

CD 170 Vol 36  
THE  
CONDUCT  
OF THE  
KING OF PRUSSIA  
AND  
GENERAL DUMOURIER,

INVESTIGATED BY  
LADY WALLACE.

Nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice.

SHAKESPEARE.

LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR J. DEBRET, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-  
HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

M.CCC.XCIII.



D-170

College of Fort William  
1003.



## TO THE PUBLIC.

*No apology can be offered for laying ~~any~~ this uncorrect publication before you, except ~~that~~ you should judge it one; an anxiety to offer facts to your perusal so soon after the appearance of General Dumourier, had more immediately recalled the subject to your notice.*

*Thursday the 20th of June, after he left England, without any documents as to dates or facts, I so hastily committed to paper this mass of matter, as to be able to offer it to your perusal, in the short period of eight days.*

LONDON, No. 55, Pall Mall,  
• Tuesday, June 26, 1793.

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I DO not take up my pen to vindicate myself in the opinion of hireling news-papers, who, canibal like, live upon the reputation of those that support them. No—despising all character which either can be purchased, or defamed, for three shillings and six-pence, I should think resentment, or any other feeling but that of cool contempt, beneath those, who satisfied with the rectitude of

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their

their own conduct, upon finding themselves traduced — But desirous to explain to the respectable part of mankind the circumstances which have justified even the report, that I had any intercourse with the unfortunate, incorruptible hero of Jemappe — I think it necessary to clear myself from every possible appearance of disloyal principles, or conduct: and, in so doing, I trust I shall be able, by incontestable proofs, to wipe off from General Dumourier's reputation a great degree of unmerited odium, with which the intrigues of various parties have found convenient for themselves most unjustly to load him.

Had Dumourier been a republican, I should have despised his conduct, and  
have

have execrated his principles; but he swore allegiance only to the Constitution of 1789. Had he ever published any declaration that he would put the *Bonnet Rouge* upon our Sovereign's head, erect the Tri-couleur Flag on the Tower of London, or land his Sans Culottes at the Thames, I should have been the first and loudest to cry vengeance on him; and to have said that his presence insulted and degraded the English nation. But such a declaration he never made; and his whole opinions and professions have ever been filled with respect for the English, and a firm and decided wish to be allied, and to see France so fortunate as to possess a similar constitution. Had he not done every thing, which his limited powers would permit, to save his King from a cruel

death, and his unhappy family from humiliation, I should have shuddered in abhorrence of his treason; and I myself have proved a traitor to the sentiment and feeling of honour, loyalty, and justice, which has ever filled my breast, and dictated every action of my life, had I held any intercourse with him. But positively certain that he was incapable of, and perfectly innocent of all these accusations, I should equally now think myself mean, dastardly, and ungenerous, to renounce, when overwhelmed with the dark clouds of fortune, a brave man, whom I can prove innocent of those treasons and crimes laid to his charge. Dumourier was a distinguished officer in the French service 40 years before those intestine discontents; my sentiments, which

which I have already given to the Public, in a letter to my son, in 1791, will sufficiently vindicate the justice of my principles, my respect for good order, and a monarchical government: as well as my detestation of those crimes and depravities, produced by the brutal anarchy which disgraces France.

Upon the sources of those commotions, I have also given my opinion.

It must have appeared to every person of common understanding, that much reform was wanting in the corrupt and despotic government of France; which reform, the benevolence of Louis the XVth, was as sincerely interested in  
bringing



bringing about, as the most oppressed of his subjects could be. He ever shewed that the general comfort and prosperity of all ranks of his people was his dearest wish ; and the having mistaken the *method* to accomplish that wish, but no deviation from it in *intention*, cost him his life, his family their liberty, and all Europe the most heartfelt sorrow and regret !

In accepting the constitution of 1789, pleased with the advantages the people at large would derive from it, he forgot (and no wonder he should !) those nobles, so many of whom fled at the first *appearance* of danger : for their flight *alone* caused his danger.—Had they staid, the undisciplined mob, at that time collected at Paris, which was in  
 numbers

numbers nothing equal to some London mobs, would have been with the same facility disbanded ; had the French nobility, with English courage, faced them. Especially, as it is ~~very~~<sup>well</sup> known, that hardly any of the crew were impelled by passion to assemble, but were paid by the base atrocity of Egalité, whom I had the honor to be the first to denounce to the English nation ; submitting calmly to all that resentment and calumny which some of his great and powerful friends have never ceased to exercise against me :—happy if I could caution any of my countrymen against such a miscreant, or render his practices abhorrent to my country.

Had these unfortunate fugitives possessed as little ambition as their generous  
king,

king, they would, without repining, have submitted to make a similar sacrifice for the well being of the community in general, as the nobility of England had set them the example, with a magnanimity which sets the English far above any of those nobles, enriched by oppressing the people, and nursed only by exactions on their labours.

The respect and free-will of an happy people, render aristocracy in England honorable, in a degree which the sentiments of slavish oppression, in the days of despotism; never knew.

But most of those nobles, unwilling to resign the only means they had of supporting their splendor, being ignorant of, and too proud to adopt those re-  
sources

sources, which to the honor of our greatest men when impoverished, they seek an independence by,---either in commerce, or the emoluments earned in the service of their country; and knowing that the good hearted King would feel wretched at the remonstrances, arising from the unhappiness of any part of his subjects, they lost no time to seduce him thus to renounce the Constitution: which, from that same benevolence, he had sworn to support, and which he had engaged the less ambitious of his nobility, and his friends, to maintain.

Over his receding from that Constitution, I wish historians could draw a veil; since a mixture of pity for his revolting nobles—fears for the villainous plots daily concerted by Egalité,

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whose

whose malignant spirit of revenge for a former slight, and views of aggrandizement, certainly placed the Royal Family in perpetual danger of becoming victims, all those motives which operate forcibly on weak minds, impelled the King to attempt to fly.

