



Napoleonic Scholarship

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J. David Markham
President

Wayne Hanley
Editor-in-Chief

Illustrations



Front Cover:

Bronze and Carara marble 2nd Empire clock showing Napoleon the night before the Battle of Wagram. From the J. David Markham Collection.



Back Cover:

Snuffbox (ca. 1809-1821) of horn, wood, ivory and brass. Painting on a hinged lid of Napoleon resting on a chair with an Imperial Eagle the evening before the Battle of Wagram. The reverse has a hand painted imperial 'N' and the inscription 'Wagram 1809.' From the J. David Markham Collection.

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THE JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL NAPOLEONIC SOCIETY

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J. David Markham

President, International Napoleonic Society,
Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques

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For further information on the INS, contact J. David Markham, 81 Navy Wharf Court, Suite 3315, Toronto, ON M5V 3S2, CANADA, Phone: (416) 342-8081, Fax: (416) 368-2887

Email: inspresident@icloud.com Web: www.napoleonicsociety.com

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International Napoleonic Society Aims and Goals

- The purpose of the International Napoleonic Society is to promote the study of the Napoleonic Era in accordance with proper academic standards. To this end, the goal of the International Napoleonic Society is to gather the leading minds in this field for the purpose of creating, reviewing, commenting upon, making awards to, and financially supporting Napoleonic Scholarship.
- The International Napoleonic Society will sponsor periodic International Napoleonic Congresses to give scholars and students the opportunity to meet and share the results of their research and studies. These Congresses will be held throughout the world. To date, Congresses have been held in Italy, Israel, Georgia, France, Poland, Canada, Malta, The Netherlands, Russia, Cuba, Belgium, Ireland and Austria and have attracted some of the world's foremost Napoleonic Scholars. We may also sponsor and support smaller meetings and/or joint meetings with other scholarly organizations.
- The International Napoleonic Society will encourage the publication of work of academic merit. To this end we will provide the opportunity for scholarly articles to be published in our journal, *Napoleonic Scholarship*, as well as on our website. We may also support the publication of works of academic merit, as well as the reprinting of important material no longer easily available.
- It is important that original documents, as well as material available only in languages not commonly read by western scholars, be made available to Napoleonic Scholars. We will therefore encourage and support the translation and/or publication of such materials, including in our journal and on our website.
- The INS may sponsor lectures, tours, the granting of scholarships, the production of exhibitions and other displays, and other academic and/or cultural activities as deemed appropriate.

Message from the President



It is with great pleasure that we send you the 2018 INS Journal. We believe we have put together another excellent academic journal. As usual, thanks to our editor-in-chief, Wayne Hanley, and our production editor, Edna Markham.

Some of the papers were presented at our Congress in Vienna, Germany. That 2018 Congress was among the best, largely thanks to the hard work of Ferdi Wöber, with able assistance from Allon Klebanoff.

As usual, Wayne has put together an excellent collection of papers covering a wide range of subjects, which he has described in detail in his message. These papers continue to provide us very interesting material with high academic standards. We encourage all who have written or would like to write such papers to submit proposals.

As we did last time, we present here a wide range of documents from my collection whose original languages were French, Italian or English. They such items as the 1805 armistice between France and Austria, news from 1806 and 1807, an 1805 decree in Italian by Napoleon as King of Italy, documents related to Napoleon's divorce and marriage, and Bennigsen's report to the Czar, among others. We hope you will find them interesting and useful. As always, we encourage you to share them with libraries, archives, scholars or even appropriate websites or Facebook groups.

Finally, I am pleased to tell you that the 2020 Congress will be in Warsaw, Poland. Our friend and scholar Agnieszka Fulinska is doing the primary organizing. As usual, we will have a combination of papers and tours. A highlight will be a visit to an outstanding exhibition on the King of Rome that Agnieszka is creating.

We are tentatively scheduled to have future Congresses in Athens, Greece (2021) Cork, Ireland (2022), and Acre, Israel (2023). We encourage you to attend! Also, if anyone would like to organize a Congress in their city, please do let me know!

J. David Markham, President
Knight of the Order of the French Academic Palms

Message from the Editor-in-Chief.



It is hard to believe that this is my fourth edited volume *Napoleonic Scholarship*. I am pleased to present the 2018 edition and its wide-ranging articles on the Napoleonic era (with topics ranging from traditional military history to historiography and to the decorative arts).

The first three articles provide biographical sketches of several figures from the Napoleonic era. Bill Chew explores the life and legacy of Queen Louisa of Prussia, whom Napoleon once referred to as “the soul of national virtue,” while the Susan Conner examines the medical challenges surrounding the birth of the King of Rome. In the next essay, Attila Réfi highlights the virtues of the unfortunate Austrian General Meskó who was forced to surrender his division during the Battle of Leipzig (when faced with a hopeless situation). The next two essays discuss various aspects of cultural history: Marian Hochel highlights some of the Napoleonic memorabilia housed at the National Heritage Institute of the Czech Republic while Wayne Hanley discusses the change in perspective of the English Romantics toward Napoleon.

With the next several essays, we change focus to aspects of Napoleonic military history. In his essay, Karl Jakob Skarstein poses the question: Was the Battle of Mondovi an actual battle or merely a skirmish whose importance was magnified by the Napoleonic legend? In the next essays, Terry Crowdy takes on a modern-day detective adventure to track down the identity of the “Marengo spy,” while Dennis Potts gives credit where credit is due by exploring the often-overlooked contribution of Dutch soldiers at Quatre Bras. Meanwhile the next two essays focus on the Hungarian contributions to the efforts to defeat Napoleon. Balázs Lázár examines the recruitment and conscription strategies that would allow Hungary to meet its obligations to the Austrian Army, while István Nagy-Luttenberger’s analysis of Hungarian generals reveals that France’s was not the only military that provided the opportunity for careers open to talent. The next three essays explore aspects of the Campaign of 1809. David Wright highlights the use of light troops from Württemberg, and Matej Čapo discusses the impact that occupying French and allied troops had on Bratislava, while Jaromír Kovárník demonstrates that the past is never really the past in his archeological description of recently discovered mass graves (dating from 1809), discovered while constructing a hypermarket in Znojmo (Znaim).

The next group of essays focus on the larger geo-political implications of the Napoleonic wars. Nick Stark explores the promise and disappointment of potential French involvement in Ireland, and Andrzej Kosim discusses the palace coup in Sweden which occurred as a direct result of the political unrest created by the Napoleonic wars. In his contribution, Alasdair White offers a framework for understanding the creation of Belgium in post-Napoleonic

Europe. In the last essay Bill Chew explores the impact of the Congress of Vienna on the ending of the slave trade.

And rounding out the issue is (I believe) our first book review (by Alasdair White). I would like to include more book reviews in the future, so if you come across a noteworthy new or recent book on a Napoleonic era topic, please consider writing a review (3-5 pages in length). I hope that you will find these articles as enjoyable and informative as I have.

Wayne Hanley, Editor-in-Chief

List of Contributors

Matej Čapo, a native of Bratislava, is a graduate of the Department of History at Univerzita Komenského (Bratislava) with a specialty in the Napoleonic Wars, especially in relation to the territory of Central Europe. His 2017 dissertation earned the Rector's Award for an outstanding diploma thesis (Napoleonic Wars and Slovakia).

William L. Chew III recently retired as professor of history and associate dean at the Vesalius College in Brussels (Belgium). He holds a doctorate in Modern History from Universität Tübingen and has focused his research on imagological studies of French and American perceptions of each other in cultural and historical sources. He has authored or co-authored six books and numerous articles on a host of topics from history to travel literature and education. Versions of his papers were presented at the 15th and 16th Congresses of the INS (in Trier and Vienna).

Susan P. Conner is *professor emerita* of history and former-provost and vice president for academic affairs at Albion College in Albion Michigan. She holds a doctorate in history from Florida State University. A specialist in 18th- and 19th-century French history, she has done extensive research on gender roles and the social and political status of women in 18th- and 19th-century Europe. Conner is the author of *The Age of Napoleon (2004)* and has authored numerous book chapters and peer-reviewed articles.

Terry Crowdy has written fifteen books, including most recently his *Marengo: The Battle that Placed the Crown of France on Napoleon's Head* appearing in 2018. He has written widely on espionage and military deception subjects and has presented papers on the subject at the Raleigh Spy Conference and at the International Spy Museum in Washington DC. Crowdy lives in the English county of Kent. He is a member of Society of Authors and works for Historic Royal Palaces as the Fire and Emergency Planning Adviser.

Wayne Hanley is a professor of history at West Chester University (Pennsylvania) and holds a doctorate in modern European history from the University of Missouri-Columbia with a specialty in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Winner of the American Historical Association's 2000 Gutenberg-e Prize, he is author of *The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda, 1796-1799* and of numerous articles on historical and literary topics. He is also the editor of *Napoleonic Scholarship*.

Marian Hochel is an associate professor at the Department of Historical Sciences of Silesian University in Opava and a researcher of the National Heritage Institute in the Czech Republic. He is a member of the International Napoleonic Society. He received his Ph.D. in history at the Masaryk University in Brno (Czech Republic) and attended the École Normale Supérieure Lettres et Sciences Humaines in Lyon (France). He specializes in the history of

Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era especially with a view to cultural history, historical memory, cultural heritage and iconography of art.

Andrzej Kosim is a Polish scholar, specializing in the history of Sweden during the Napoleonic era. This paper is part of his larger forthcoming work from Librairie Historique Teissèdre, *Napoléon contre Castlereagh. Dans la toile d'araignée antinapoléonienne de Londres 1799-1822*.

Jaromír Kovárník is an associate professor of archeology at the University of Hradec Králové in the Czech Republic and author of more than a dozen articles on archeological topics from the Neolithic period to the modern era. version of his paper was presented at the 16th Congress of the International Napoleonic Society in Vienna in July 2018.

Balázs Lázár is a historian at the Museum and the Institute of Military History in Budapest. He is a specialist in the military art of the Napoleonic period and more particularly of the Habsburg army. He received his doctorate in history in 2012 from Eötvös Loránd University in Hungary with a dissertation on the military career of the Habsburg general Baron Pál Kray (1735-1804).

István Nagy-Luttenberger is the director of the Gróf Esterházy Károly Múzeum in Pápa, Hungary and is a specialist in 18th-century military history. He presented a version of this paper at the 16th Congress of the International Napoleonic Society in Vienna in July 2018.

Dennis W. Potts is an attorney practicing in Hawai'i and has argued cases before the state courts of California and Hawai'i, the U.S. District Court for the District of Hawai'i, the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, and the United States Supreme Court. He is also a fellow of the International Napoleonic Society and presented version of his paper at the 14th Congress of the INS in Brussels.

Attila Réfi is an Associate Research Fellow at Research Center for the Humanities, the Institute of Hungary, and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. An award-winning military historian, he received his doctorate in history from Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest) in 2009 for his dissertation "The Staff of Field Officers of the Imperial-Royal Hussar Regiments in the Age of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815)." A version of his paper was presented at the 16th Congress of the International Napoleonic Society in Vienna in July 2018.

Karl Jakob Skarstein is a Norwegian historian with a degree from the University of Bergen. He has published several popular history books for a wide audience, including *Major Battles: From Gaugamela to Fallujah*, the *War on the Sioux: Norwegians against Indians 1862-1863*, and *Norwegians in Foreign War Service, 1800-1900*. A version of his paper was

presented at the 16th Congress of the International Napoleonic Society in Vienna in July 2018.

Nicholas Stark is a doctoral candidate in history at Lehigh University (Pennsylvania) with a specialty in Franco-Irish revolutionary movements and a fellow of the International Napoleonic Society and an honorary member of the Napoleonic Society of Ireland. He is also an adjunct instructor at Union County College.

Alasdair White is a management consultant, journalist and university lecturer, specializing in performance management, managing people and leadership. He is the author of a half dozen books on management and Napoleonic history (especially Waterloo) and is a Fellow of the International Napoleonic Society. A version of his paper was presented at the 16th Congress of the INS (in Vienna).

David Wright is a search manager at Staffordshire Search and Rescue Team. When not saving lives, he the author of several books on the Württemberg military during the Napoleonic era and is an honorary fellow and distinguished scholar of the 1809 International Research Society. A version of his paper was presented at the 16th Congress of the International Napoleonic Society in Vienna in July 2018.

Napoleon and Germany: Louisa of Prussia Revisited¹

by William L. Chew III

On a chilly November day in 1805, Frederick William III, King of Prussia, and his lovely wife, Louisa, met for a dramatic encounter with Tsar Alexander I. Napoleon had advanced across the Rhine and was marching down the Danube, crushing Austrian resistance along the way. Austria, Russia and Prussia had just entered into an alliance designed to stop the French juggernaut, and the tsar wanted to pay homage to the memory of Frederick the Great before returning to St. Petersburg. That evening, Frederick William and Louisa met Alexander at Frederick's tomb in the garrison chapel at Potsdam, where they solemnized their pact. The way lit by smoking candles, Alexander and Louisa stepped into the dank crypt, holding hands, while Frederick William waited outside. The tsar then stooped to kiss the coffin of the famous warrior-king and swore never to desert his friends or Prussia.² Five years later, deserted by the gallant tsar, Prussia lay prostrate at the feet of imperial France, and the beautiful queen lay dead in her cold marble tomb.

