All the good then blazes—all the GUILT  
Is in the grave.”

It is no idle consideration, whether the assassination of the immediate inheritors of the crown may not work in fact for those exiled dependants or collateral branches of the Bourbon stock, which, least of all, merit that they should be destined to regain by opposition what their Royal Head lost by confidence. For, it may be depended on, fluctuation  
will

will work, at perhaps no remote period, on the hearts of the people, and their *love* will be as violent as has been their *hatred*. What a reflection for a nation, to have been toiling through devastation and death, only to plant the crown of *France* upon some degenerate *scion* of the great Henry IV.!

THE murder of the Queen of France is, without example, the most cowardly, as well as the most atrocious act that ever was perpetrated. The conduct of the despots in Poland excites only the indignation of mankind; for there is a trait of grandeur at least in the diabolical rapine, which tramples at once upon a king and his whole people—but in the murder of one helpless victim, and in the disgusting horror of making her own infants witnesses against her, there is such a complication of crimes, such want of manhood, justice, decency, and shame, as freeze the blood in every bosom. None even of the greatly-bad passions of the soul can dignify the horror. It has not *ambition*, nor that *craft* which is entitled *state policy*, nor even the blackest of the tribe of political emotions, *revenge*, to plead in its excuse.

What a lesson it presents to all the princes of Europe! To think that in four short years the habits of a whole people should have undergone so total a change, that without compassion, without even a blush of contrition, a nation should violate not merely the forms of justice, but tear asunder the first duties of nature, and in the face of day, in the eye of all the world, should bring up the infant children of their Queen to furnish a scandalous pretext for satiating their thirst of blood in her murder!

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What a lesson also to the tribunals of justice in every country, how they shall dare, for the purpose of accomplishing the overthrow of one individual, to outrage the settled forms of law and justice! What but the base and profligate sycophancy of the old court of France; in which, to serve the minion of the day, every sacred form was broken through at pleasure, could have so utterly extinguished in the minds and hearts of these people all understanding of, and respect for, the solemnity of truth and justice?

THE END.

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