

GENERAL DUMOURIER
TO THE
FRENCH NATION.

SINCE the Commencement of the Revolution, I have devoted myself to the maintenance of the Liberty and Honour of the Nation.

The services I rendered in the year 1792, are the most memorable. Minister of Foreign Affairs during three months, I elevated and sustained the dignity of the French name throughout all Europe. I was calumniated by an odious Cabal, by whom I was charged of having plundered six millions of Livres, destined for secret services. I have proved that of this sum I did not expend half a million.

Having quitted the career of Politics towards the close of the month of June, I commanded a small army in the Department of the North—This Department I was ordered to quit with my troops at the very time the Austrians entered in force that part of the Republic. I disobeyed the order, saved the Department, and an attempt was made to come on me by surprise, for the purpose of conveying me to the citadel of Metz where I was to be condemned by a Council of War to suffer death.

On the 28th of August, I took upon me, in Champagne, the command of an army of twenty thousand men, weak, and without either discipline or organization. I arrested the progress of eighty thousand Prussians and Hessians and forced them to retreat after they had sacrificed the one half of their army. I was then the Saviour of France; and then it was that the most wicked of men, the opprobrium of Frenchmen, in a word, Marat began to calumniate me without mercy. With a part of the victorious army of Champagne, and some other troops, I entered on the 5th of November, the Belgic provinces, where I gained the forever memorable battle of Jemappe; and, after a succession of advantages, entered Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle, towards the close of that month. From that moment my destruction was resolved on; and I have been accused of aspiring, now to the title of Duke of Brabant, now to the Stadtholder ship and again to the Dictatorship. To retard and crush my successes, the Minister Pache, supported by the criminal faction, to whom all our evils are to be ascribed, suffered the victorious army to want every thing, and succeeded in disbanding it by famine and nakedness. The consequence was, that more than fifteen thousand men were in the hospital, more than 25 thousand deserted through misery and disgust, and upwards of ten thousand horses died of hunger!!!

I transmitted to the National Convention very strenuous remonstrances, which I followed up by repairing in person to Paris, to engage the Legislators to apply a remedy to the evil. They did not even condescend to read the four memorials I delivered in. During the twenty-six hours I spent at Paris. I heard almost every night bands of pretended Federates demand my head; and calumnies of every description, as well as menaces and insults followed me even into the country house to which I retired.

Having delivered in my resignation, I was retained in the service of my country, because it was proposed to me to negotiate the suspension of the war against England and Holland, which I had conceived as indispensable to the safety of the Netherlands. Whilst I negotiated and that successfully, the National Convention itself hastened to declare war, without making any preparations and without either power or means for its support.

I was not even advised of this Declaration, and learned it through the medium of the Gazettes only. I hastened to form a small army of new troops, who had never fought, and with these troops, whom confidence rendered invincible, I made myself master of three strong places, and was ready to penetrate into the middle of Holland, when I learned the disaster of Aix-la-Chapelle, the raising of the siege of Maestricht, and the sad retreat of the army. By this army I was loudly summoned. I abandoned my conquests to fly to its succour; and considered that we could be extricated from our difficulties by a speedy success only. I led my companions in arms to the enemy. On the 16th of March I had a considerable advantage at Tirclemont. On the 18th I brought the enemy to a general action; and the centre and right wing under my charge were victorious. The left wing after having attacked imprudently, fled. On the 19th we retreated honourably, with the brave men that were left together, for a part of the army disbanded itself. On the 21st and 22d we fought with the same courage, and to our firmness was owing the preservation of the remains of an army which breathes solely for true Liberty, for the reign of the Laws, and for the extinction of Anarchy.

It was then that the Marats, the Roberpierris, and the criminal sects of Jacobins of Paris, plotted the fall of the Generals, and more especially of mine. These villains, bribed with the gold of foreign power, to complete the disorganization of the armies, caused almost all the generals to be arrested. They keep them in the jails of Paris, to Septemberize them; for thus it is that those monsters have coined a word, to hand down to posterity the remembrance of the horrid massacres of the first six days of September.

Whilst I was employed in re-composing the army, in which employment I laboured night and day, on the 1st of April (yesterday) four commissioners reached me with a decree, purporting that I should be brought to the bar of the Convention itself. The War Minister, Bourdonville, my pupil, was weak enough to accompany them, to succeed me in my command. The persons who were in suite of these perfidious emissaries, informed me themselves, that different groups of assassins, either fugi-

tives from or driven out of my army, were dispersed from the road to kill me before I could reach Paris. I spent several hours in endeavoring to convince the commissioners of the imprudence of this arrest. Nothing could shake their pride, and I therefore arrested the whole of them, to serve me as hostages against the crimes of Paris. I instantly arranged with the Imperialists a suspension of arms, and marched towards the capital, to extinguish, as soon as possible, the lighted embers of civil war.