Louisa was born Princess Luise Auguste Wilhelmine Amalie von Mecklenburg-Strelitz on 10 March 1776 in Hanover, Germany, in the *Palais an der Leinestrasse*. Both her paternal and maternal family

backgrounds were those of the middling German aristocracy. Her father, hereditary Prince Charles II Louis Frederick of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, was the son of Duke Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1708-1752) and Elisabeth Albertine, Princess of Saxony-Hildburghausen (1713-1761). First serving as Lieutenant-General in the Hanoverian army, and resident in Darmstadt from 1787-1794, in 1794 he succeeded his brother, who had died without male issue, as Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. The family had strong dynastic connections to England, for Charles Louis' sister, Sophie Charlotte, was the wife of King George III. Louisa's mother, Frederika of Hesse-Darmstadt (1752-1782), was the daughter of Imperial Lieutenant Field Marshal Prince George William of Hesse-Darmstadt (1722-1782) and Marie Louise Albertine of Leiningen-Heidesheim, frequently referred to by Louisa as "Princess George" (1729-1818). She died when Louisa was six, after the premature birth of her eleventh child. Two years after Frederika's death, Louisa's father married his first wife's younger sister, Princess Charlotte (1755-1785). That marriage was also of short duration, for Louisa's stepmother died a week before Christmas, just one year later, and young Louisa was sent off to Darmstadt to live

¹ From Anne Commire, *Women in World History*, vol. 13 (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 2001), 1E. Reproduced by permission (www.cengage.com/permissions).

² Constance Wright, *Louise, Queen of Prussia. A Biography* (London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1969), 85.

with her maternal grandmother in the “Old Palace” of that Hessian town.

A warm family atmosphere reigned at Princess George’s, and with grandmother’s relatively modest financial situation, the household was simple by prevailing noble standards. By all accounts Louisa enjoyed a happy childhood after the deaths of her mother and stepmother. She was a cheerful and very lively girl, which earned her the nickname *Jungfer Husch*, or “Little-Miss-in-a-Hurry.” Louisa had five siblings: two elder sisters, Charlotte (1769-1818) and Theresa (1773-1839); one younger sister, Frederika (1778-1814); and two younger brothers, George (1779-1860) and Charles (1785-1837), the latter by her step-mother.

Initially alone in Darmstadt with her sisters, in 1787 Louisa’s brothers arrived from Hanover to join the girls.³

Little stress was placed on Louisa’s education, and she and her sisters were given a Swiss governess, one Demoiselle Suzanne de Gélieu from Neufchâtel. While French - the universal language of the aristocracy and of diplomacy - was the

language of instruction, and polite French manners were cultivated, as at all 18th-century European courts, private conversations were often held in the regional German dialect. Thus, much of her correspondence is in rather old-fashioned French with frequent spelling errors, and she often mixed French and German. French language instruction aside, the curriculum also included some history, geography, and English. Louisa was a quite average, perhaps not overly diligent student, whose sense of her own faults is

revealed in at least one self-deprecating copybook entry: “Contents hastily scribbled on April, 22, age 13: Oh shame of shames! 1789.”⁴ Other copybooks contain little drawings and doodles, and sometimes Louisa was sent to bed without dessert, as punishment for not having studied hard enough.



Later, as queen, she was to realize her lack of formal education, especially in history, and make plans for a course of self-improvement. This included the establishment of an informal literary circle, and readings of Schiller, Goethe, Herder, Wieland, Jean Paul, Robertson, Gibbon,

³ Wright, 8-10.

⁴ qtd. in Heinrich Hartmann, *Luise, Königin von Preussen* (Moers: Steiger, 1981), 10.

and Hume. Still, she never became anything close to “intellectual.” Conversely, her education in the Protestant faith figured prominently, and early on she developed a deep, simple trust in God, as evident in her religion copybooks. Indeed, religion provided her with an important moral support for the rest of her days.⁵

Life in Darmstadt was pleasant and punctuated by occasional excursions to noble relatives scattered about Germany, or a ten-day trip to the Netherlands in the summer of 1791 - described by Louisa in a 34-page diary kept in French with her grandmother and sister Frederika. In July of 1792, Louisa and Frederika, properly accompanied by their governess, also traveled to Frankfurt to witness the coronation of Holy Roman Emperor Francis II. The formal ball was held at the residence of the Austrian ambassador, Prince Esterhazy, and Count Metternich (the later Austrian chancellor and master of congress diplomacy) chose none other than Louisa, an attractive young lady and a fine waltz partner, for the opening dance.⁶ But in early October, soon after the battle of Valmy, in which the French revolutionary forces turned the tide against the First Coalition, Louisa and her family fled Darmstadt in the face of advancing French troops. They moved to Hildburghausen, in Thuringia, to her sister Charlotte's, who had married Frederick, Duke of Saxony-

Hildburghausen, in 1785. Charlotte patronized the arts and sang well (the family called her *Singe-Lotte*) and thus concerts, dances, and gay masquerades brightened Louisa's stay at Hildburghausen.⁷ Soon joined by her father, Louisa remained there for six months. In March 1793 she returned to Darmstadt.

Louisa first met her future husband in Frankfurt on 14 March 1793. The Prussian king was seeking suitable wives for his two eldest sons, Crown Prince Frederick William and Prince Louis. On the 18th Frederick William II formally requested the hands of Princess George's granddaughters for his sons. While the Crown Prince initially had difficulties choosing between Louisa and her equally attractive younger sister, the couple was officially engaged on 24 April. Prince Louis was matched with Frederika. True to aristocratic form, the formalities were left in the hands of an accomplished diplomat and confidant of the king, the Marquese Girolamo Lucchesini.⁸ But Frederick William's service in the Prussian army, fighting in the coalition against revolutionary France, and court etiquette made it hard for the young couple to get to know each other, though the Crown Prince visited Louisa in Darmstadt as often as he could. In fact, between betrothal and marriage, Louisa had to let her

⁵ Silvia Backs, “Luise, Königin von Preussen.” Historische Kommission bei der bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ed., *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 15 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1987), 501.

⁶ Luise, Königin von Preussen, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen 1786-1810. Mit einer Einleitung von Hartmut Boockmann*, ed. Malve Gräfin Rothkirch (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1985), 8.

⁷ Wright, 12.

⁸ Luise, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 12.

grandmother read all letters addressed to her fiancé, to ensure their propriety. To circumvent this censorship, Louisa slyly added candid postscripts.⁹

Louisa was certainly an attractive wife-to-be. Soon renowned for her beauty, Louisa's physical attributes were described in minute detail by the famous period painter, Madame Vigée Le Brun. She was often compared to a Greek statue, and Madame de Staël, who met her in Berlin in 1804, was also struck by her comeliness.

Louisa was, in fact, very attentive to her personal appearance, used cosmetics to good effect, and knew how to clothe herself with elegance. Yet many contemporaries stressed that her beauty came from within. Frederick William's

memoirs describe a sweet-voiced, cheerful, humorous, often playful personality. But she had her little faults. Not very imbued with the Prussian spirit of order in daily life, she often slept till noon, was unpunctual and ate between meals (giving rise to occasional disputes with her husband). And she appears not to have

been immune to handsome and dignified men, her own letters indicating that she could be impressed by flattery. Her most celebrated virtue, fortitude in adversity, was not to be tested for some years. Louisa's own writings, however, indicate that she saw herself primarily as wife, parent, and mother of her people.¹⁰

On 13 December 1793, the young bride-to-be departed for Berlin. With her pleasant demeanor, natural charm, and beauty she

virtually came, saw, and took her subjects' hearts by storm. Draped in the fashionable "Directoire-style" gowns inspired by Greek antiquity, both revealing and flattering her gracious figure, she frequently flaunted the stiff court etiquette, e.g. choosing her own partner at masked balls. Both she and her

fiancé even used publicly the informal German form of address, the *Du*. One famous episode recounts her bending down to pick up a little girl (sent to declaim a poem in her honor) and kissing her. "From that moment on," Hartmann asserts, "everyone knew that Louisa would not only



⁹ Wright, 22.

¹⁰ Backs, 501; Hartman, 20; and Luise, *Aufzeichnungen*, 422-23.

be the Queen, but also the Mother of her people and fatherland.”¹¹

The official reception was held in Potsdam on the 21st, the wedding on Christmas Eve. The match was something of a contemporary sensation, since the spouses-to-be really did love each other, while in their social caste marriages were typically arranged purely for reasons of dynastic union. Wright described Louisa’s husband as “intelligent in practical affairs, kindhearted, conscientious, upright and hardworking. He detested luxury and prided himself on his reserve....”¹² True to his thrifty middle-class character, Frederick William had asked his father to donate to the poor the money previously earmarked for the illumination of Berlin. After the ceremonies, the young couple immediately moved into the relatively simple *Kronprinzenpalais*, as Louisa’s husband considered the Berlin Palace too ostentatious. With his reserve and her vivaciousness, most sources agree they complemented each other nicely.

Unfortunately, their six-week honeymoon was soon rudely interrupted by the call to duty. Frederick William had to join the Prussian troops intervening to preserve order in Poland after the Second Partition, and Louisa followed his movements on a map she had hung up in her room. His letters written during the campaign reveal a sensitive nature and sympathy for the plight of the common soldier, especially the wounded. Louisa shared this empathy for the situation of the unfortunate and was

later known by her subjects for her caring attitude. The campaign, however, was not successful (her husband complained of a miserable war and insufficient logistics) and Prussia withdrew by September 1794.

From their marriage to the death of the king in 1797, Louisa and her husband lived mostly in privacy. In 1794, their first child, a premature daughter, was delivered dead at birth, for Louisa had previously fallen down the stairs. In 1795 and 1797, Frederick William (the later Crown Prince, known as “Fritz”) and William (the future Kaiser) were born, and seven more pregnancies were to follow. Of ten children, three failed to survive infancy. Still, Frederick William noted that her pregnancies tended to be happy ones, and after each delivery she seemed to emerge physically fresh and rejuvenated. The children were, of course, largely brought up by a succession of governors and governesses, but both parents always took a keen interest in their education, monitoring the work of the tutors closely. Particular attention was paid to the education of the eldest son, as future successor, and Johan Peter Ancillon, noted historian and member of the Berlin Academy, was ultimately chosen by Louisa to oversee his instruction. Just as Louisa was a tender and loving mother, Frederick William was a caring and affectionate father, a real family man, quite a rarity among Hohenzollern monarchs. Louisa loved to horse around with the children on the floor, showing them how to do somersaults, and on Christmas, always

¹¹ Hartman, 20.

¹² Wright, 21.

spent alone with the family, only Frederick William was permitted to light the tree. Indeed, with his thrift and her cheer, they soon became the model of a happy, middle-class family.

Frederick William was excluded from affairs of state, and after Prussia concluded peace with France, at Basel (5 April 1795), his duties were of a routine military nature, involving regular spring troop maneuvers, the inspection of fortifications, and the like. The family's domestic routine was enlivened by occasional summer sojourns at the Oranienburg Palace, or visits with Louisa's father and grandmother. One of their favorite residences was the modest country seat Frederick William had built in 1795 at Paretz, near Potsdam, on the Havel River. Here they could escape the ostentation of Berlin, go for picnics and boat-outings, and visit the summer house on Peacock Island. Fischer-Fabian painted an idyllic picture of a couple

seen strolling arm in arm at the zoo, riding through the biting dust of troop reviews, traveling in their coach on arduous excursions to the most distant of provinces, and on jaunts with the children. They became the ideal of harmonious family life. In fact, it became fashionable to emulate them.¹³

But such private bliss could not last forever, for on 16 November 1797, the king died, and Louisa's husband mounted the

throne of the Hohenzollerns as Frederick William III.

Soon after Frederick William's accession, it became clear that his reign would be marked by a dramatic departure from the domestic policies of his father. First, he announced that the King would have to live on the income of the Crown Prince, and he and his wife would continue their residence in the modest *Kronprinzenpalais*. This was not just a simple reflection of Frederick William's thrifty middle-class character—as for example his short hair style and bourgeois trousers—but almost a fiscal necessity, given Prussia's deep debt, the financial legacy both of the last war and unsound budgetary policies. To get a better picture of the precise state of his realm, he embarked on an official five-week fact-finding mission through the provinces, accompanied by Louisa, as she frequently was to do throughout his reign. Convinced on various counts that profound reforms were in order, Frederick William proceeded first to abolish serfdom on crown estates, reform tariffs and taxation, and promote religious toleration. In addition, several committees were set up to consider possible other social and military reforms.¹⁴

In foreign affairs, Prussia remained largely on the sidelines of the coalition wars being fought by the monarchies against Napoleonic France. In the Treaty of Basel, his father had recognized the French occupation of the west bank of the Rhine

¹³ S. Fischer-Fabian, *Preussens Krieg und Frieden. Der Weg ins Deutsche Reich* (München: Droemer Knaur, 1981), 83.

¹⁴ Wright, 401.

and been promised compensation through the later secularization of ecclesiastical territory to the east of that river. Finally, Prussia had declared her neutrality in the conflict, a successful policy until 1805.