Some men, after having pledged themselves by an oath, which ought to be held sacred to God and man, would have died rather than recede from it; but in the convulsion of affairs much might have been represented with exaggeration to him, and the anxieties natural for the safety of his family must, if not exculpate his weakness, at least prove that it arose from those sensibilities which did honor to his heart.

At that period, when the unfortunate King was made a prisoner on his flight, the Marquis de Bouillie imprudently published a manifesto, threatening the French nation with the immediate invasion of Foreign Powers ; and, by the doing so, before it was possible to carry his threats into execution, he increased not only the danger of the Royal Family's situation, but also gave energy to those traitors, which intrigued to mislead the people : and who by their arts involved all in anarchy, murders, and horrors, shocking to humanity !

The King imprisoned, all the honest citizens (for it were inhuman to suppose that in 30 millions of people there were none meriting that appellation) were obliged to live in silent inactivity, and

leave Paris a prey to assassins and blood-hounds ; whilst the army hastened to the frontiers to repel those enemies, who came not only to conquer France, but to subject them again to despotism, which they had sworn never again to submit.

As it is not the history of the war which I intend to write, but a very hurried sketch, taken in a few hours, of the part which General Dumourier had in it—

I shall begin by saying, that he remained in France, from thinking it the duty of every person to remain in his country in the hour of danger : a sentiment which had been fortunate, and for the tranquillity of Europe, had it been  
been

been common to all Frenchmen. From his influence being very small,---unsupported by the eclat of high birth, without which abilities were of little estimation in France,---he knew he had little chance of having any sway in the government of the country, except he could so far distinguish himself in the eyes of Europe, as to acquire sufficient importance to engage Foreign Powers, to aid him in the saving his King and country, from lawless oppression. How far this, his first principle of action has been followed up, I will shew.

The conduct of the Combined Powers seemed inexplicable, to every person who was ignorant of the motives, by which they were actuated ; certain it is, that I  
declared



declared, upon hearing of the wonderful junction of Austria and Prussia, that I was persuaded their armies would never reach Paris ; although their forces were, if brought into action, infinitely superior to that of France ; and there are many nobles in London now, both Emigrants and English, who know, that before the campaign commenced, I told them every thing which happened during it ; and when at Spa, in the month of September, daily news came from the army, containing assurances of its being at Paris on a day appointed in that month, I still continued my infidelity ; and asserted, as my solemn opinion, that the Combined Armies would be, by that appointed day, back within the empire--which proved to be the case. This I wrote home, to certain

tain persons, with confidence; but official and positive accounts coming at the same time, my prophetic epistle was thrown aside, as the vision of a female fancy, till next courier developed the error of their official correspondent.

As I have not to boast the virtues of Joan de Arc, nor the second sight ascribed to some of my country people, I shall here state the motives which led me, upon my own reasoning, to give an opinion so contrary to that which was generally received.

Well informed of the treachery, intrigue, and selfish views, which have ever, alternately, aggrandized the despotic powers, I did not suppose the becoming an *illuminé* would blind the  
King

King of Prussia to his interest (which evidently it never could be) that this invasion should succeed; and although he had so very suddenly turned from being the protector of revolvers, to be the chastizer of them, it did not hold that he was more sincere in the last, than in the first character; and it was permitted to suppose, without injury to his Majesty's reputation, that he would finally support which of the two parties he found for his interest: or prove inimical to both, upon the same principle.

I had certain evidence that he had given every assurance of succour to the Revolutionists at Leige; and had every reason to believe that he continued his promised aid, to free them from the yoke of priesthood, under which they repined and murmured:

murmured : not so much from real grievances, as from intriguing people who were sent amongst them with a view to dismember the House of Austria. They excited their imaginations to view their real causes of discontent, in so mortifying a light, that the load appeared of such gigantic magnitude, it was no longer to be borne. They had no grievances but what a liberal man of common address might have rendered very easy to them ; for being educated bigots, and their total subjection to their priests a matter of conscience, they, but for the arts of Prussia, would probably have remained in peaceable sufferance of their oppressive government.

When the Prince of Liege fled, and left them without a government, the

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King

King of Prussia publicly protected the patriots ; the Emperor signified to him his wish to march some troops into the Austrian Netherlands, assuring him that they should only pass through the Liege country ; but when once they got the patriots to admit them, they staid : and declaring themselves masters, forced them to restore their former government. The Imperial army was then too formidable for the King of Prussia to dare to shew any public marks of resentment at such treachery, and nothing remained for him but to contrive some means to lessen that power which awed him ; that this was the only game he had to play was so evident, that it required but little penetration to foresee, that it would be the basis of his future system ; since, according to the old adage, it seems

to be allowed that every deceit is fair, in Love and War. Thus it ever appeared that the King of Prussia could only join with the Emperor in his hostile measures against France, to engage him in a campaign, which, proving unsuccessful, would destroy that formidable army which had ever been the terror of the North, and the object of jealous anxiety to the House of Brandenburg. Besides, he was not in a situation to be at liberty to ally himself with France at that moment, nor in good policy could he wish that France should be restored to tranquillity till she was completely enfeebled; or that some opportunity might offer in the convulsion of Continental politics, by which he might benefit by a separate alliance with her.—Another cause for his engaging in this

tham campaign was, the discontent, disorder, and bad discipline, the natural attendants upon a great army living in total idleness, after being innured to the rigorous activity by which Old Frederick kept them ever in movement, began to shew itself in such alarming symptoms at Berlin, that it became necessary for the internal tranquillity of the King's possessions, to remove these corrupt troops from his own territories, to pass the winter on the French or Austrian dominions; which advantage would nearly indemnify him for the expence of the campaign.