My dear countrymen! it is expedient that a true and brave man remove from you the veil which covers all our crimes and misfortunes—In 1789, we made great efforts to obtain Liberty, Equality, and the Sovereignty of the People. Our principles were consecrated in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and there have resulted from the labours of our Legislators, 1st. the declaration which says that France is and shall remain a Monarchy; 2dly. a Constitution to which we swore fealty in 1789, 90, and 91.

This constitution might, and indeed must have been imperfect; but it ought and might have been believed, that with time and experience its errors would be rectified, and that the necessary strife between the Legislative and Executive powers would establish a wise equilibrium, which would prevent either of these powers from seizing the whole of the authority, and attaining despotism. If the despotism of a single individual is dangerous to Liberty, how much more odious must be that of 700 men, many of whom are void of principles, without morals, and who have been able to reach that supremacy by cabals or crimes alone!

Licentiousness and excess soon rendered it impossible to support the yoke of a constitution that gave laws. The tribunes influenced the assembly of representatives, and were themselves awed by the dangerous club of Jacobins of Paris. The strife between the two powers became at length a daily combat, then was the equilibrium destroyed. France ceased to have a king, and the victory of the 10th of August was sold by the atrocious crimes of the first days of September.

All the departments, but more especially the wretched city of Paris, were delivered up to pillage, to denunciations, proscriptions, and massacres. No Frenchman, the assassins and their accomplices excepted, had either his life or his property in security! The consecration of slavery was augmented by the clamorous orgies of villains. Bands of pretended federates ran thro' and laid waste the departments; and of the 700 individuals who composed this despotic and anarchical body, 4 or 500 groaned and decreed, and decreed and groaned, exposed to the exterminating swords of the Marats and Roberpierris. It is thus that the unfortunate Louis the 16th perished, without a judicial trial and without a tribunal; and 'tis thus that the decree of the 19th of Nov. has provoked all nations by holding out to them our aid, provided they will disorganize themselves. 'Tis thus that the unjust and impolitic decree of the 15th of Dec. has alienated from us the hearts of the Belgians, has driven us from the Netherlands, and would have brought about the massacre of the whole of our army, by this nation, provoked at our outrages and our crimes, if I had not saved that very army by my proclamations. 'Tis thus that a decree established the bloody tribunal which places the lives of the citizens at the mercy of a small number of iniquitous judges, without recourse or appeal to any other tribunal. 'Tis thus that during the last month all the decrees have been marked by the stamp of insatiable avarice, by the blindest pride and more especially by the desire of maintaining power, by calling to the most important posts of the state no other than derring, incapable and criminal men, by driving away or murdering men enlightened and of a high character, and by supporting a phantom of a republic which their errors in administration and in policy, as well as their crimes, had rendered impracticable. These 700 individuals despise, detest, calumniate and revile each other, and have already, and that frequently, thought of poisoning the one the other. At this moment their blind ambition has impelled them to coalesce afresh; and bold criminality allies itself to feeble virtue, to preserve a power as unjust as it is unsteady. In the mean time their Committees devour every thing, that of the National Treasury absorbing the public funds, without being able to render any account of the expenditure.

What has this convention done to maintain the war it has provoked against all the powers of Europe?

It has disorganized the armies, instead of reinforcing and recruiting the troops of the line, and the ancient battalions of national volunteers which would have formed a respectable army. Instead of recompensing these brave warriors by promotion and praises, these legislators have left the battalions incomplete, naked, disarmed and discontented. In the same way have they treated the excellent cavalry; and the brave French artillery is in the same manner exhausted, abandoned, and in want of every necessary. They notwithstanding create new corps, composed of the satellites of the 2d of September, and commanded by men who have never served, and who are in no other way to be dreaded unless by the army they surcharge and disorganize. The convention sacrifices every thing to these satellites of tyranny, to these cowardly headloppers. The choice of officers, and that of administrators, are in every particular the same; we see throughout the tyranny which flatters the wicked, because the wicked alone can support tyranny. And in its pride and its ignorance, this convention orders the conquest and disorganization of the whole Universe; it says to one of its generals, Go and take Rome, and to another, fall forth and subdue Spain, to the end that deploing commissioners, similar to those horrid Roman proconsuls against whom Cicero declaimed, may be sent thither.