For Louisa, these first years of her husband's reign were fairly uneventful. She traveled throughout the realm with Frederick William, sometimes reviewing troops at his side; periodically visited her father, or other friends and relatives; and went to Bad Pyrmont, a famous spa near Hanover, to take the waters. A high point of this period was Louisa's meeting with Tsar Alexander I in Memel, in June 1802. Much impressed with his personality, which she considered very humane and kind-hearted (during the meeting, she was ill for a time, and he often sat by her bedside) she began an enthusiastic correspondence that lasted the following years. Indeed, during the later war with France, she was to put all her faith in his aid, calling him "Our saviour, our support, our hope."¹⁵ Yet by 1808, her rather naive image of Alexander as a staunch ally of Prussia was to be cruelly shattered.

The last five years of Louisa's life were dominated by the deep crisis of the Prussian monarchy. On 18 May 1804, Napoleon, the "vomit from hell"¹⁶—as she once called him—crowned himself Emperor of the French and embarked on an aggressive foreign policy. While another Franco-Prussian treaty (June 1, 1804) reconfirmed the neutrality of northern Germany, by September 1805, France had

violated Ansbach, an important holding of the Hohenzollern family. From this point on, Louisa began to take greater interest in politics and worked hard to boost her husband's fragile self-confidence during these trying times. She also increasingly took the side of the opposition in Berlin against foreign minister Christian von Haugwitz's francophile foreign policy: Indeed, as Schoeps notes, she became the central figure among the dissatisfied patriots. But Prussia needed allies, and on 3 November 1805 signed the Treaty of Potsdam with Austria and Russia, pledging first to mediate with France on behalf of the Third Coalition, but also to enter the war with 180,000 troops if Napoleon refused her good offices. The treaty was soon a dead letter, however, for by 2 December, Napoleon had occupied Vienna and defeated the combined Russo-Austrian armies at Austerlitz.

Meanwhile, French diplomatic pressure on Prussia was increasing. On 15 December, 1805, Napoleon and Prussian envoy Haugwitz signed the Treaty of Schönbrunn: Prussia was to obtain Hanover in exchange for Ansbach, Cleves and Neuchâtel, and the two nations were to join in an offensive-defensive alliance mutually guaranteeing each other's territory. Louisa pleaded with Frederick William not to ratify the treaty, and her popularity with the army soared. "It had become a cult," explains Wright, and "Louise had become the army's *alma dea*, as truly a patriotic symbol as the brazen Goddess of Victory riding in her chariot

¹⁵ qtd. in Wright, 152.

¹⁶ qtd. in Hartmann, 40.

atop the Brandenburg Gate.”¹⁷ By 15 February 1806, France had imposed on Prussia the so-called *Pariser Traktat*, forcing her to join the Continental System, an economic embargo against Britain. Frederick William reluctantly signed, though Louisa had tried to sway him not to, and Britain, already furious over the loss of Hanover, declared war on Prussia on 11 June. Prussia’s foreign policy had become deeply divided, for the francophobe minister, Karl August von Hardenberg, secretly began approaching Russia, while Haugwitz, again the dominant minister in Berlin, continued a pro-French policy.

On 1 April, Prussia commenced with the annexation of Hanover. But Napoleon reversed himself on 9 August, promising

Hanover to England, and Hardenberg’s policy gained the upper hand. Louisa fully supported the resulting Prussian mobilization, becoming the symbol of national fortitude and resistance against Napoleonic aggression, especially given the weakness and vacillation of her husband. An imprudent Prussian ultimatum, delivered on 26 September, insisted France withdraw behind the Rhine in two weeks. Napoleon, hardly to be deterred by such rash action, and well aware of the disarray of the Prussian army, struck with lightning speed. In less than a week, the conflict was virtually decided at the battle of Jena-Auerstädt (14 October 1806), in which 123,000 French inflicted 38,000 casualties on 116,500 Prussians, themselves only losing 12,000. Louisa received news of the



¹⁷ Wright, 87.

defeat on the 17th, in a famous dispatch written by the adjutant-general of the king, Colonel von Kleist: "The king lives—the battle is lost!"¹⁸ Frederick William offered peace, but Napoleon refused, wishing to march on Berlin, whereupon Frederick William decided to side with Russia and continue the struggle. But to no avail: On 27 October, Napoleon entered Berlin, and by 7 November, the last significant Prussian army had surrendered.

At the Convention of Charlottenburg (16 November 1806) Napoleon proposed a harsh armistice: French forces would occupy Prussia between the Oder and the Vistula, the Vistula fortresses would surrender, and the remaining Prussian troops be disbanded. Frederick William refused ratification and decided to fight on, prompting Napoleon to continue his advance. The royal family was forced to flee ever eastward, so as not to fall into French hands. By mid-December Louisa had fallen sick with typhus or typhoid for almost three weeks. Still weak and reconvalescing, she was forced to make the brutal winter trip from Königsberg to Memel, a small town of 6,000 in the northeast extremity of the realm, along the *Nehrung*, a narrow strip of land bordered by the sea and a large lake. And yet Heinrich Kleist could write his sister from Königsberg, shortly before the royal family's flight:

I cannot think of our Queen without being deeply moved. In this war ... she has gained more than she could from a lifetime of peace and happiness. She

has developed a truly royal character. She has grasped all the implications of this hour. She, who a short time ago had nothing better to do than to amuse herself with dancing or riding horseback, has gathered about her all the able men whom the King neglects and from whom our salvation must come. Yes, it is she who holds us together.¹⁹

At Preussisch-Eylau on 7-8 February 1807, under savage winter conditions, Russo-Prussian forces finally demonstrated that the French could be stopped, though all participants incurred heavy losses. After the battle, Louisa was approached by French General Bertrand, who hoped she might persuade Frederick William to make peace. Louisa instead urged Hardenberg—the new chief minister since April, to her great joy—to stand fast against Napoleon. Frederick William decided he would have to consult with Alexander first. Meanwhile, the Russian army commanded by General Bennigsen—whose dismissal Louisa had already recommended after Preussisch-Eylau—was decisively defeated at the Battle of Friedland (near Königsberg on 14 June 1807), and Memel was soon flooded with refugees and wounded Russian soldiers, whom Louisa characteristically made it her duty to help care for. Alexander subsequently broke the Bartenstein Convention—a recent renewal of the Treaty of Potsdam - by signing a separate peace with France on 21 June. This was clearly a betrayal of Prussia, which was now forced to beg for an armistice. Louisa

¹⁸ qtd. in Hartmann, 43.

¹⁹ qtd. in Wright, 140.

was directly involved in the negotiations that followed at Tilsit.

On 25 June 1807, Napoleon met Alexander alone for discussions on a raft in the Memel River, laying out his plan for the dismantling of Prussia and the division of the continent into French and Russian spheres of influence. All three monarchs met on 26 June, and a Franco-Prussian cease-fire was agreed to. Frederick William had written Louisa of his first meeting with Napoleon, noting the emperor's disapproval of Prussian policy, specifically that of Hardenberg. On 30 June, he sent a letter requesting her presence at Tilsit, with the hope she might have a moderating effect on Napoleon's demands.

Louisa arrived on 4 July. She was three months pregnant, still convalescent from another bout of typhoid, and worried about the health of an ill child she had left at home. Her only hope was that her beauty and personal charm might somehow sway the little Frenchman. According to Hartmann, the sole notion that the queen might be able to influence Napoleon favorably indicated the political bankruptcy of Frederick William's advisers. Indeed, most recent historians agree that Napoleon never intended any serious diplomatic discussion with Louisa at Tilsit. The meeting on 6 July was in fact a stage-managed show of public gallantry designed to give the lie to the slanderous comments of the French bulletins issued after Jena, in which Napoleon portrayed a meddlesome, war-mongering queen, whom

he admonished to return to her proper sphere: home, family and female toiletries. Napoleon said as much to Count Goltz, Prussian ambassador in St. Petersburg, on the morning of 7 July:

I just made polite small-talk with the queen, obliging me to nothing, for I am firmly decided to give the King of Prussia the Elbe as his western border. There will be no further negotiations, for I have already arranged everything with the Emperor Alexander.... The [Prussian] King owes his position exclusively to the chivalric devotion of that monarch, without whose intercession my brother Jérôme would be King of Prussia, and the current dynasty turned out.²⁰

Though Louisa's impact on the actual conditions were nil, she came away impressed with Napoleon's personality - as he did of hers. After Tilsit, she no longer heaped him with epithets of hate, and he stopped his personal attacks on her.

The terms of the Treaty of Tilsit, signed on 9 July 1807, devastated Prussia. She lost over half her territory—everything west of the Elbe and virtually all of Prussian Poland—and some five million inhabitants; she was occupied, saddled with an indemnity and forced to adhere to the Continental System against Britain; her army was capped at 42,000. The Treaty of Königsberg, signed three days later, stipulated that France would withdraw her

²⁰ qtd. in Hartmann, 50.

occupation force from Prussia once the war contribution (subsequently set at 120 million francs) was paid in full. Prussia had left the ranks of the great powers.

On 10 July, Frederick William and Louisa returned to Memel, and rumors were already going around Berlin that the king had abdicated. At this juncture, Freiherr Karl vom und zum Stein succeeded Hardenberg as chief minister. Stein's historical mandate was to be a thorough overhaul of the Prussian state (completed by Hardenberg), but his immediate attention was devoted to the task of dealing with the punitive French demands. Sheehan contends that the appointment, on *Louisa's* advice, of a man as difficult as Stein, provided strong evidence of Prussia's predicament.²¹ Yet another measure of Prussian desperation was Louisa's suggestion, in November, that she seek an interview with Napoleon in Paris, in another attempt at obtaining a reduction of the stupendous indemnity. Frederick William rejected the idea, sending other emissaries on the fruitless mission.

By 15 January 1808, the royal family could finally return to Königsberg, the French troops having evacuated western and eastern Prussia to the Vistula, following the partial Prussian fulfillment of the peace terms. Louisa somehow managed to resume her program of self-education, devoting particular attention to historical studies. In Memel she had already begun reading manuscript copies of the patriotic historian

Johann Wilhelm Süvern's lectures on Greek and Roman history, held at the University of Königsberg. Through him she also heard of the pedagogue Pestalozzi and later helped found a Pestalozzi school in Königsberg.²²

The remaining two and a half years of Louisa's life were overshadowed by heroic Prussian efforts to meet the exorbitant French pecuniary demands; the beginnings of a second round of domestic reforms designed, ultimately, to enable Prussia to return to the fold of the major powers; and intermittent attempts at organizing resistance against France. Thus, she supported chief minister Stein in his policy—against the opposition of Frederick William—of covertly preparing an insurgency against France while outwardly trying to meet Napoleon's demands. But Stein's plans were revealed to Napoleon in a captured letter, and by 24 November, the emperor had forced Frederick William to dismiss the minister.

So Louisa repeatedly pinned her hopes on Alexander, who had stayed in Königsberg for a few days, while *en route* to a French-sponsored congress of European powers. The tsar promised to intercede with Napoleon on behalf of Prussia. Yet at the Congress of Erfurt (27 September-14 October 1808) he only succeeded at inducing Napoleon to reduce the Prussian contribution by a paltry 20 million francs (with a slightly extended payment deadline) while French troops were to

²¹ James J. Sheehan, *German History, 1770-1866* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1989), 296.

²² Wright, 193.

evacuate Prussian territory by 3 December. On his way home, Alexander again stayed with the Prussian royal family, explaining his tactic of lulling Napoleon into the belief that he, Alexander, desired a rapprochement with France, thus buying time to strengthen Russian forces. Finally, he extended to Louisa and Frederick William a gracious invitation to St. Petersburg.

On 27 December, the party departed from Königsberg, arriving at their destination on 7 January 1809. At St. Petersburg, they were lavishly fêted, as pageants succeeded balls in a never-ending series, and the ladies were presented with elegant new Russian costumes. At the betrothal ceremony of Alexander's sister Catherine, a vast ice palace was even constructed on the Narva River. But amid all this pomp and splendor, Louisa failed to get the aid she desperately wanted from Alexander, finally realizing that no real help was to be expected from that quarter. By 20 January, Louisa and her family were back in Königsberg.

Prussia was becoming increasingly hard-pressed to make the payments demanded by France. Her national debt had virtually doubled since before Jena, rising from 55 million to 100 million talers. The cession of Silesia was even being considered, but Louisa sided with Finance Minister Hardenberg against this option. Meanwhile, Napoleon let it be known that further negotiations with the Prussian king could only be considered if he returned to

the capital, where he belonged. Thus, after three years of internal exile, in December 1809, Frederick William took his court back to Berlin. The festive entry took place on the 23rd, in the midst of throngs of subjects joyfully greeting the royal couple at the approaches to the town.