Had he declined taking an active part in the pretended invâsion, he would have become the object of suspicion, and his secret schemes and views upon  
Poland

Poland have been found out ; all of which appeared incredible, so long as he stood forth a champion for the restoration of the rights of Kings, and the despotism of Nobility. Besides, the Austrians, avowedly brave, well disciplined troops, with able generals, might, if he did not prevent it by directing the attack, perhaps chance to conquer the Sans Cullotes ; for the emigrants gave continual assurances that they were a cowardly banditti, without generals, who would trembling shrink from the sight of their nobles in arms. Had this been the case, it would have proved a fatal blow to Prussia. France subjected by Austria, Prussia must have speedily dwindled from the formidable power which Old Frederick had, by his intrepidity and successful intrigues, rendered it, into the  
ancient



ancient petty dependance of the Electors of Brandenburg; whilst upon the other hand, if the Combined Armies were balked in their attempt, the Austrians were so posted as to become the chief sufferers, not only by the sword, but the Imperial Eagle would be sufficiently humbled and crest-fallen by the loss of the Netherlands: and that country, if not for ever lost, would be harassed and impoverished by being so long overrun by contending armies.

Before the invasion of France was attempted, La Fayette was general of the French army—and Dumourier minister of war; La Fayette completely proved a traitor to his country, for he not only wished to betray it into the hands of its enemies, but to subject it again to despotism; to facilitate which

base

base plan, he deluded the ministers and the nation, and for his crime Dumourier certainly would have suffered though totally innocent and ignorant of his plots — had he not, with that spirit and energy of character which he in a very singular degree possesses, in a moment resigned the administration to take the command of the army, thus critically exposed : by which bold measure, he not only was enabled to explain, but also to repair those errors caused by La Fayette's treacherous intention of leaving his defenceless country to be over-run by German enemies, and once more subjected to despotism, the oppression of which he with such enthusiastic rapture had abjured, and had exacted his countrymen to renounce for ever.

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He had done better had he employed his insidious manners to quell the jarring interests which opposed the mild government the King had chosen, and to the having enforced in his mind cautions against the snares that would afterwards be laid to engage him to forget what he had sworn to his people ; whom La Fayette had the double tie to serve with fidelity, from the assurances which he every hour reiterated to them, of his incorruptible services to the cause of liberty and humanity ; and also from the implicit confidence placed in him by the patriots, who were led implicitly by him : which confidence it required a corrupted groveling mind, treacherously to deceive.

His character seems to have been such  
a mixture,

à mixture, where vanity and infidelity predominated; that he weakly, without any steadiness, became, from the stoicism of patriotism, a victim to the tears of his lovely Queen, which either his sensibility or his vanity rendered irresistible—tears which flowed not from any regret for despotism resigned, but in terrors awakened by the treasons of Egalité, whom, had he boldly hurried with vengeance to just annihilation, all had been well !

Oh, had La Fayette possessed that true energy and probity of character, which honest patriotism and independence of principles give, what miseries had he averted from those beauteous eyes !—what contempt and humiliation

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to his own memory, which living interred, he is doomed to see recorded ! Had he encouraged that heroism of sentiment, which was unshaken in her bosom until that fatal period, and which, but for the selfish entreaties of the Emigrants, the noble, liberal heart of the Queen would ever proudly have exulted in ; because so decidedly for the comfort of the people, the aggrandizement of France, and the private tranquillity of herself and family.

The treason detected, the traitor fled, and being caught, was contemptuously imprisoned in the 'most rigorous and degrading manner, by those very powers who courted to seduce him. A lesson to those who unfortunately adopt a bad cause ;

cause; demonstrating that adherence to it is not, in politicks, esteemed so contemptible as the desertion of it.

Dumourier was ever a friend to the Royal Family, inasmuch as they made a part of that Constitution, which he has uniformly looked upon to be the most fitted to insure the prosperity of France: he was so from reason, as well as the loyalty of a mind not to be shaken by seduction, or by either ambition, or misfortune, seduced to treachery.

Upon the King's return to Paris after his attempts to leave France in July 1791, he was strictly guarded at the Thuilleries; the people were outrageous, at his attempt to emigrate, and rendered

more so by those artful subverters of all government, who represented him as intriguing to betray his country to the Austrians (the natural aversion of all Frenchmen) to re-establish that despotism which he had appeared to be the most ready to resign. These false aspersions had in some degree the appearance of truth, from the declaration made by the King of Prussia and the Emperor, signed the 27th of August; which was accompanied by a letter to the King of France from the Princes, and signed by his brother at Coblentz the 10th of Sept. 1791, and by the Duc de Bourbon, the Prince de Condé, and Duc D'Enghein, at Worms, the 11th of the same month.

In that letter they declare their certainty that he was not sincere in his acceptance of the Constitution; but that he was forced to it, and that he only waited the protection of foreign troops to re-establish the ancient Monarchy; which they assure him they will soon enable him to do, by the aid of all the despotic governments in Europe, who are to march a formidable army against France.--They also say, that as the King, upon his attempt to quit France, had disavowed all that he had done, they swear to perish all, before they will allow the nation to erect their monstrous Constitution upon the Monarchy of France; which they pledge themselves to re-establish, or die.

The manifesto of the Duc de Brunswick Lunenburg, given at the Head  
Quarters



Quarters at Coblentz, the 25th of July, 1792, was decisive as to the fate of the much-lamented Louis XVI.--He therein desires that unhappy monarch, to name a town, to which he would wish to retire; and says that he will send an escort to conduct him to it, where he may in safety, and without any interruption, re-establish his monarchy, and chuse his ministers. He then promises the French, to employ force only against those who oppose him; and desires them peaceably to allow the Prussian and Austrian army to take possession of their country.

When I first read this curious production, I thought it was a satirical imposition some wag was putting upon the public, in the name of the Duke of Brunswick;

wick ; from whose reputation, which at that time stood high in record, for war-like virtues, it appeared impossible that any council could have tempted him to issue. From such language they must have foreseen, that the nation would treat the King, as guilty of having proved false, not only to his oath, but to the established government (which I am persuaded he never was), and consequently that they would overwhelm this unfortunate Monarch in the hatred and vengeance of his people ; a conduct the combined powers meant should justify their invasion of France, to which the nobles *alone* had invited them. For, the reformed government being the united wish of the people, and the King having solemnly accepted it—he  
had

had too much piety, benevolence, and honour, to recede from it.