In the worst season of the year, it sends the only fleet it possesses into the Mediterranean, to split and founder on the rocks of Sardinia; whilst it exposes the fleet at Brest to the fury of the storms, by sending them in quest of an English fleet that has not yet left its port.

In the mean time a civil war spreads through all the departments. Some of the insurgents are excited by fanaticism, the necessary effect of perfection; others by an indignation at the tragical and fruitless end of Louis XVI. and others finally, by the natural principle of resisting perfection.

Arms are every where taken up; murders every where committed; and every where are pecuniary supplies and provisions intercepted. The English foment these troubles, and will by their succours, supply fuel to them at their pleasure. Soon will every one of our corsairs disappear on the ocean; soon will the southern department cease to receive supplies of corn from Italy and Africa, and already have those from the north and from America been intercepted by the squadrons of the enemies. Famine will intensify itself to all our other scourges, and the ferocity of our cannibals will but encrease our calamities.

Frenchmen! we have a rallying point which can stifle the monster of anarchy; 'tis the constitution we swore to maintain in 1789, 1790, and 91, 'tis the work of a free people; and we shall remain free, and recover our glory, by refusing our constitution.

Let us display our virtues, more especially that of mildness; too much blood has already been spilled. If the monsters by whom we have been disgraced chuse to fly, let us leave them to meet their punishment elsewhere if they do not find it in their own corrupted hearts; but if they wish to support anarchy by new crimes, then shall the army punish them.

In the generosity of the enemies we have often grievously outraged, I have found the security of external peace. Not only do they treat humanely and attentively our wounded, sick, and prisoners who fall into their hands; and all this in despite of the calumnies spread by our agitators to render us ferocious; but they engage to suspend their march, not to pass our frontiers, and to leave to our brave army the termination of all our internal dissensions.

Let the sacred torch of the love of our country awaken in us our virtue and our courage! at the bare name of constitution, civil war will cease, or can no longer exist unless against certain malevolent men who will no longer be supported by foreign powers. These have no hatred to any others among us except our factious criminals, and desire nothing more fervently than to restore their esteem and friendship to a nation, whose errors and anarchy disturb and trouble all Europe. Peace will be the fruit of this resolution, and the troops of the line, as well as the brave national volunteers, who for the space of a year have offered themselves as willing sacrifices to liberty, and who abhor anarchy, shall repose in the bosom of their families after having accomplished this noble work.

As to myself I have already made an oath, and I repeat it before the whole nation, and in the presence of all Europe, that immediately after having effected the safety of my country by the re-establishment of the constitution, of peace and good order, I shall abandon every public function, and shall seek in solitude the enjoyment of the happiness of my fellow citizens.

The General in chief of the French army,
DUMOURIER.

Baths of St. Amand, April 2, 1793.

The Marechal Prince of Saxe Cobourg, General in chief of the armies of his Majesty the Emperor and of the Empire,
TO THE FRENCH.

The general in chief Dumourier has communicated to me his declaration to the French nation. In it I find the sentiments and principles of a virtuous man, who truly loves his country, and who wishes to put an end to the calamities and anarchy by which it is desolated, by procuring for it the happiness of a constitution and a wife and permanent government. I know this also to be the unanimous wish of all the sovereigns whom some factious persons have armed against France, and particularly that of his Majesty the Emperor, and his Prussian Majesty.

Filled at this moment with esteem for the bulk of so great and so generous a nation, to whom the immutable principles of honor and justice were held sacred, until by the repetition of outrages, disorders and impositions, that part of it has been estranged and corrupted, and under the mask of humanity and of patriotism, speaks of nothing but assassinations & poignards.

Knowing also that this is the wish of all virtuous people in France.

Profoundly penetrated with these great truths and desiring nothing but the prosperity and glory of a country torn by so many convulsions & misfortunes:

I declare by the present proclamation, that I will support by all the force in my power the generous and beneficent intentions of the general in chief Dumourier, and his brave army.

I declare besides, that having lately fought us on several occasions as a gallant, intrepid and generous enemy, I will join a part of my troops, should general Dumourier desire it, or even all my army to that of France, to co-operate as friends and companions in arms worthy of reciprocal esteem, so as to restore to France her constitutional king, the constitution she has chosen, and as a necessary consequence, the means of perfecting it, if the nation should find it imperfect; thus to restore to France, as well as to the rest of Europe, peace, confidence, tranquillity and happiness. I therefore declare on my word of honor, that I will not enter the territory of France to make conquests, but simply and purely for the purposes above mentioned.