The years of crisis had clearly sapped Louisa's physical and psychological strength, and she was not destined to enjoy the surroundings of the early years of her reign for long. In late 1809 she should have gone to Bad Pyrmont for a cure, yet the budget would not permit it. Events had long prevented her from even visiting her beloved father, but on 25 June 1810, she finally accepted his invitation and left Charlottenburg for Neustrelitz. On the 30th, a planned family excursion was called off, because Louisa felt ill. During the next days, she was plagued by headaches, fever, an unremitting cough, and chest pains that would not subside. At first, her doctors were not overly concerned, for she had been bled and the fever had come down somewhat. Not until 16 July was the illness really taken seriously, for severe chest cramps had set in; and Frederick William was sent for on the 18th. He immediately dashed off from Sans Souci palace, accompanied by his sons Fritz and William. Louisa died around 9:00 am on 19 July, surrounded by most of her family and a few intimate friends. While the autopsy appears to have indicated pneumonia, legend soon had it that Louisa had died of a broken heart at the fate of her beloved Prussia.²³ She was interred in a mausoleum at Charlottenburg

²³ Luise, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* VII.

on 23 December 1810, the anniversary of her arrival in Berlin as a bride and her return there from exile. The tomb is decorated with an elegant recumbent statue by Christian Daniel Rauch, a protégé whom she had sent to the Berlin Art Academy.²⁴

As a central figure in Prussian and German national historical tradition, Louisa was very much idealized by both contemporaries and historians until as late as 1945—and popular or conservative-nationalist biographies continue in that vein. When she appeared in public during the preparations for the disastrous campaign of 1806, Fischer-Fabian writes, her subjects “perceived that this woman was the only man within the upper echelons of Prussian government.” The same author entitled a chapter introducing Frederick William III, “The Husband of Queen Louisa.” Boockmann tells us that many German children grew up with an image of Louisa with her sons Frederick William IV and William I, hung up in the family home. In 1943, when Griewank published an otherwise professionally edited collection of

her letters, he attempted to draw a historical parallel between Prussia under the Napoleonic threat and the beleaguered Third Reich, introducing Louisa as the quintessentially German woman and evoking her fortitude in misfortune.

Much of the patriotic myth surrounding Louisa in historical writing can be attributed to the uncritical reception of an ostensible letter to her father, supposedly dated Königsberg, April 1808, containing her so-called “political manifesto.” Serious recent scholars as Hartmann - whose work must rank as the standard biography of Louisa - or Countess Malve Rothkirch, have demonstrated the spurious nature of this most famous letter. Thus, while Louisa was largely forgotten after the defeat of Germany in 1945, recent scholarly biographers have all aimed at penetrating the myth to get at the real woman, to demystify while continuing to honor where honor is due, and to deepen the human dimension of a fascinating figure whose charm still reaches out over the centuries.

²⁴ Wright, 232.

The Agony and the Ecstasy: Marie Louise and The Birth of the King of Rome

by Susan P. Conner

“The child is perfectly well,” Napoleon wrote to Francis I, Emperor of Austria, on 20 March 1811.¹ He also noted that “the empress is as well as she can be in her state.”² Napoléon François Charles Joseph had come into the world weighing nine pounds and measuring twenty inches. Parisians, seated in the ubiquitous cafes at 9:20 in the morning or with their floor-to-ceiling windows cracked in the brisk March air, heard the cannon fire announcing the birth, but they did not know if the child of Napoleon and Marie Louise was a boy or a girl. The cannonade began the announcement: twenty-one salvos for a princess and one hundred-one for an heir. According to a contemporary, “One can only imagine with what anxiety the first cannon shots were counted. Deep silence prevailed until the twenty-first. But when the twenty-second boomed forth an explosion of applause and of cheering burst out.”³

Much is known about Napoleon and Marie Louise in what became the twilight years of his empire, although he was not aware of it at the time. This paper will review two complementary theses about Napoleon’s intentions. First and foremost, as has been

already argued by other historians, was his desire to situate France with the hereditary, long-term dynasties of Europe, certainly alongside the Hapsburgs and Romanovs. Second, as I will argue, was his intent to reconstruct France at least partially along the lines of the *ancien régime* when it came to weddings, imperial/royal births, and other celebrations. As we know, he was a perfectionist about ceremony and propaganda. He choreographed everything, but there was also a human side to Napoleon—and the birth of the King of Rome is an example. So, third, this essay will also review the obstetrical practices of the early nineteenth century, particularly as they applied to the birth of Napoleon’s only legitimate son and heir to the throne.

The story, as is well known, began years earlier when Josephine appeared unable to bear a son for Napoleon. Through Napoleon’s dozens of dalliances, flings and at least one political affair, he sired one illegitimate son: Charles, Count Léon. In 1809, he was awaiting the birth of his second: Alexandre Colonna-Walewska. Both of those sons he later recognized in his instructions to the executors of his *Last*

¹ “Birth of the King of Rome: Letter from Napoleon to Francis I, Austrian Emperor” as cited in <https://www.napoleon.org/en/history-of-the-two-empires/articles/birth-of-the-roi-de-rome-letter-from-napoleon-to-francis-i-austrian-emperor/>. Last accessed 21 May 2018.

² “Birth of the King of Rome”

³ Baron C.-F. de Méneval, *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte: The Court of the First Empire*, 3 vols. (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1910), 2: 622.

Will and Testament.⁴ In order to firmly entrench his dynasty and legitimize himself as a hereditary leader in Europe, he needed a marriage alliance of import and a son. Josephine was eventually aware of the machinations, and in December, a *Sénatus-Consultum* declared their marriage null. Bluntly stated by the Emperor, he “need[ed] a womb.”⁵

Napoleon had three options, according to his councilors: the youngest sister of Tsar Alexander I of Russia, the daughter of Francis I of Austria, and a Saxon princess. The first two had geopolitical advantages, so Napoleon proceeded with negotiations first with Russia, and finally with Austria.⁶ Both negotiations were rife with complications. Tsar Alexander and his family viewed the marriage alliance as a *mésalliance* and habitually stalled. To the Russians, Napoleon was a Corsican upstart, but they also needed a European ally. In the case of

the Hapsburgs of Austria, they had been forced to flee from French troops and had been dealt two devastating defeats and humiliating treaties. Francis I’s daughter, Marie Louise, had been reared on a diet of potently anti-French sentiments and games. She reported to Napoleon’s private secretary C.-F. Méneval later that “the favorite games of her brothers and sisters

consisted in setting in a row a troop of little wooden or waxen figures, which represented the French army, at the head of which they put the blackest and ugliest figure. They used to stab it through and through with pins, and heap insults on its head.”⁷ To her dearest friend she wrote that words of the Emperor’s divorce were on everyone’s lips, but she did not believe that she would be

solicited as the new empress of France. After all, Napoleon would fear rejection, and her father was too good ever to place her in that position.⁸ She was incorrect in



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

⁴ *Napoleon’s Last Will and Testament: A facsimile edition of the original document, together with its codicils, appended inventories, letters and instructions, preserved in the French National Archives* (New York: Paddington Press, 1977), 29, 104.

⁵ Alan Schom, *Napoleon Bonaparte* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1998), 543.

⁶ Andrew Roberts, *Napoleon: A Life* (New York: Viking, 2014), 538-39.

⁷ Méneval, *Memoirs*, 2: 622.

⁸ Two letters dated 10 January 1810, *Correspondance de Marie Louise, 1799-1847: Lettres*

her assessment; and when negotiations with Russia proved too ponderously slow, she became, as she told Méneval, a “victim who was sacrificed to the Minotaur.”⁹

stripped of her Austrian clothing including her under garments and was required to send back anything she had brought with her. Picture her: She was naked, alone,



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Although Napoleon, as a revolutionary, renounced the *ancien régime*, and harkened back to Charlemagne and the Romans for his ancestry, he knew that the customs of the ruling families of Europe (even *ancien régime* France) should be honored and practiced. Following the model set for Marie Antoinette, when Marie Louise reached the border with France, she was

barely nineteen years old, and traded off in a political arrangement. In return, she was given her French trousseau and scores of gifts, including floral bouquets and jewels. Then, her one Austrian lady-in-waiting and her dog were also repatriated to Austria.¹⁰ But, Napoleon also wrote letters to her until she reached Compiègne, where he awaited her arrival. As he had not yet met

intimes et inédites à la Comtesse de Colloredo et à Mlle de Poutet depuis 1810 Comtesse de Grenneville (Vienna: Charles Gerold fils, 1887), 141 and 143.

⁹ Méneval, *Memoirs*, 2: 622.

¹⁰ Madame Veuve du Général Durand, *Mémoires sur Napoléon, l'Impératrice Marie-Louise et la Cour des Tuileries, avec des notes critiques faites par le prisonnier de Sainte-Hélène* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1828), 32.

her in person, the letters were charming, filled with anecdotes, and closed with “a thousand regards at your feet, and a sweet kiss upon your charming hand.”¹¹ Even later in their marriage, there were no searingly passionate letters like the ones he had written to Josephine in his youthful infatuation.

When it came to the formal wedding, Napoleon’s confidant on St. Helena, Emmanuel-Dieudonné, Comte de las Cases, reported that the Emperor again designed it after the “forms and conditions of that of Marie-Antoinette, whose contract was adopted as a model.”¹² No expense was spared; no dignitary was refused entrance. It was not so long a time from 1804 and his coronation to the spring of 1810, and Napoleon had etiquette, propriety, opulence, and legitimacy on his mind. Fountains were erected in the parks, festivities were planned, and fireworks colored the night skies. Three thousand legs of mutton and one thousand sausages were distributed to the Parisian poor, and Napoleon encouraged veterans of his wars to marry at the same time as his celebration. He dowered them with six hundred *francs* each.¹³ Following the civil ceremony on 1 April, a religious ceremony took place in the Louvre on 2 April. *Le*

Moniteur reported: “Here again it is impossible to do justice to the extraordinary magnificence of this imposing occasion. Pen and pencil can describe but faintly the majestic order, the admirable regularity, the blaze of diamonds, the beauty of a brilliant illumination, the gorgeous dresses, and above all the noble ease, the indefinable grace, and perfect elegance *which have always characterized the court of France.*”¹⁴

In spite of her earlier trepidations about Napoleon and her resignation about being forced to marry him as a political pawn, Marie Louise wrote glowing letters to her father. She noted that Napoleon had been completely solicitous, doted on her completely, and surrounded her with gentle and kind companions and members of the family. She wrote: “I feel almost at home with him; he loves me sincerely, and I return his affection. I am sure that I shall have a happy life with him. My health continues [to be] good.”¹⁵ Within a week, she also wrote: “I am able to tell you, my dear father, that your prophecy has come true: I am as happy as I can be. The more friendship and confidence I give my husband, the more he heaps upon me attentions of every kind.”¹⁶ After her honeymoon travels, she continued to extoll

¹¹ *Napoleon’s Letters to Marie Louise: With a Foreward and Commentary by Charles de la Roncière* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935), 16.

¹² Emmanuel Dieudonné, Count de las Cases, *Memoirs of the Life, Exile, and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon*, 4 vols. (New York: Worthington, Co., 1890), 2: 200.

¹³ Roberts, *Napoleon*, 542.

¹⁴ *Le Moniteur*, quoted in Imbert de Saint-Amand, *The Project Gutenberg EBook of The Happy*

Days of Marie Louise, chapter XIV: “The Religious Ceremony,” n.p. (emphasis mine).

¹⁵ *Letters from Marie Louise to Francis I of Austria*, as quoted in *The Project Gutenberg EBook of The Happy Days of Marie Louise*, Chapter XI: “Compiègne” and Chapter XIX: “The Birth of the King of Rome,” n.p.

¹⁶ *Letters from Marie Louise to Francis I of Austria*.

Napoleon's virtues: "I assure you, dear papa, that people have done great injustice to the Emperor. The better one knows him, the better one appreciates and loves him."¹⁷

In the months ahead, Napoleon became more attached to Marie Louise, often taking less reasoned interest in what was transpiring around him. The French were mired in the Peninsula; Napoleon's rescission of the Donation of Charlemagne had led to his excommunication and the arrest of the Pope; the Continental System was continually being breached; Holland was annexed; and he had yet to tame the English leopard. According to his closest associates and those at court, Napoleon believed he was at his zenith. He told Madame Claire de Vergennes de Rémusat: "I want to force every king in Europe to build a large palace for his use in Paris. When an emperor of the French is crowned, these kings shall come to Paris, and they shall adorn that imposing ceremony with their presence and salute it with their homage."¹⁸ With his over-riding confidence, Napoleon never left the side of Marie Louise from July 1810 until September 1811. It was in July that Napoleon's doctor had told the Emperor that the Empress was pregnant. Eventually the Senate and the public received notification in November when they were

sure that the child was safely along. In one of Napoleon's more candid moments, he reported that when he made love to her the first time, "she liked it so much that she asked me to do it again."¹⁹

Initially, Marie Louise carried on her daily regimen of painting, embroidery lessons, music, and horse-back riding. In fact, she often accompanied Napoleon on the hunt, but generally in a carriage, although she had learned to ride both side-saddle and astride like an "amazon." There were concerts, theatre, card playing, and other diversions as well.²⁰ By November, Napoleon forbid her to dance, ride a horse, and fatigue herself with the incessant and large receptions.²¹

As the months progressed, Napoleon selected those who would surround his heir, including a nurse who was known for her "exuberant health and naturally curly hair" and a governess of the *Maison des Enfants* which was modeled after an institution of the *ancien régime* by the same name. She was Madame Louise Charlotte Françoise de Montesquiou, and she had been unanimously nominated because she came from one of the oldest and most illustrious families in France. She was impeccably mannered, pious, and always devoted to her task, in this case the imperial son.²² There were two vice-governesses, a

¹⁷ *Letters from Marie Louise to Francis I of Austria*.

¹⁸ Claire Elisabeth de Vergennes de Rémusat, as quoted in Christopher Herold, *The Age of Napoleon* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), 292.

¹⁹ Alan Palmer, *Napoleon and Marie Louise: The Emperor's Second Wife* (New York: St. Martin's, 2001), 99.

²⁰ Palmer, *Napoleon and Marie Louise*, 110.

²¹ Jules Bertaud, *Marie-Louise, Femme de Napoléon I^{er}* (Paris: Amiot Dumont, 1952), 79.