But for this colouring given to the attack upon France, it might have appeared unjust in the despots making war upon a country, because they chose a different government, or mode of worship from their's : if this was wisdom or justice, no wise heads, heaven be praised, lived in those days, when for the honour and happiness of Great Britain, we adopted that glorious Constitution, which, to establish on a firm basis, the noblest blood in England was spilt ; and in support of which, every honest heart would now shed its last drop, and will ever cherish with affection and reverence.

The

The frenzy which this Manifesto caused at Paris, and the horrors and murders which ensued, will eternally disgrace the name of Frenchman. In vain the assassins attempt to exculpate themselves, for having made seas of blood to flow, of even innocent babes ; because they were the children of parents, whom they were persuaded, had formed the base resolution of murdering them, had they not got the start of them by a few days.

Cowardice and brutal ferocity, unpardonable and unknown, till then, to any of the human species, even the most ignorant savages—alone dictated such a conduct on either side. True courage would have taught, and have enabled them, with justice to punish the guilty, and to protect the helpless innocents.

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Their suspicion of the King, whom they found surrounded by a number of emigrant nobles in disguise, now became boundless; and excited them upon the 11th of August, 1792, to drag him to that dungeon from whence he never removed, till he went before those merciless judges, who rewarded all his fondness, all his generous sacrifices to their happiness, by dooming him to a cruel death !

La Fayette, struck with horror at such barbarous excess, and probably equally torn by remorse, at not having done what he ought, and could have done, to save the King when stopped at Varennes, and the fears of the detection of his intended treason to the nation, in a few days after the imprisonment of the  
King,

King, fled; and General Dumourier took the command of the Northern army.

I shall here suppress a great deal of intreaty and attempts, which were made to seduce him not to resist the invaders; but although he ever was a Royalist, he would have died a thousand deaths, rather than not have opposed the entrance of despotism into his country.—Every art to gain him proved in vain; and on the 20th of the same month the Combined Armies entered France. Such a force—so splendid as to rank—so formidable as to numbers, and so nobly caparisoned, never yet had been seen in Europe.

It was now that the despots had a truth to learn, that a single arm strung by that nervous courage, which the fervid love of liberty inspires, is far more formidable than twenty of the best drilled foldiers, that Frederick ever formed.

If it was ever the Duke of Brunswick's intention to go to Paris (except he firmly believed the assurances of the Emigrants, that all the valour and war-like spirit of the French nation had left it with them), he certainly unwisely went upon a campaign carried so far into the enemy's country, without sufficient foresight, how his army was to be fed, or his horses maintained.

For

Had it even been his intention to go to Paris by forced marches, his troops never would have been able to accomplish it. For he must have had, at least, a million of waggons with supplies, or have starved: and those must have been drawn by, at least, six horses. In such a country as Champagne, where there are no roads, and in a great part of the country, like the cross roads in Yorkshire in winter, where, it is said, the clowns are seen with long sticks poking for their ponies—through such roads, how were the horses ever to get to their journey's end, without forage? that being, with every other article of subsistence, destroyed by the French. The not having the possibility either of carrying sufficient provisions with them, or of getting them on their march, for a long campaign,



campaign, seems, in some measure, to account for the Duke of Brunswick's apparent rash proceeding, in marching into a country, leaving strong forts behind him in the enemy's hands, and having no magazines before him..

Even the little store he had with him, was grain which had been laid up for years by old Frederick, and being heated, destroyed, in place of nourishing, his troops; and which, with incessant rains, gave them a dysentery so fatal, that it made incredible mortality. Of this affecting attendant upon autumnal campaigns, a very able account has been given by Dr. Moseley, who has distinguished himself with such ability and assiduity in the service of the army, both in the West Indies last war, and  
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by his attendance on those brave old servants of their country, who, to its honor, retire to Chelsea Hospital. Tottering under the weight of laurels and years, which have grown respectable in the eyes of Europe, there sheltered from the storms of fortune, their every want provided for, and their wounds and infirmities alleviated by so able a physician. The Doctor has shewn, in his Treatise on Tropical Diseases, that it proves not the least material part of a General's duty to secure proper hospitals, and physicians to remove, and, if possible, prevent this malady.

The Prussians are shamefully negligent on this very material point of military tactics; one which, in reality, proves, upon a long campaign, more  
necessary

necessary towards the success of an army than being the greatest Martinets in the reviews at Potsdam. Medicine is little encouraged in the German states, and, consequently, it is little known. Every man values his own life, but very little that of his neighbour's. The despots, in estimating the forts they wished to get possession of, used to talk of their foldiers as of so many flocks of sheep ; they would say, we will give 10,000 men for Thionville, 6000 for Metz, &c.

How would that brave humanity, which dictates to a British officer to watch over the lives of their wounded foldiers as a parent over his children, have been disgusted and revolted, to have seen the Prussians last campaign, thrown out to the dogs---unburied---nay, not dead ;  
for

for when they were, from disease, unable to defend themselves, their companions stripped them, and threw them out in the heap either above or beneath the corpses, as chance directed; so eagerly had the Prussian troops adopted this maxim, which old Frederick declared was the first principle to make an intrepid soldier, "the love of plunder;" and so over anxious were they to perfect themselves in this first rule, that they seem have forgotten all those which followed, which were better fitted to insure respect to their country.

At first, the Combined Armies alertness was evident to Dumourier, who was too able a General not to see the advantages he would gain, by allowing them to advance unattacked. Verdun's falling

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into their hands will ever be recorded in the memory of the English, by the heroism of the Sub-governor; who, faithful to his oath of dying rather than to admit a foreign enemy, boldly ended his existence.

At this time, I read several letters from the King of Prussia himself, to some of his friends; which expressed his wonder at the matchless bravery, discipline, and perfect organization of the French army. Europe now began to see that they were not the dastardly crew which their fugitive countrymen had represented them; and that the retreat of the Combined Armies from France, without giving battle, was the only chance which they had of ever quitting it.