I further declare upon my word of honor, that should the military operations require one or more fortresses to be given up to my troops,

The ill success of the campaign of last year, had taught the Austrians and Prussians the difficulties that must attend entering France; and produced declarations, that it was not their intention to dictate a form of Government for the French, but to prevent the effects of those licentious principles which tended to the subversion of every established government.

By the Congress, however, it was resolved to commence a plan of active operations against France, and instead of the chimerical project of marching directly to Paris, to besiege at once as many as possible of the strong places on the frontier, which will block up or call off the greater part of the Republican troops from the interior of the Kingdom, and leave the Royalists within it without much opposition. If these places fall they will be immediately occupied by the troops of the Combined powers, and serve as points to act from according to circumstances, while the fleets of England, Holland, and Spain are to form a chain of cruisers round the coast, ready to favor the Royalists wherever they appear, and to cut off all the supplies by sea, as the armies will do by land. Thus attacked and hemmed in on all sides, with a strong party to act against them at home, the Republicans, it is hoped, must be soon subdued.

The cessation of hostilities was declared at an end, and the allies immediately commenced their operations.

Such we understand to be the plan agreed upon at this memorable Congress, in the execution of which Great-Britain is to assist with all her forces by sea and land. Of its practicability we presume not to give an opinion; but from the conduct of the allies in other cases, we have little doubt but that if the garrisons on the French frontiers should fall, the Austrians will take possession of French Flanders, Lorraine, and Alsace. This being accomplished, Prussia will have an equivalent in another quarter, and peace will be offered to the French without much regard to what form of government they may choose to establish.

Extract of a letter from Antwerp, dated April 8.

"The Deputies put under arrest by Dumourier, and sent to prince Cobourg, are at Maefricht—Dumourier with young Egalite, who now calls himself the duke de Chartres, and his sister Mademoiselle D'Orleans, are at Mons.

"The army which general Dumourier lately commanded, is in the utmost confusion, and it is even said entirely dispersed, without any regular leader. That General persuaded himself, from the personal attachment shewn him by his army, that he might promise himself their support, to the extent of his wishes, in the project he had formed. He was, however, mistaken. He had advanced as far as Cambrai, on the road to Paris, when he found his army deserting him; the artillery first forsook him, then the national guards. He then harangued the troops of the line, who, in return, informed him, that notwithstanding their love to him as their general, and as a brave soldier they were determined, to a man, neither to fight against their country, nor to violate that constitution which they had sworn to maintain.

"General Dumourier finding that he could not depend upon the army, immediately set out with young Egalite at the head of two regiments of horse, and took the road for Mons. He was, however, so closely pursued by a party who followed him, that he was absolutely obliged to fight his way.

"It is said that Dumourier intends to recruit among the royalists, who now are very numerous in France.

"The Austrians have laid siege to Conde, and expect to have made considerable progress in France before the end of six weeks.

"The French garrison that were in Breda have made a requisition to be allowed a strong escort, lest they should be murdered by the Brabanters, who are highly incensed against the French."

Dumourier wrote from Mons, requesting permission to attend the Congress which was refused him.

General Valence was at Antwerp on the day the Congress met, not as a member of it, nor as a prisoner, but having gone thither during the suspension of hostilities. Our accounts do not state on what motive.

The mode of electing officers in the French army which Dumourier in his letter, after the battle of the 18th of March, proposed to suppress, has been the means of saving the northern army to the republic. Had Dumourier had the appointment of the officers ever since he took the command, the army would have gone with him. By the mode of election they are worse soldiers, but much better citizens.

BARCELONA, March 1.

M. Bourgois, the French Minister, previous to his departure for France, had proposed to leave M. Durtabise in quality of Charge d'Affaires, per interim, and Messrs. Pnyabri and Payou, as Consuls. The Minister agreed provisionally to receive the two latter, but rejected the former.—By these dispositions, the French here are exposed to the insults of the people, extremely irritated on account of the tragical death of Louis XVI.

Our fleet will soon be on a most respectable footing. The command of it is given to Vice Admiral the Marquis de Coatlatti.

The fleet of Cadiz consists of seven sail of the line, seven frigates, and one brigantine; that of Carthagea amounts to six sail of the line, three frigates and one brigantine, that of Ferrol six sail of the line. Total 23 sail of the line, 10 frigates, one cutter and three brigantines.