²² Louis Fauré, "l'Histoire de 'Maman Quiou,'" *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, historique, littéraire et scientifique du Gers*, 79 (no. 3, 1978), 366.

squire, a doctor, a number of female staff who kept the nursery and handled clothing, monitors, valets, and a maître d'.²³ They were all confirmed prior to the birth of the King of Rome. Napoleon also envisaged parks that needed to be built for promenades with the baby, as well as a palace for him on the heights of Chaillot overlooking the Seine.²⁴ The palace was to overshadow Versailles and all of the palaces of the monarchs of Europe.

On the evening of 19 March 1811, Louise Antoinette Lannes, Duchesse de Montebello, the Empress's *dame d'honneur*

(lady-in-waiting), announced that Marie Louise had gone into labor. Pages were sent to gather the court for the birth, including the Emperor's family, grand dignitaries, and ladies and gentlemen of the court. Partially mimicking royal *accouchements* during the *ancien régime*, Napoleon was collecting an entourage in the Tuileries to witness the birth. They included the Duchess of Montebello, Jeanne Charlotte du Luçay, Mesdames Durand and Ballant, ladies-in-waiting, ladies of the bedchamber, ladies who announced visitors, other staff, and Madame Blaise. The Emperor, his mother and sisters, and two physicians,



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

²³ Bertaud, *Marie Louise*, 81-82.

²⁴ Bertaud, *Marie Louise*, 81.

Jean-Nicolas Corvisart and his colleague Bourdier, were in the next room.²⁵ In total, there were 22 persons in the Empress's chamber along with the others.²⁶ For all intents and purposes, on his guest list, he only left out the fish-wives who had witnessed the birth of Marie-Antoinette's children.

When the birth did not occur as expected, according to the obstetrician Antoine Dubois, Napoleon sent the gathered assemblage away at 5:00 a.m. He had already supplied the entourage with wine, punch, meats, chocolate, and fruit, but nothing more was occurring. They had placed their wagers on the sex of the child, played party games, and otherwise kept themselves occupied for nearly the entire evening and night.²⁷ When they were gone, Napoleon retired to take a bath, having been assured that the contractions had ended and Marie Louise was finally sleeping. According to Napoleon's private secretary, only an hour transpired between Napoleon's bath and when Marie Louise's contractions began painfully and with frequency. Dubois "suddenly opened the door and, in a great state of dismay, announced that the first states of *accouchement* were giving him the greatest anxiety."²⁸ The child was going to be a breeched birth, and Dubois wanted additional physicians called to advise him. Napoleon was adamant that he had hired Dubois because he trusted his judgment

and skills, and no additional physicians needed to be recalled. Dubois protested that "this was one of the least frequent and most dangerous cases."²⁹ His protests were to no avail. By this time, however, it was a very painful scene, both in reality for Marie Louise and by empathy, for those who were on-lookers. Ultimately, the birth took 26 minutes after very prolonged labor.³⁰

What did all of this mean? By the early Nineteenth Century, mid-wives or *sages-femmes* frequently delivered the babies of the middling classes. For the upper classes and royalty, the male dominated professions of *médecin* and *accoucheur* (obstetrician) dominated. In general, mid-wives were forbidden to use any medical implements, such as forceps, in their deliveries; and they often manually dilated the cervix gently and firmly with their hands, so that a breeched-birth child could be turned prior to delivery. Often their birth rates were higher than the loftier medical professions because they avoided most complications and infections. An obstetrician, on the other hand, did not practice as mid-wives did. A number of devices for dilating the cervix had been developed over time, including various metal instruments which often caused lacerations leading to infections and potential death. The obstetrician could also try to extract the child by drawing down on the feet of the inverted child and pulling it through the birth canal by its feet. The

²⁵ Saint-Amand, *The Happy Days of Marie Louise*, Chapter XIX: "The Birth of the King of Rome," n.p.

²⁶ Durand, *Mémoires*, 77.

²⁷ Schom, *Napoleon*, 179.

²⁸ Méneval, *Mémoires*, 2: 729.

²⁹ Méneval, *Mémoires*, 3: 729.

³⁰ Durand, *Mémoires*, 76.

method was simply called traction. In a difficult birth, the obstetrician had to weigh the odds. If the mother might die, he could use what were called crochets and hooks to “break up and remove the body of an impacted fetus” to save the mother. If the mother died, and the child was yet unborn, he could perform an immediate caesarian section to save the child.³¹ Dubois wanted none of those complications.

As Dubois weighed the odds, Napoleon admonished the obstetrician, saying: “Above all save the mother.”³² The Emperor threw on his robe and rushed to where Marie Louise was in labor to comfort her and give her words of reassurance. She was already not only in terrible pain, but in fear for her life. According to Méneval, “she was struck with terror, and cried out that they meant to sacrifice her.”³³ Napoleon had already told Dubois, “think only of the mother.... Imagine she's some shopkeeper's wife in the Rue Saint Denis, that's all I ask of you. Act as if you are delivering the son of a cobbler.”³⁴ According to observers, Dubois regained his courage and went about his business of delivering the child with additional help of the doctors who had been summoned again. His choice was not to attempt turning the child and to use forceps, which frightened the Empress even more. According to one biographer, “mercifully the Empress at last drifted into

unconsciousness.”³⁵ In the meanwhile, Napoleon left the room briefly to send his pages to retrieve all of the observers who should be present at the birth.

Just after 8:00 a.m., the King of Rome was born, but he did not appear to be breathing. His head showed small lacerations from the forceps, his face was red, and he did not cry. According to some sources, the doctors immediately turned to aid Marie Louise and placed the child on a blanket on the parquet floor because they did not believe he would survive.³⁶ Other sources recount the valiant efforts of Madame de Montesquiou, his future governess, in the seven minutes when they did not know if Napoleon's heir would live. She lifted him up, cleaned him, continually rubbed him, gave him a few drops of brandy, and wrapped him in warm towels. Finally the King of Rome uttered his first cry and his chest showed signs of breathing.³⁷ According to another of Napoleon's valets, “The Emperor rushed from the Empress's arms to embrace this child, whose birth was for him the last and highest favor of fortune, and seemed almost beside himself with joy, rushing from the son to the mother, from the mother to the son, as if he could not sufficiently feast his eyes on either.” As Napoleon held his son high for everyone to see, he could not help himself, stating exuberantly to his valet: “Well,

³¹ Janet Isaacs Ashford, “A History of Accouchement Forcé; 1550-1985,” *Birth* 13 (no. 4, December 1986), 241-49.

³² Méneval, *Memoirs*, 2: 729.

³³ Méneval, *Memoirs*, 2: 730.

³⁴ Saint-Amand, *Happy Days*, Chapter XIX, n.p. and Lucian Regenhogen, *Napoleon a dit*:

Aphorisms, Citations et Opinions (Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres, 1996), 180.

³⁵ Palmer, *Napoleon and Marie Louise*, 111.

³⁶ Charles-Eloi Vial, *Marie Louise* (Paris: Parrin, 2017), 96.

³⁷ Schom, *Napoleon*, 580.

Constant, we have a big boy! He is well made to pinch ears for example.”³⁸

The following day, *Le Moniteur* reported on the Empress’s difficult birth in more detail than one would have expected, as well as the health of the child and mother and the ceremonial observances that had already taken place. The birth certificate had been confirmed by dozens of dignitaries and members of the family; the King of Rome had already received a private baptism conducted by his great uncle; and festivities abounded.³⁹ Napoleon also told Madame de Montesquiou, the child’s governess, “Madame, I confide to you the destiny of France. Make my son a good Frenchman and a good Christian.”⁴⁰ Through his marriage to Marie Louise, Napoleon noted that the King of Rome’s bloodline was impressive —Romanov, Hapsburg, Hanoverian, Bourbon—and, of course, the new dynasty of France.⁴¹ Etiquette had fallen under the mandates of the *Etiquette du Palais Impérial* since 1808, when everything from formal evening meals (the *grand couvert*) had been reinstated to the type of access Napoleon would allow to

himself. It had been made more restrictive than under Louis XVI. In 1800, Napoleon had declared: “The Revolution is over; I am the Revolution.” In some ways, his comment was accurate; however, in other ways, he, his wife and son were also revisiting the *ancien régime*, as Napoleon needed it to have been and according to his version.

³⁸ Louis Constant-Wairy, *Memoirs of Constant, First Valet de Chambre of the Emperor on the Private Life of Napoleon, His Family, and His Court*, 3 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1895), 3: 177.

³⁹ *Le Moniteur* (21 March 1811) quoted in “The Roi de Rome’s birth is announced in The *Moniteur*, 21 March 1811,” Napoleon.org. Last accessed 18 May 2018.

⁴⁰ Regenbogen, *Napoleon a dit*, 181.

⁴¹ “Through his mother’s brother-in-law, he was related to the Romanovs, through his mother to the Hapsburgs, through his uncle’s wife to the Hanoverians and through his mother’s great-aunt to the Bourbons.” See Roberts, *Napoleon*, 565.

A Career with an Unfair Ending: The Life and Military Activity of the Austrian Lieutenant General Baron Joseph Meskó de Felsőkubin (1762-1815)

by Attila Réfi

In my paper, I wish to present the career of Joseph Meskó, who was one of the most outstanding, but now virtually forgotten hussar officers in the Hungarian and Austrian history, and who excelled in higher commanding ranks, too. I will pay special attention to the unlucky end of his career, which happened in August 1813 during.

During the Battle of Dresden, which was considered the one of the most important preludes to the Battle of Leipzig, an unfortunate event occurred for the Habsburg army, a mostly misjudged event that would have a fairly great echo in the epoch. The incident took place on the

second day of the battle (27 August 1813), when, according to a widespread and simplified narrative, the division on the left wing of the Allied army led by Lieutenant General Joseph Meskó was captured by the French.¹ This was a rare occurrence, when a whole Imperial-Royal higher unit was taken prisoner by enemy forces and perhaps the most famous such event since Ulm in 1805. Moreover, it was an incident, when virtually an entire army had to surrender to an enemy, thanks to a brilliant maneuver of Napoleon and the catastrophic Imperial-Royal warfare. Always such cases necessarily made many waves and the concerned commander had been stigmatized virtually forever.² In our

¹ See for example Constantin Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich, enthaltend die Lebensskizzen der denkwürdigen Personen, welche 1750 bis 1850 im Kaiserstaate und in seinen Kronländer gelebt haben*, vol. XXXV (Vienna: Druck und Verlag der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1877), 313; and Antal Zichy, *Gróf Széchenyi István életrajza, 1896–1897* [*Biography of Count István Széchenyi, 1896–1897*], vol. I (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1896), 55; and even the relevant documents of the Old Field Files [Alte Feldakten] in the Kriegsarchiv department of Austrian State Archives are called 'The capture of Division Meskó' (Gefangennehmung der Division Mesko). See Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Austrian State Archives, hereafter ÖstA), Kriegsarchiv [hereafter KA], Alte Feldakten [Old Field Files, hereafter AFA], Karton-Nr. 1529, 594-610.

² The army in Germany was nominally under the command of the Archduke Ferdinand, but actually led by Lieutenant General Karl Mack von

Leiberich, who had been appointed chief of staff and it was successfully surrounded by Napoleon *en route* to the heart of the Southern German territories after two minor battles. Thus, on 17 October 1805, Mack was forced to sign a capitulation agreement, and according to it he will be handed over the city until 20 October, and approximately 25,000 soldiers became French war prisoners. Such as the disaster in Ulm became one of the most shameful events of the history of the Habsburg armies. Mack, after lengthy proceedings, was sentenced to be a prisoner in a castle in 1807 and stripped him of rank and all honors. Soon, however, he was released from the jail obtaining an imperial pardon. He was rehabilitated officially in 1819 and it also restored his rank and all honors. At the same time his name has been synonymous with the defeat of Ulm forever. See Ernst Rainer Gramm, "Der unglückliche Mack: Aufstieg und Fall des Karl Mack von Leiberich" (Vienna: Universität Wien, 2008) [Doctoral Dissertation], 490, 492, 545, 547, 570, 574, and 576.

opinion, however, the Dresden incident is by no means considered disgraceful unlike Ulm. At first, we might think that it was again the usual blundering of an untalented Imperial-Royal general, who had not been deserved his position. However, examining both the events and the commander's career, we would see very clearly that it was a very different case.

As a member of an old Hungarian noble family, Joseph Meskó of Felsőkubin, later Baron and Imperial–Royal Lieutenant General, was born on 27 January 1762, in the northeastern part of Hungary, in Erdőtarcsa (Nógrád County). The firstborn child of János Meskó and Johanna Gedey had been initially educated at home by a governess, then he had been sent to the Lutheran Grammar School in Sopron at the age of ten. However, one year later, he went to the Grammar School in Pressburg (present-day Bratislava), where he had studied for four years. Subsequently he studied philosophy, theology, and law in Calvinist College of Sárospatak.³ Therefore we can see that we cannot speak of a "stupid Hussar" in regard of him.