Whilst

Whilst Dumourier was thus, with a degree of ability unknown since the days of Malborough, and with a vivacity, genius, and intrepidity inconceivable, with such judgment and justice in combining and calculating every resource or weakness of either army—Whilst he was thus employed,---the nation at Paris declared itself a Republic. Had Dumourier himself been King of France, loving his country, and respecting his own honor, could he have laid down his arms, and said, “Gentlemen, I do not like to have a Republican Government, I will allow myself to be hanged, my country be conquered and disgraced, and appear to all Europe a fool?” That would have been a degree of philosophy which would have disgraced even Diogenes’ tub. It had another effect upon Du-

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mourier,

mourier, and redoubled his ardour against those invaders who had forced his countrymen to excess, so disagreeable to him : the same honor which would have rendered each nerve torpid, if strung against his King, now gave added fire to every fibre, against those who had attempted his seduction, and the subjecting his country.

Every man must feel that the duty of a subject is, to respect the government of his country. Did every one think that they were obliged to turn their arms against it, at every change which the Executive Power thought fit to make, intestine broils, like a plague, would spread desolation over the face of the earth. His wish, that such a government had never been chosen, his uniform conduct afterwards proved ; although

though he ever, as general of the army of the Republic, strictly adhered to his duty as its servant.

All the middle of September the Combined Armies remained encamped in the plains of Champagne; and although their force amounted to 100,000 men, and that of the French never, whilst there, exceeded 27,000, they shewed no desire to give battle. Indeed, few of the men were fit for service; and of those, many were of such Republican principles, that in the little fighting which they had, their officers were obliged to use every exertion to keep them to it; which alone can account for their allowing Dumourier, without opposition, to carry on his entrenchments, which he did with great ability and dispatch.

At



At this period the ministers offered sufficient reasons for their stopping all proceedings, had Dumourier not; they had inconsiderately taken the nobles and princes into their army, and become pledged to them to restore them to their ancient rights. But it is certain, that they now were given to understand, that even should they meet no obstacle towards their advancing to Paris, that they would, when arrived, there find a positive one in the King; who was decided never to restore their rights, so oppressive to the people; on the other hand, they were resolved never to submit to any form of government which would lessen them.

Ardent differences in opinion existed, between Messrs. Calonne and Bretuil;  
which

which ended in its being proposed by the nobles, not to restore Louis XVIth to the monarchy, but to form a regency, and declare the Dauphin King of France : which was so contrary to justice, and must have been so productive of bloodshed and discord in Europe, that had they been even at the gates of Paris, these circumstances must have, in honor, forced the Duke of Brunswick to return without attempting to enter there.

Under this critical situation the Duke demanded a truce : and Dumourier, whose humanity made him sincerely wish for the restoration of peace, and to spare the effusion of human blood, greedily listened to terms. But this truce, on the part of the Combined Army,

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my, was nothing more than a change of scenery in a pantomime: and their proposing that the General should restore the French monarchy, shewed that nothing was meant by it. General Dumourier informed them, that he should transmit their overtures to the Executive Council, as he only interfered in the conduct of the army. A few *douceurs* on the part of the General to the King of Prussia, and the Duke of Brunswick, to console them for the depredations which want of provisions—sickness—and a surfeit of French artillery had caused, however employed those few days more agreeably than any they had passed in France. At last, General Dumourier broke off the truce, on finding that the Prussians carried on  
their

their works during it; and whether he had engaged the King of Prussia, without resistance, to quit France, and on his part promised to spare his troops, then totally at his mercy, is a secret known to few besides themselves. I have no doubt the General, from his soothing manners, found a method to reconcile his Majesty to his fate.

Certain it is, that they were so enfeebled by sickness, hunger, and desertion, that it rested on Dumourier's generosity to exterminate, or not, the whole army; but to his eternal honor it will be recorded, that though impelled by the most intrepid rashness, not one moment was ever attended with an act of cruelty, illiberality, or depredation.

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The Austrians besieged Lille with all that force which had made Alla's Faithful tremble ; and gained them such immortal fame at Belgrade. But the ardor and intrepidity of the besieged enabled them, though a handful of men, to resist all the boasted force of Austria. The women and children, equally active in the defence of their country, night and day were upon duty, carrying water to extinguish the flames, continually breaking out in every part of the town, and in attending the sick, and interring the dead ; whilst the men, with such ability and unremitting courage served the artillery, that they finally obliged the enemy to retire, leaving their bravest troops dead, or expiring under their walls.

What

What art thou Glory ? What ! a gilded cheat !  
 How many of these gallant warlike youths,  
 Lur'd by thy voice, have fought thee e'en in death,  
 Forgetful of those pangs which now distract  
 A wretched parent ! or a frantic wife !  
 Oh ! what thy power, which animates the soul,  
 Thus boldly to encounter worlds unknown !  
 Alas ! if Fame—say, can these heroes now  
 Hear her false voice, resound beyond the grave ?  
 Ah ! what a thought is there ! bewild'ring oft,  
 But not to be resolved.—Oh Ambition !  
 Thou'rt a godlike passion ! but most falsely  
 Thou dost promise sweet happiness and joy !  
 Thy vaunted greatness and success how vain,  
 To give contentment ! Of thy votaries,  
 Ah how many waisted are, to thy most  
 Soaring heights, on the sighs of hearts, groaning  
 With anguish and oppression ! What black crimes !  
 What seas of guiltless blood stream in full tides  
 O'er each path which marks thy gaudy triumph !