At first he wanted to be a lawyer, but later he decided to be a soldier.⁴ Thus, on 1 November 1779, as a paying cadet he joined an imperial-royal hussar regiment, which was later became the 8th Hussar Regiment

and whose owner was then Lieutenant General Count Dagobert Sigmund Wurmser. He rose relatively fast through the ranks, thus he became a Corporal on November 1, 1783, then Second Lieutenant on 1 October 1787.⁵ He was assigned a special task and as a leader of three corporals and thirty men he was personally responsible to protect the great general of the age, Baron Gideon Ernst von Loudon during the last Turkish War between 1788 and 1791. In addition, he was given a secret command from higher ranks that, if the Field Marshal in his reckless manner tried to venture too close to the enemy, he had to stop him, even by force.⁶

On 1 February 1790 he was transferred as *Second Rittmeister* (namely second Cavalry Captain) to the then Hadik Hussar Regiment, which was later got the military ordinal number 6. Here he performed his first truly significant heroic deeds and these deeds had founded his reputation. After the outbreak of the war against France he carried out his first famous exploit on 30 April 1792 in Austrian Netherlands, near Quiévrain (in today's Belgium), when as the part of the vanguard of the Imperial–Royal Army he caught up the French rear-guard and captured 11 cannons and over 1,000 people, as well as significant amount of food.⁷ On 16 May 1793 he became

³ Hungary, National Széchényi Library, Department of Manuscripts, Quart. Germ. 1294, *Kurze Darstellung der Lebensgeschichte des Generalen Baron Mesko geschrieben blos für die Nachkommenschaft seiner eigenen Familie* [hereafter *Memoirs of Meskó*], 2-4.

⁴ *Memoirs of Meskó*, 5.

⁵ ÖStA, KA, Musterlisten und Standestabellen [hereafter MLST], Karton-Nr. 7624 and 7591.

⁶ "B. Meskó József, " ["B(aron) Joseph Meskó,"] *Magyar Néplap* [*Hungarian Peoples Paper*] (Pest), 31 October 1857: 694-95.

⁷ *Memoirs of Meskó*, 72-4; and "B. Meskó József," *Magyar Néplap* (Pest), 4 November 1857: 703.

Premier Rittmeister (namely First Cavalry Captain).⁸ On 15 September of the same year, after the Battle of Courtray (Kortrijk, Belgium), when the tired Imperials were attacked by a 10,000-strong French column, he and his Hussars withheld them until the main force regrouped.⁹ On 29 April 1794 he captured a colonel, several other officers and 270 men near Mouscron (Belgium).¹⁰ During the 1796 campaign, Lieutenant General Pál Kray, who was the most excellent Hungarian General in the era, noticed Meskó's courage and talent and personally recommended his promotion or honors.¹¹ Meskó

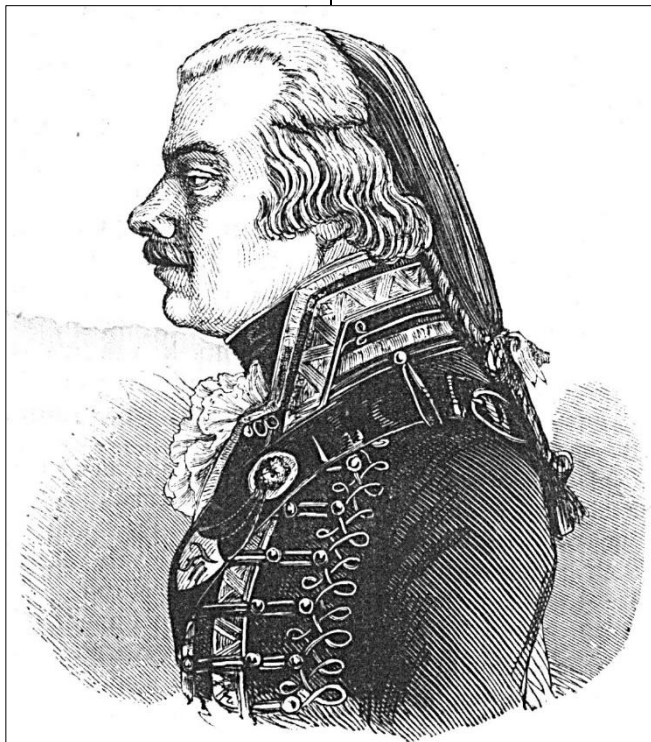
eventually was appointed Third Major on 31 August 1797.¹² On May 1, 1798 he was transferred with his whole 3rd Major-division as Second Major to the newly founded 7th Hussar Regiment, whose owner

became Lieutenant General Prince Johann of Liechtenstein from 1801.¹³

On 6 April 1799, on the day after the victorious Battle of Magnano he defeated the rear-guard of the enemy, captured its hospital and supplies as well as a wounded

French general at Isola della Scala (near Venice).¹⁴ On 17 May 1799 the garrison of Casale Monferrato in Piedmont was forced to surrender by him, then he occupied the city and its citadel.¹⁵ In April 1800, he proposed and then made an attack against the French positions at a height of more than 2,000 meters (7,000 feet), which

included 1,300 soldiers, a reinforced artillery battery with 19 cannons, a hospital and a post office on the Pass of the Mont-Cénis in the French Alps. The daring venture took place after several days of



Baron Joseph Meskó

⁸ ÖstA, KA, MLST, Karton-Nr. 7591.

⁹ "B. Meskó József," *Magyar Néplap* (Pest), 4 November 1857: 702-03; and Gaston Bodart, *Militär-historisches Kriegs-Lexikon (1618–1905)* (Vienna, Leipzig: C. V. Stern, 1908), 279.

¹⁰ *Memoirs of Meskó*, 95-6; and Bodart, *Militär-historisches*, 287.

¹¹ Constantin Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich, enthaltend die Lebensskizzen der denkwürdigen Personen, welche 1750 bis 1850 im Kaiserstaate und in seinen*

Kronländer gelebt haben, vol. XVII (Vienna: Druck und Verlag der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1867), 424. Kray was appointed Field Marshal in 1799.

¹² See ÖstA, KA, MLST, Karton-Nr. 7591.

¹³ ÖstA, KA, MLST, Karton-Nr. 7591.

Liechtenstein was appointed General of the Cavalry in 1808 and Field Marshal in 1809.

¹⁴ *Memoirs of Meskó*, 143-44.

¹⁵ *Memoirs of Meskó*, 179.

preparation. Meskó created a detachment of 1,200 men with Grenzers (border guards) and infantry, and he had forged a pair of iron hooks for every soldier as a kind of contemporary climbing equipment, furthermore the troops carried 50 large sleighs for the easier transport of the expected loots. On 6 April, at midnight four separate teams started into a dense fog on various inaccessible and unprotected routes (or so believed by the French) where was a constant danger of avalanche because of the spring thaw. It was no surprise that more people had fallen, and 30 soldiers had to turn back since they could not endure the ordeal. Finally, they came close to the French positions after 17 hours of climbing, and then they attacked them after a few hours of rest. This charge was totally surprise for the French, who practically did not resist.¹⁶

Subsequently Meskó excelled himself in the Battle of Marengo on 14 June, and then in several other battles and skirmishes in the same year.¹⁷ He became Lieutenant Colonel on 15 September 1800, then Colonel on 26 November and after that he was appointed commander of the 7th Hussar Regiment. On 18 August 1801, he was awarded with the Knight's Cross of the Military Order of

Maria Theresa and then he became a Hungarian Baron in 1804.¹⁸

At the beginning of the War of the Third Coalition in 1805, he was transferred with his regiment to Bavaria, where his troops were deployed to the Corps of Lieutenant General Kienmayer. However, soon the French invaded Bavaria and Mesko was forced to retreat toward Munich along his division, then to Mühlendorf am Inn, where he served as a vanguard of the division.¹⁹ At the end of October his forces were strengthened by 800 infantry troops and four cannons and Meskó under the command of Lieutenant-General Count Maximilian von Merveldt marched through Salzburg and Vöcklabruck to Windischgarsten and occupied the region's valley and the Klaus and Steyrling Passes. His task was twofold: first to cover the retreat of Archduke John from Tirol and, secondly, to create opportunities for joining him.²⁰

Meanwhile, French general Auguste de Marmont carried out a successful attack against the Roschofsky brigade at Altenmarkt and then he advanced toward Leoben with an almost 18,000-strong force. All of these developments forced Mesko to bring back his formerly detached troops. At

¹⁶ *Memoirs of Meskó* 196-219; and "B. Meskó József," *Magyar Néplap* (Pest), 4 November 1857: 703.

¹⁷ The Piedmontese Republic that existed between 1798 and 1799 was abolished in the summer of 1799 as a result of the successful advance of the Imperial-Royal forces.

¹⁸ ÖstA, KA, MLST, Karton-Nr. 7591; and ÖSTA, KA, Archiv des Militär-Maria Theresien-Ordens (hereafter MMThO) IV. M. 72; and "B.

Meskó József," *Magyar Néplap* (Pest), 7 November 1857: 710; and Béla Kempelen, *Magyar nemes családok* [*Hungarian Noble Families*] vol. VII (Budapest: Grill, 1913), 164.

¹⁹ *Memoirs of Meskó*, 271.

²⁰ *Geschichte des k.k. Hußaren-Regimentes Nr. 7 von dessen Errichtung im Jahre 1798 bis Ende 1855* (Vienna: Carl Gerolds Sohn, 1856), 5-6; and *Memoirs of Meskó*, 275-76.

the same time two divisions of the Meskó regiment brilliantly fought back the French troops sent by Marmont from Altenmarkt through Admont to the back of the Imperial-Royal forces. Subsequently, since Meskó was expected a new attack by the overwhelming enemy, he tried to escape from this dangerous situation. He had been retreated for two days in an uninterrupted, forced march until he reached the Niedere Tauern (Lower Tauern) mountain at Judenburg, then he moved his vanguard through Knittelfeld toward Leoben, and at the same time occupied the mountain pass from the other side. In addition, he trumpeted the news using his patrols sent to Leoben, that he had a 10,000-strong force and it was the vanguard of Archduke Charles.

On 12 November Marmont's adjutant-general, Colonel Jean-Jacques Desvaux de Saint-Maurice led a strong cavalry force to make a large-scale reconnaissance; however, the Meskó troops brilliantly repelled the attackers near Knittelfeld; many French were killed and almost 100 of them were captured, including Desvaux himself.²¹ Meskó otherwise mentioned approvingly in his memoirs the heroic resistance and stubborn defense of the young colonel, who was transported later to Klagenfurt with the rest of the injured Frenchmen and arranged them for the best possible care.²²

Meskó then remained near Judenburg after having received orders from Archdukes Charles and John to cover the retreat of Archduke John's troops and defend the city of Klagenfurt. However, on 22 November, when Archduke John's troops arrived in Klagenfurt, Mesko was transferred to under command of Lieutenant General Johann Gabriel Chasteler, and they retreated together in the Dráva Valley until Marburg (today's Maribor, Slovenia). Henceforward his regiment served a vanguard in the area of Ehrenhausen and did not participate in major military operations during 1805.²³ Meskó was appointed Major General on 23 June 1808.²⁴ As brigade commander he was placed to a Corps under the command of Archduke Louis, when the 1809 campaign has been started.

After the defeat at Landshut, he became the leader of the rearguard. Then on 23 April, as the vanguard of the army, he fought back Marshal Bessieres's advancing troops near Erharting. Next day Meskó led the vanguard of *Feldzeugmeister* (General of the Artillery) Baron Johann von Hiller during the Battle of Neumarkt-Sankt Veit. Then he was detached to Vienna, so he participated in the defense of Vienna from 10 to 12 May.²⁵ Later he was transferred to Division Vincent under the command of VI Corps led by Hiller and took part in the Battle of Aspern-Essling (21-22 May

²¹ *Memoirs of Meskó*, 284-85.

²² *Memoirs of Meskó*, 288.

²³ *Memoirs of Meskó*, 287, 289.

²⁴ Antonio Schmidt-Brentano, *Kaiserliche und k.k. Generale (1618-1815)* (Vienna:

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, 2006), 64.

<http://www.austria.gv.at/DocView.axd?CobId=18890>. Accessed on 3 February 2007.

²⁵ *Memoirs of Meskó*, 295, 298-305.

1809).²⁶ Subsequently, on 28 May, he became one of the Commanders of the Transdanubian District during the so-called noble's insurrection in Hungary.²⁷ The Insurrection this time was not a rebellion of Hungarians but a form of raising troops in a wartime situation unique to Hungary. It was practically a feudal militia of the Hungarian noblemen to defend their country in cooperation with the regular forces.

Meskó led a division of this Insurrection-army with about 5,300 people (four insurgent infantry battalions, two insurgent infantry companies, six and one-half insurgent cavalry squadrons and ten cannons), which camped on ramparts west of Győr between the Little Danube and the Raab Rivers during the Battle of Győr.²⁸ They were not attacked seriously by French, but after the battle, when the Imperial-Royal main force had retreated, the French began to encircle them. The French Division General, Jacques Lauriston demanded for a surrender, but Meskó held a war council with his officers

and they decided to break out.²⁹ He informed the Palatine about it in a letter. By the way, this letter was carried by a young orderly officer, an 18-year-old first lieutenant, who rowed to Komárom using a small boat, first on the Rábca and then on the Danube, while the French skirmishers pursued him in small craft and shot at him from the shore, and even managed to punch a hole in his boat with a bullet (and after some struggle he succeeded in plugging the hole using his garments).³⁰ The young lieutenant was called Count István Széchenyi, who later became a leading Hungarian reformer and politician, and earned the title "the greatest Hungarian."

In the meantime, Meskó's troops began the preparations for the sally, and they carried it out on the night of 15 June. The bridge near the Castle of Győr had been pulled down, and its material was transported to the settlement Lesvár, and was used to construct a bridge over the swamp, then the troops left their camp. Of course, they

²⁶ Maximilian Ritter von Hoen, Hugo Kerchnawe, *Aspern*, vol. IV of *Kriege unter der Regierung des Kaisers Franz. Krieg 1809*, prepared by the staff of the k. und k. Kriegsarchiv (Wien: L. W. Seidel&Sohn, 1910), 763.

²⁷ Gusztáv Gömöry, "Az 1809. évi magyar nemesi felkelés," ["The Hungarian Nobles' Insurrection in 1809,"] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* [*Military History Bulletin*] 2 (1889): 81; and *Memoirs of Meskó* 311.

²⁸ See John H. Gill, *Wagram and Znaim*, vol. III of *1809 Thunder on the Danube: Napoleon's Defeat of the Habsburgs* (London: Frontline Books, 2010), 361-62.

²⁹ Tamás László Vizi, "Kövesd példájokat vitéz eleidnek..." : *A magyar nemesi felkelés a francia háborúk időszakában, különös tekintettel*

Székesfehérvár és Fejér vármegye inszurrekciós szerepére ["Follow the Examples of Your Courageous Ancestors...": *The Hungarian Nobility Insurrection during the French Wars, especially in regards to the Insurrection Roles of Székesfehérvár and Fejér County*] (Székesfehérvár: Városi Levéltár és Kutatóintézet, 2014), 195; and "Ferdinand Voith vezérkari őrnagy emlékirata Meskó tábornok visszavonulásáról az 1809. évi győri csata után," ["Memoir of Major Ferdinand Voith Staff Officer on General Meskó's Withdrawing after the Battle of Győr in 1809,"] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* [*Military History Bulletin*] 7 (1894): 151, 156.

³⁰ Tibor Ács, *Széchenyi katonaévei* [*The Years of Széchenyi's Military Service*] (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 1994), 28-30; and "Ferdinand Voith", 157.

dismantled the bridge immediately after crossing.

The division heading for Győr–Rábacsanak–Kiscell–Ság–Jánosháza incessantly fought the enemy with its vanguard and rear-guard, defeating all of its attackers during its route. For example, Meskó personally led the force which routed an enemy cavalry of 600 people near the village Dömölk, furthermore the division captured some French, including important message bearing couriers, moreover it ambushed a French detachment which was escorting prisoners of war, and so it managed to rescue a few hundred Imperial-Royal soldiers and insurgent nobles. Finally, on 20 June Meskó was able to unite his forces with the VIII Corps led by Lieutenant General Chasteler advancing from Croatia near Kiskomárom. The division stationed there until 1 July, when Meskó was commanded by Archduke Joseph to march to Komárom through Székesfehérvár circumventing Lake Balaton using a southern route, thus it separated from the VIII Corps and began its journey toward Marcali–Siófok–Lepsény–Székesfehérvár. Meskó arrived at Fehérvár on 9 July and after two days of rest he continued the journey with his forces to the camp of Komárom through Csákvár and Tata. Finally, on 13 July the division reached Komárom as the end phase of the 630 km (about 391.5 miles) march with incessant vanguard and rear-guard

fight, and here Archduke Joseph, Palatine of Hungary, Charles Ambrose, Prince Primate of Hungary, Archbishop of Esztergom and various generals staying in the city gave full military honors to the Division Meskó. On 25 August 1809 Meskó was awarded with the Commander's Cross of the Military Order of Maria Theresa for his heroic deed, which was the most important derring-do of the Imperial-Royal forces in the Hungarian military theater during the war of 1809.³¹

At the same time, however, he reached the pinnacle of his career, since he embarked on the final stage of his *service* – which proved to be a sad swan song. It is believed, as his glorious career proved, Meskó was a very dauntless and indefatigable man, not a person who simply gave up fighting. The fact that he was eventually forced to do so had several reasons. Even though he was not really old at that time, perhaps his health and psychological condition were significantly deteriorated after the 1809 campaign.

The many decades of military service left their profound marks on even the toughest soldiers, so therefore it is not surprising, that for example a significant part of the retired officers withdrew from the services as disabled men.³² You can get some insight into the effects of the military service on the soldiers' health through Meskó's memoirs that he left behind for his family. He wrote

³¹ Gömöry, "Az 1809. évi," 241-43, and 495; and Vizi, "Kövess példájokat", 196 and 199; and "Ferdinand Voith," 156-69.

³² See Attila Réfi, *A császári-királyi huszárság törzstiszti kara a francia forradalmi és a napóleoni*

háborúk korában (1792–1815) [*The Field Officer Corps of The Imperial-Royal Hussars in the Age of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815)*] (Budapest, Sárovar: MTA BTK, Nádasdy Múzeum, 2014), 99.

the following (in regard to 1810): "In January 1810, I suffered from a dangerous nervous fever which had infected me due to the arduous campaign (in 1809) and it took more than three months to recover."³³ He wrote referring to April 1813: "... I had strong rheumatic pains in my left leg and because of that I suffered a lot and I am still suffering...."³⁴

The ordeals and the hardships of military service are well illustrated by the words of the last great general of the Danubian Monarchy, Field Marshal Count Josef von Radetzky, who writes in his memoirs that he needed full three years to recover after the three years of War of Liberation (1813-15).³⁵ Obviously he clearly had a powerful and healthy body, if he had been able to save the rather crumbling Habsburg Monarchy with his Italian victories during the Revolutions of 1848-49 (when he was more than 80-years old).

Meskó continued his military service despite his health problems, however, and was appointed a Lieutenant General on 27 April 1813.³⁶ On 2 August 1813 he was appointed commander of one of the light divisions that belonged to the corps led by General of the Cavalry Count Johann Klenau during the preparations for the

autumn campaign of 1813. The cavalry of the Meskó division was composed of two hussar regiments—the 3rd (Ferdinand) and the 12th (Palatinal) regiments with six squadrons each—while his infantry and artillery included three battalions of the 58th (Beaulieu) Infantry Regiment, furthermore one battalion from the German-Banatian Grenz Infantry Regiment, the Wallachian Grenz Infantry Regiment and the Wallachian-Illyrian Grenz Infantry Regiment each and in addition two artillery batteries. Its total number was 6,643.³⁷

On the basis of its composition it can be said it was a light division, first of all for supporting and protecting tasks, to be vanguard of the main force and for tasks that required special mobility. Basically therefore, it was not meant to be a crucial element in battles. In other words, it was meant to fight the so-called petty warfare (*Kleinkrieg*) rather than major battles. In addition, on 16 August, the Lieutenant Colonel's Division of Ferdinand Hussars was transferred away from Meskó: these two squadrons were sent to Colonel Count Emanuel Mensdorff-Pouilly's raiding

³³ *Memoirs of Meskó*, 349. The disease was a variety of typhoid fever, which was called in German 'Nerven fieber' (in latin *Febris nervosa*) originally. As a result of the war the sickness caused a nationwide epidemic in Hungary during the period 1809-1810, it started with a high fever and resulted delirium, loss of conscious control of the body, then loss of consciousness and ultimately death. See Vizi, "*Kövesd példájokat*", 223-24.

³⁴ *Memoirs of Meskó*, 351.

³⁵ "Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des FM Grafen Radetzky: Eine Selbstbiographie," *Mittheilungen des k. und k. Kriegsarchivs* Neue Folge 1 (1887): 76.

³⁶ Schmidt-Brentano, *Kaiserliche und k.k.*, 64.

³⁷ Dormándy Géza, "Magyar csapatok az 1813. évi drezdai csatában," ["Hungarian troops in the Battle of Dresden,"] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* [*Military History Bulletin*], 15 (1914): 97; and Edmund [Glaise von] Horstenau, "Die Division Mesko bei Dresden 1813," *Streffleurs Militärische Zeitschrift* 51 (1911): 232.

detachment.³⁸ On 20 August Meskó received orders to depart to Saxony. Accordingly Meskó's division crossed the Bohemian-Saxon border on 22 August.³⁹

At first the aim of the Allied forces was Leipzig, but one of the orderly officers of Marshal Saint-Cyr was captured in the afternoon of 22 August, so they recognized that Napoleon's main force had not been around Leipzig, but in Lausitz. Dresden was protected only by the Saint-Cyr Corps, and subsequently the Allied war council decided to change route and their troops began their march against Dresden.⁴⁰

The bulk of the main army arrived near Dresden on 25 August, except for the Klenau Corps, but the attack was not launched. Although the opportunity seemed favorable, since they were outnumbered the Saint-Cyr Corps about four to one. However on the next day the situation had changed dramatically, when Napoleon became aware of the events and on 23 August decided to rush supporting Dresden with his main army, and he had arrived there at nine o'clock on the morning

of 26 August after a forced march of 130 km.⁴¹ After the clashes between the vanguards and skirmishers at four o'clock in the afternoon the Allies began their attack with heavy artillery fire.⁴² It did not bring the desired result, however, so it made an opportunity for the French to launch their counterattack at half past eight in the evening.⁴³ The situation was extremely complicated by the heavy rainfall that had lasted for forty-three hours; the soldiers got soaking wet, the hand firearms became unusable, and the clay soil was so waterlogged, that both humans and horses sank into the mud up to their knees.⁴⁴ Finally, after two days of fighting, the French undoubtedly prevailed. So Field Marshal Charles Philip, Prince of Schwarzenberg ordered the retreat to Bohemia in the afternoon of 27th August. The largest forces were deployed on the second day: The Allies had 160,000, and the French had 120,000 men.⁴⁵ The French, relying on the city and many other well-defensible positions, however, could easily offset the Allies' meager advance in the strength in numbers.

³⁸ Gustav Ritter Amon von Treuenfest, *Geschichte des k.k. Hußaren-Regimentes Nr. 3. Feldmarschall Andreas Graf Hadik von Futak* (Vienna: Verlag des Regimentes, 1893), 278; and *Memoirs of Meskó*, 352.

³⁹ See *Memoirs of Meskó*, 352-53.

⁴⁰ Dormándy, "Magyar csapatok," 264-67.

⁴¹ Adolf von Horsetzky, *Kriegsgeschichtliche Übersicht der wichtigsten Feldzüge in Europa seit 1792* (Vienna: Seidel&Sohn, 1905), 239.

⁴² Edmund Glaise von Horstenau, *Feldzug von Dresden*, vol. III of *Kriege unter der Regierung des Kaisers Franz. Befreiungskrieg 1813 und 1814*, prepared by the staff of the k. und k. Kriegsarchiv (Wien: L. W. Seidel&Sohn, 1913), 212.

⁴³ Dormándy, "Magyar csapatok," 449.

⁴⁴ Gustav Ritter Amon von Treuenfest, *Geschichte des k.k. Husaren-Regimentes Freiherr von Edelsheim-Gyulai Nr. 4. Von seiner Errichtung 1734-1882* (Vienna: Verlag des Regimentes, 1882), 388; and Károly Kiss, *Magyar alvitézek hőstettei* [*Heroic Deeds of Hungarian Lower-Ranked Soldiers*] (Budapest: Magvető, 1984), 246.

⁴⁵ József Bánlaky, *A francia háborúk időszaka. 1792-1815* [*The Period of the French Wars. 1792-1815*], vol. XX of *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme* [*Military History of the Hungarian Nation*] (Budapest: Grill, 1941), 396 and 398. By contrast Horsetzky argued that the Allies had 200,000, while the French had 120,000 men. See Horsetzky, *Kriegsgeschichtliche Übersicht*, 239.

It is already mentioned that alone the Klenau Corps had not arrived at Dresden until 25 August. The reason for it was the changing operational plan, since the advancing toward Dresden instead of Leipzig required a 90 degree turn to right for the main army, and it was not a simple maneuver, when you had a line where you needed four full days to travel from one end to the other. At the beginning of the turning, the Klenau Corps was at the very edge of the army's left wing, in the Wolkenstein region, while the Meskó Division had a forward position toward Chemnitz; therefore, the units of the right wing were barely a day out of the new staging area centered Dippoldiswalde, but the Klenau Corps had to travel three days to reach it. Of course, meanwhile the high command urged the troop movements, since they had to hurry up to arrive in Dresden before Napoleon strengthening the estimated 20,000-strong garrison of the Saxon capital.

The troops of Klenau did everything that was humanly possible, and entire battalions were involved to help to transport the artillery. As increasingly unfavorable reports came from the Corps, Schwarzenberg allowed a day of rest for the units on 25 August. Except for the Meskó Division, which was the vanguard of the Corps, and it had to advance from the Tharandt Forest to Löbtau on the above-mentioned day according to the commands to cover the left wing of the main army at Dresden.⁴⁶ The division following Schwarzenberg's urging tried to arrive in

time to Dresden, left behind some of its vanguard troops, but it had reached only Naundorf, the western exit of the dense and almost impenetrable Tharandt Forest by 25 August.