Before I proceed further, I shall  
 refer to page 185 of my letter to my  
 son, where I say, that “ all the united  
 “ force of the empire, joined to their's  
 “ (the nobles), will not now be able to  
 “ effect

“ effect the counter-revolution—should  
 “ they attempt to enter France, the  
 “ whole nation, who at present are di-  
 “ vided in many parties, originating  
 “ from jealousy, poverty, and every  
 “ cause of discontent, they will all join,  
 “ and forget their internal foes, to re-  
 “ pel the *common* enemy—for it is not  
 “ with liberty that they are dissatisfied,  
 “ but the abuses of that blessing—by the  
 “ ill-conduct of their credit, the stop to  
 “ all commerce and trade. But if their  
 “ discontent be left to prey upon them-  
 “ selves, it will do more to the restora-  
 “ tion of their situation than all the  
 “ troops of the empire.”—How far my  
 reasoning was just the event shewed.

Thus, in every quarter, this splendid  
 army failed ; and although few of them  
 had

had any opportunity of falling by the sword, yet sickness, much aggravated by their filth, killed more than half of them ; they used little cooking to any of their victuals ; when they perchance got hogs, &c. they, after skinning them alive, cut them up, and eat them.

It having been arranged, that the Combined Armies should quit the French territory—they did so as quick as they could ; their baggage, sick, and rear guards perpetually falling into the hands of the French. They, by capitulation, evacuated Verdun on the 12th of October 1792 ; and by the 20th of that month, they had compleatly retired from the territory of the Republic,

Now



Now the state of affairs began to wear another aspect. Dumourier and his army had, till now, nothing to do but to keep up the chase; that over, and the allied army arrived on their own territory, he prepared for retaliation by an attack upon the Netherlands; to which he was most earnestly solicited by the patriots of Brabant and Liege.

About this time the emigrant nobles came in swarms to Spa, harassed with the fatigue of having suffered from incessant rains, where their nourishment chiefly consisted in bread blacker than their weather-worn hats, without having even tasted those ideal sweets they had with such joy indulged the hopes of, in vengeance on their countrymen;  
their

their disappointments and sorrows there found some diversion at the gaming table ; where, led by the ill-founded hopes of making the little sum they had earned by their campaign more sufficient for their wants, they played till every farthing of it adroitly was won of them, which was intended for the government—allowed play a month later than common that season, on purpose, as they expected to profit by them on their return from the camp.

The Prussian troops had retired to the neighbourhood of Coblenz, Witzlar, Lembourg, and the banks of the Rhine. The King went immediately to Berlin, to efface, by the pleasures of his court, the privations which he had endured,

endured, and to look down on the storm ready to burst on his Imperial Ally. The Duke of Brunswick also went home, saying, that he was in a hurry to retire, to lay before the Public his apology for his conduct, which had drawn forth the most virulent sarcasms from the Emigrants and Austrians, as well as the derision of the patriots. But being a better general than I am, he does not venture to hazard a publication only the work of a few hours ; he waits till, often revised and corrected, the work be expunged from all that imperfection which his apology may want.

The imperial troops were now, I may say, panic-struck : a suspicion of treachery run like a pestilence through the  
army ;

army; and "*we are sold*" was the cry of the soldiers. It was this opinion, as well as the little military skill of the Duc de Saxe Techsen, that so ill prepared them to meet the vigorous assault of the French, who so soon taught them to fly from their superiority on the plains of Jemappe. The whole strength and hopes of Austria were there assembled; and their posts so advantageously chosen, and fortified with such care, it required a degree of bravery not to be extinguished by difficulty or danger to have carried the French on with such rapidity.

The battle began the 2d of November; they remained under arms, and engaged every day till the 6th; when the decisive battle was fought, Dumou-

rier had not above 30,000 effective men in his army : though the enemy believed he had double that number. Although the Austrians kept up a continued fire from most formidable redoubts on high grounds, covered by 100 pieces of cannon, yet upon the 6th they were obliged to fly in such consternation and disorder, that they passed through Mons without stopping. Dumourier was met at the gate by the Burgo-maître, with the keys. Dumourier entreated him to keep them, that he might ever after shut his doors against despots, and open them to the sons of freedom ; assuring him also that he come to liberate, not oppress the Belgians.

I heard the Austrians speak of this most bloody battle, and of the military  
skill

skill of the French, with wonder ! Dumourier, with the most active energy, flew every where, inspiring enthusiasm in his troops by his daring valour. He drew his sabre, and charging at the head of his advance-guards, cried, “ come, my boys, follow me.” And the Duc de Chartres, on this action, as during the whole campaign, behaved with a coolness and intrepidity which gained him Dumourier’s esteem, as well as the love of the soldiers ; his whole character is so opposite to his father’s, that, was it not for the irreproachable reputation of his amiable mother, one would be tempted to believe his veins are not filled with the cowardly vile blood of this despicable Egalité.

General Dumourier had a Valet de Chambre, called Baptiste, whom he had reared from infancy; and who, by his conduct, shews the effects of a good education. He saw his master hurried by impetuous courage to lengths, which a large detachment seemed unwilling to follow.—He instantly seized a sabre, rallied the detachment, leaped into the entrenchment, got possession of the redoubt, and decided the glory of the day.

Terror and dismay now spread far, and overwhelmed all the emigrants and the despotic party in Brabant; nobody staid at Brussels, or elsewhere, except the aristocrats, the English, and the patriots.—Some fled half naked—most of them on foot—and those, who could  
pay

pay twenty guineas a piece for the hire of horses, joined a rank of carriages—above 400. All left Brussels the 7th of November, to the great joy of the inhabitants. Dumourier shewed himself generous as well as brave, by allowing the Austrians to march unmolested out of his country—Like an husbandman without violence driving a flock of geese out of his newly sown field; and so inoffensive to humanity did he make the evacuation of Brabant, that his army always encamped in sight of the Austrians. At Brussels he waited at the South gate, till they should quit it by the North.

Upon his entering it the 10th of November 1792, he published a manifesto, dictated by his own wisdom and liberality, assuring them, that he did  
not



not mean to force upon them the French Constitution; but to leave them at liberty to choose that which the people wished. By this conduct he gained the most hearty welcome from the aristocrats, who wished the states to govern; as well as from the people, who were equally averse to them as to despotism. Unfortunately Dumourier could not stay long in Brabant, being obliged to carry further his conquests. The command was given to General Morton, whose manners and character revolted every one who beheld him.

Degraded by the most unworthy proceedings the 9th of August, he thirsted for even more blood, this nobleman (for he was one of the few  
who

who had joined the patriots, and by doing so disgraced their cause), was of high rank ; his title was that of Chabrian, he had been bred at Court, and was one of Monsieur's Lords. Whilst at Brussels he dared not commit any atrocities, being under the eye of a variety of generals whom Dumourier could rely upon ; but he was little fit to gain by address, that willing submission which does not always succeed the conquest of arms. The Imperial troops in their retreat, followed the example of the Prussians ; who even pillaged the unfortunate emigrants, who served with them.

Such robberies and depredations as they committed, decided the English, and every person at Spa, to go away to  
save

save their baggage; and consequently the same day that others went, I set off, accompanied by Miss Maxwell, for Liege. When we arrived, we found the town so full of Brabant fugitives, we could not get a place, not even in a garret or cellar—nor any horses.—We set off with those tired ones that brought us from Spa, and in the night, through a road such as no person ever saw, without meeting any houses for a dozen of miles, obliged to walk all the way, from its being too dangerous to go over it in a carriage, the road being, on each side, undefended from those formidable pits made by the Duke of Cumberland, in the year 1743; where his troops were hid, several hundreds in each of them, ready to surprize the enemy on their approach by their unexpected appearance.

ance. The gates of Maestricht were shut when we arrived; and till next day we did not get admittance into this dirty seat of ignorance, despotism, and misery.

The town is under the government of two Burgo-maistres; the one a protestant, chosen by the Dutch; the other a papist, appointed by the Prince of Liege, the humble instrument of the sea of Rome. It were happy for this petty place if another man, as respectable as the Protestant magistrate, were to be found in it. For bigotry and despicable intrigue in the other, renders the place unfit for any respectable inhabitant.

It is governed, in military matters, by Prince Frederick of Hesse, brother to

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him

him who has the contract with England for men (which by the bye is but half a degree removed from our slave-trade); him who was distinguished by Princess Amelia, leaving him her splendid fortune, unmindful of the beauteous offspring of our beloved Sovereign.

I had got so bad a cold and hoarseness as unfitted me from presenting myself at their door; a respect, on the part of all who intended to stop in the town, I was told they expected.—But my illness made me resolve against it, together with finding, that the rest of the English in the town never went, except Lady Douglas, wife to Sir George Douglas the navy officer, who attended all her court, and was upon so friendly  
a footing,

a footing, as to be invited to her select suppers.

An order was issued by the magistrates, for all strangers to give notice to them who they were, with whom connected, and by what means they subsisted; that they might either give a letter of residence, or send them forth to the mercy of the enemy, as their circumstances directed. The Marechal de Castres, the Duc de Guines, with all their female relations, and several hundred more of the first families in Europe, were inhumanly ordered out; though the French aristocrats had hardly a chance of escaping, being surrounded with the French patriots. The Marquis de Champinelle, who rather than submit to the risk of sitting down with

the Tiers Etat of Paris, had, in 1789, abandoned his King and country, now to avail himself of all the advantages of the *bull d'or*, humbly supplicated to have the honour of being admitted a burgher of this petty Dutch burgh; which being granted, he and his family were saved from being sent out like the rest.

The day after my arrival, on coming from the Comtesse of D'Alton's, the beautiful wife of the Austrian general of that name, accompanied by my cousin Miss Maxwell, General Count Conway, and young Reidheffel the Sub-governor's son, I started and grew pale at the sight of a man, whom I met at the door. General Conway asked me what was the matter? I pointing to the man  
exclaimed,

exclaimed, Grands Dieux! there is a wretch who is come here to assassinate me, for I found him in my lodgings, before I had taken them five minutes, in close conference with my landlord, whose name is Briatte; and who the Prince of Hesse accused of being a Jacobine; his name is Valmalette. Young Reidheiffel begged that I might compose myself, for that he could assure me he was not called Valmalette, but Count Mercan, chamberlain to the King of Prussia, and paymaster to the Princes. Ah! if so, said I, he should add another title, that of *forger of assignats*; for this accounts for the poor emigrants being paid in them, and indeed for the amazing conduct of the whole campaign. General Conway begged I would tell him



him how I come to think I knew this man, and I related to him what follows :

In the year 1789 I left Spa, accompanied by my nephew, Mr. Foidyce, and curiosity led us through Paris, in our way to England; we arrived there the 1st of October; I at that time knew nothing of French politicks, and very few French people, even by reputation. In the few days I staid there, I, however, had very decided proofs that the tumults, insults, and dangers, which beset the King on the 5th and 6th of that month, were solely the diabolical contrivance of Egalité.

A committee was on the 7th formed  
of the deputies of the National Assembly,

bly, to inquire into the source of these movements. To screen the real perpetrator from being detected, this monster Valmalette, denounced me to the committee, accusing me of being employed by the ministers of England, and having papers of great consequence in my letter-case. La Fayette issued a warrant to apprehend me, which was served as if I had been their captive queen, whom they had two days before dragged to Paris ; for sixty National troops and sixteen Swiss guards, attended by ~~four~~ commissaries, in the middle of the night, arrested me, and placing me in a coach drawn by four horses, they carried me to the Hotel de Ville.

The

The streets were filled with many thousands of the Poissardes, who were mostly intoxicated; and in the courts, were above 11,000 National troops; whilst the stair-cases, anti-chambers, and halls, were filled with officers, all with their swords drawn; in the inner apartment was seated La Fayette, "like a Sophy on his throne," surrounded with aid-de-camps and generals, who all came to see the victim, which they were persuaded, after a few minutes' examination, would be thrown out to be torn to peices, as many others had been.

Knowing that no one, however innocent, had escaped, I made up my mind to my fate, being persuaded, that as an  
English

English women, accused of being employed by ministers against them, "I had no chance ; I summoned up my courage, and it did not fail me. I was resolved boldly to defend my country and myself from so unmerited an accusation ; and to mark, by my words and gestures, all that contempt, which these blood-hounds merited.

From one o'clock in the morning, til eight, I was answering the interrogatories of the Abbé Fauchet, and the other Deputies—and with such alternate irony and haughtiness did I answer, that the major, who stood behind me with his sword drawn over my head, told me afterwards, that he every moment expected I should be sent to prison. Unaccustomed to such undaunted

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truth,

truth, they were awed by my manner ; and execrating the false informer, they proposed conducting me back to my Hotel, Rue de Richelieu.

Though acquitted above stairs, I had still little chance of escaping the mob below ; who, not under the dominion of reason, perhaps might tear me to pieces, as they had done Bertier, when sent away acquitted. But having decorated myself before I set out, with the tri-couleur ribbons, the Pois-farde, half of them drunk, the other asleep, probably thought I was a lady belonging to the commissioner who attended me ; for I got home unmolested.

Lord Robert Fitzgerald was then our minister at Paris. I immediately sent to  
desire

desire to see him. When he came, I told him the story, and begged him to go along with me back again. He tried to persuade me not to go again to 'that bourne' from whence so few returned; but I said I had rather that they should kill me, than that I should set down under such an insult—So into my carriage we got, and drove to the Hotel de Ville; when arrived, I demanded to see the Marquis de la Fayette, and we were conducted into his Presence-chamber, where he came, leaving his aid-de-camps with their swords drawn in the anti-chamber.—Lord Robert, as minister, began, very gracefully, by saying, this is my lady—I stopped him short, saying, "Monfieur le Marquis should know me, since he so daringly arrested me last night; but, said I, Monfieur La Fayette, I am neither of a

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country

country nor a mind that can submit to an insult ; and to demand that satisfaction, which is not so much due to my honor as to your's, I am now come here accompanied by the minister of England".

With all that insinuating elegance and plausibility of manners he is so famed for, he deplored his error, and lamented my sufferings ; assuring us that Valmalette had given Monsieur le Bailli, mayor of Paris, who was his relation and friend, the accusation against me, promising to him, that when I was caught he would attend to prove his assertion. He said that the miscreant Valmalette had not only, by this stratagem, occupied the committee from the inquiring into Egalité's guilt, but had insured

insured his own retreat:—for that the night before he had stolen away with all his effects. After, in terms sufficiently strong, having reprobated their conduct, we took our leave, first having received from La Fayette every assurance that he would send a party after him to Cinquaine, where he was born, and probably had returned to hide himself; and also lay the business before the King, who sent me a very handsome apology by Monsieur Montmorin (too good a one), that he alas! received too many insults to be able to prevent any;—but assuring me that he would write to the arch-duchess, to have Valmelette arrested, if in the Brabant. The party and warrants were sent after him; but he never could be found, nor heard of, till now I met him with my Jacobin landlord



landlord in my apartment. Comte Conway and Mr. Reidheiffel said it was amazing!—and, having conducted us to our house, wished them good morning.

I then sent a civil note to the magistracy, containing my name ; one famous amongst their generals ; and my connections, the most honorable and faithful supporters of my King and country ; and my means of subsistence sufficient. When, to my amazement, the Papist Burgo-maître sent me by the footman, a most impertinent verbal message—that I was not to stay. His message shewed me plainly, that my having written against popery, had awakened *boldy wrath*. Indeed such offence, the letter to my son had given at Liege, that they sent the police after it to Spa ;  
where

where, had the bookfellers, who sold it, not hid it under the roof of their houses, it would have been publicly burned in the streets.—Nay, I am not sure that I should not have been thrown into the flames with it. On my appearance at Maestricht then, where a very warm enmity subsisted between the Lutherins and Papists, I was looked upon as a most formidable force to join the Protestant party—one, who would make tremble the holy chair; nay, by overthrowing the principles of the great town of Maestricht, I might overthrow the Pope himself.

I should not have doomed myself to stay in this outlandish place an hour, since I have no faith in the virtue of penance, if I had not been, by illness,  
totally

totally unable to travel. Every body complained of such an insult to an English person; who certainly has claims to every possible mark of Dutch protection: and all ridiculed the motive of it.

The Prince de Montmorency told me he had heard, that young Reideffel went to the Prince of Hesse, and told him what I had said of Mercan, and he not being a person of the brightest understanding in the world, in place of asking me about the story, he sent this papist Burgo-maître for Valmelette, and told him, that he heard he was not Count Mercan, but Valmalette, born at Cinquintaine, banished from France, and the Netherlands, and not a Prussian. Valmalette told this prince, who was  
weak

weak enough to believe him, that he was not Valmalette, and added, I can tell your highness who gave you this information: it was an English lady, who being one of the Duke of Orleans's agents, and having seen me here, she has lodged those false accusations against me, to screen herself, and get me suspected, who am the Count Mercan, chamberlain to the King of Prussia, and confident friend and paymaster to the French princes. This gratified the papist Burgo-maitre's vengeance; and the Prince of Hesse, assured of Mercan's being highly injured, rejoiced at my leaving the town.

All the much respected family of the Montmorency's knew well my opinion of Egalité, this chef-d'œuvre of ini-

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quity,

quity, and knew before this period the story of Valmalette. But they little suspected that Valmalette was Mercan, else they would probably have been able to save the princes from so very ruinous a connection. The Prince of Montmorency had a friend at Maestricht, who saw Mercan, and attested him to be Valmalette, whom he had known in the French dragoons; and that he had married an old cloathsmen's daughter on the Boulevards. Baron Zemft, the minister of the King of Prussia, whom, I had before known intimately, passed through Maestricht, and called on me. I asked him if such a man were employed by the King his master; he said no such man was, that he ever had heard of. I then charged him to inform the King of Prussia of the story; at the same  
time