To illustrate the circumstances, it should be said that the troops and horses of the division had practically incessantly marched for three days, and they travelled 100 km on the worst roads under bad weather conditions, with a rest of only a few hours on the ice-cold nights. The soldiers did not have any dry clothes, the boots were torn to shreds, and thus somebody simply threw them away and replaced them with pieces of ox hide. And the bread that they carried with them was soaked and molded.⁴⁷

Since they could not reach the designated destination, a strict command came from Schwarzenberg to the commander of the exhausted division, which had been resting on the side of road in the evening of 25 August: They had to advance to Schusterhäuser near Dresden by the next day. Thus Meskó alerted his troops and he decided to go around the Tharandt Forest in north. It was a rather miserable night march. The rain came to a halt in the previous day, but the roads were washed away. They sank into the mud up to their ankles even on the road to Freiberg. The hungry and sleepy soldiers dragged themselves in the darkness. Eventually, however, they made the bold night march.

⁴⁶ Horstenau, "Die Division Mesko," 191-92.

⁴⁷ Horstenau, "Die Division Mesko," 190.

At five o'clock in the morning on 26 August, the Palatinal Hussars led by Colonel Alexander von Illésy were the first to arrive from the units of the Corps to the foreground of Dresden—an hour earlier than the infantry, then they drove the French vanguard from Schusterhäuser and captured villages Cotta and Löbtau with the help of the arriving infantry. Meanwhile, two squadrons of Ferdinand Hussars led by Colonel Joseph Gosztonyi expelled the enemy from Dreschenhäuser.⁴⁸ So the Meskó Division thus held its position on the edge of the Allied left wing. There was a calmness until around noon. Then

Meskó was ordered to send a brigade toward Meissen and destroy the bridge there and secure the left wing of the army.⁴⁹ Major General Maximilian Paumgartten with his brigade, which included three *Grenz* battalions and the 1st Major-division of the Palatinal Hussars, departed to complete the task.

In addition, on the way Major Joseph

Dévay joined them with the 1st Major-division of Ferdinand Hussars, which was detached during the march to Dresden covering the Meskó division.⁵⁰ Thus the group led by Meskó directly had been reduced to three battalions of Beaulieu Regiment, four *Grenz* companies, five hussar squadrons and two artillery batteries.

At 2.00 p.m. the French attacked against Löbtau and Schusterhäuser, but the remaining Meskó Division repulsed them at the expense of heavy losses.⁵¹ Fortunately then the French confined themselves to



Alexander von Illésy

scattering shots. So there was a pause in the fight. Half past twelve in the afternoon Meskó requested urgent reinforcement from the commander-in-chief in a letter written in Löbtau. He wrote he needed at least an infantry and a cavalry regiment to be able to fulfill his mission safely.⁵²

Meanwhile, there another unpleasant development took

⁴⁸ Gustav Ritter Amon von Treuenfest, *Geschichte des k.k. 12. Huszaren-Regiments: 1850-1875 Graf Haller: 1875 von Fratricsevics* (Vienna: Verlag des Regiments, 1876), 74; and Dormándy, "Magyar csapatok," 279; and Horstenau, "Die Division Mesko," 190 and 198-200.

⁴⁹ ÖStA, KA, AFA, Karton-Nr. 1529, 1813-8-596.

⁵⁰ Amon, *Geschichte des k.k. 12. 74*; and Amon, *Geschichte des k. u. k. Hußaren-Regimentes Nr. 3*, 278; and *Memoirs of Meskó*, 355.

⁵¹ Amon, *Geschichte des k. u. k. Hußaren-Regimentes Nr. 3*, 279.

⁵² *Memoirs of Meskó*, 357.

place, when from the French lines arose there a mighty roar, which caused the enemies of the French trembled at that time: "Vive l'empereur!" (Long live the Emperor!). And Napoleon, who had been in Dresden since nine o'clock in the morning, indeed appeared at Freiberg to himself verified Löbtau was in the hands of the enemy.⁵³

As mentioned earlier at four o'clock in the afternoon the main attack started, and before that Meskó had gotten the troubling news that the bulk of Klenau Corps would not arrive to reinforce the left wing. The Allied left wing, therefore, contained only 18 infantry battalions and 24–26 cavalry squadrons, while the French could deploy 24 battalions (16 battalions of the Razout Division and 8 battalions of the I Corps) and at least 50 squadrons (Latour-Maubourg Cavalry Division). While the Allied leaders had strengthened the center, Napoleon was only defending in the middle and he tried to win the battle on the two wings. Meskó retreated with all of his vanguard units to the positions at Cotta and Schusterhäuser; however, he had to evacuate the villages soon and concentrated all of his units on the heights in the west.⁵⁴

The leader of the enemy cavalry soon recognized the weakness of his lines and tried to circumvent Meskó on both flanks,

which leading to many bitter cavalry clashes. In the meantime, however, Lieutenant General Andreas Schneller's Cavalry Division had been transferred there, and when first arrived the Hussars of the Hessen-Homburg Brigade, they immediately came to help Meskó's horsemen. Then new enemy mounted units were arriving, but soon came another brigade of the Schneller Division. Thus, finally the joint cavalry of Meskó and Schneller maintained its positions until the darkness fell.⁵⁵ At midnight it started raining again and the rain did not stop all day. Furthermore, at dawn the entire landscape was covered with dense fog, which was only dispersed occasionally by a cool gust of wind.⁵⁶

Meanwhile Joachim Murat, King of Naples lined up his troops at Friedrichstadt: There were 44 battalions in dense columns, 68 cavalry squadrons en masse and more than 100 cannons, all of them ready to swarm the Allied left wing.⁵⁷

In the morning before 7 o'clock, a fierce artillery battle began, but the two parties had been fighting for three hours only using cannon fire. Finally a powerful French attack was launched after 10:00 am, and it created a critical situation for the remaining forces of the Meskó Division near Gorbitz, and the circumstances became even worse, since the Schneller Division

⁵³ Horstenau, "Die Division Mesko," 203.

⁵⁴ Horstenau, "Die Division Mesko," 208, 211.

⁵⁵ Gustav Ritter Amon von Treuenfest, *Geschichte des k.k. Huszaren-Regimentes Alexander Freiherr v. Koller Nr. 8. Von seiner Errichtung 1696-1880* (Vienna: Verlag des Regimentes, 1880), 494.

⁵⁶ Horstenau, "Die Division Mesko," 217.

⁵⁷ Horstenau, "Die Division Mesko," 217. Marshal Joachim Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law was King of Naples as Joachim I between 1808 and 1815.

was transferred early in the morning. At the same time Meskó's request, which he made one day earlier, was partly fulfilled and the 61st Saint-Julien Infantry Regiment and a squadron of the 7th Lothringen-Lambesc Cuirassier Regiment was arrived as reinforcement in the morning.⁵⁸ However the Klenau Corps was nowhere to be found, since it practically had stuck in the dense Tharandt Forest. Around noon Meskó sent a staff officer, namely Captain Franz Oehm to Lieutenant General Prince Alois Liechtenstein with a report, that he would soon be forced to retire because he was outnumbered significantly. Meanwhile some infantry regiments had already begun to retreat on the left wing, some of them heading toward the Meskó Division, which the French had virtually cut off from the remaining groups of the left wing. Despite the situation, Meskó's forces waited for the enemy in the west of Gorbitz and they managed to throw back the enemy using bayonet charges. After that they started retreating with the help of the cavalry and the artillery. The French could only follow them slowly because of the bad weather and rough terrain. However, threatening enemy cavalry was appeared again and again on the left wing.⁵⁹

The division already got past Pennrich settlement and nearly escaped, when a tall, elegant staff officer appeared in front of the vanguard's troops. He was Colonel Count Theodor Baillet de Latour, who brought a

command: the Meskó Division must not lose ground for the sake of the whole left wing, even they have to capture again the heights of Pennrich.⁶⁰ The command had caused a great uproar in the staff of the general. Everyone knew they were doomed. Meskó hesitated, but he decided to obey the command and undertake an attack which appeared totally hopeless. Colonel Illéssy, commander of the Palatinal Hussars, tried to talk him out of it, but Meskó remained adamant. The members of the staff were sent to the regiments, while there were only some adjutants stayed with the Lieutenant General.⁶¹ There is very scarce information about the events afterwards, besides they are partly contradictory data.

As a matter of fact, the final outcome was the following: The Imperial-Royal troops faced the powerful cavalry led by Joachim Murat, which was supported by infantry and significant artillery, which resulted in the capture of Meskó and Count Friedrich Hoditz, who was the Lieutenant Colonel of Palatinal hussars. In addition the French captured ten companies from the 11th Archduke Rainer's, two battalions (12 companies) from the 16th Lusignan's, ten companies from the 61st Saint Julien's and two battalions (12 companies) from the 62nd Wacquant-Geozelles's infantry regiments with some banners and a few cannons.⁶² They were not, however, part of the division in an organization manner with the exception of the Saint Julien Regiment,

⁵⁸ Amon, *Geschichte des k.k. 12. 75-6; Memoirs of Meskó*, 357.

⁵⁹ Horstenau, "Die Division Mesko," 223-24.

⁶⁰ Horstenau, "Die Division Mesko," 223.

⁶¹ ÖStA, KA, AFA, Karton-Nr. 1529. 1813-8-609; Horstenau, *Feldzug von Dresden*, 283.

⁶² Horstenau, "Die Division Mesko," 227.

which was deployed to Meskó's forces on 26 August, but as we have seen, actually it arrived only in the morning. Because the 11th and 16th Infantry Regiments belonged to the Mumb Brigade of Lieutenant General Prince Alois Liechtenstein, while the 62nd Infantry Regiment belonged to the Czerwenka Brigade of the division led by Lieutenant General Anton Mayer von Heldensfeld and they only attached themselves to the Meskó Division during their flight. The units of the division somehow escaped except the above-mentioned 61st Infantry Regiment, although they had suffered extraordinary losses. Of course the hussars regrouped themselves as quickly as possible, then they broke through the enemy cavalry and managed to escape through the Tharandt Forest toward Freiberg despite the fierce pursuit.⁶³ The Brigade Paumgarten, which had sent separately toward Meißen and it successfully captured the city on 26 August, could swiftly march back through Nossen to Freiberg in advance the large French forces, which had been launched on the evening of 27 August.⁶⁴

So the commonly known statement is in no way correct that the whole Meskó division was captured. As for the capture of Mesko himself, the most widespread version is the following: The Lieutenant General mistook an enemy mounted unit for Imperial-Royal cheveau-légers and rushed to meet them. Then, after a brief clash he was captured

wounded, with a few hussars and Lieutenant Colonel Hoditz, who ran to help him.⁶⁵ In his memoirs Meskó himself wrote about how he was captured:

When, however, a second time we advanced forward, we were faced with a hostile cavalry deployed in an extended line. The king of Naples stood there with 15 cavalry regiments and perhaps 40 big cannons, and behind them a huge number of infantry were advancing in wide columns. A dragoon and a cuirassier regiment immediately attacked my few hussars, and repelled them, even though I was charging with them on horseback in gallop, but when they repulsed us my horse was wounded on her left thigh by a shrapnel of a bursting grenade during this attack, so I fled one of the columns of Reinert's infantry, but the [enemy] cavalry immediately surrounded it too, then captured it.

I rescued this column from a complete slaughter, since the soldiers could not shoot any longer, as they got soaking wet because it had been raining for 24 hours, furthermore their firearms became so wet that they could not fire them, and it made a confusion in the ranks of the infantry, while enemy cavalry had been spurred to continue its attacking. The enemy cavalry had at least 7-8,000 troopers, which

⁶³ Amon, *Geschichte des k.k.* 12. 77.

⁶⁴ See Thomas Hemmann, *Die Meißner Bilderhandschrift aus den Jahren 1809–1814* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2013), 88.

⁶⁵ Horstenau, *Feldzug von Dresden*, 133.

proved sufficient to flank all columns on this long and broad plane, encircle them and capture one after the other, and it was true for the cannons too. The small numbers of Imperial-Royal cavalry had been pushed back far previously and the weapons of infantry did not work properly, and the troops did not even think about defending themselves with their bayonets.⁶⁶

Therefore, he argued that he had been captured with infantry troops of the Rainer Regiment. However, Meskó was captured before than the Rainer's ten companies according to the regiment history.⁶⁷ At the same time, there is a sentence said by the general, which makes one think: "I rescued this column from a complete slaughter." It may even refer to it that he initiated the surrender. In other words, as a rational, sensible commander, Meskó was trying to put an end to the pointless massacre of the soldiers by sacrificing his immaculate reputation in an unequal and totally hopeless combat. In any case, whether he surrendered himself leading the aforementioned infantry regiment, whether he was captured by any other means, he could not be blamed for it, since previously he had done everything that was humanly

possible until he found himself in a hopeless and forlorn situation.

Following the bloody battle, the French escorted the long lines of many prisoners to Dresden in the late afternoon. Mesko himself was taken to the French Emperor in that night. The general, who had been injured in the combat and whose wounds had already been attended and bandaged, asked for to release him on parole. However, according the Saxon interpreter, Lieutenant General Karl Friedrich Wilhelm von Gersdorff, Napoleon responded quite scornfully: "I cannot deprive an Austrian general of the possibility to kiss the hands of his monarch's daughter in the capital of France." Then he dismissed Meskó.⁶⁸

Later Meskó was transported to France where he was imprisoned in Blois.⁶⁹ He could return home only after a half year, when the war was finished at the end of spring 1814. At home he was court-martialed.⁷⁰ The general and several witnesses were interrogated in the case.⁷¹ Eventually, however, the investigation was halted by command of the emperor in euphoric mood, which surrounded the victory over Napoleon, and Meskó was forced to retire quietly, which entered into

⁶⁶ *Memoirs of Meskó* 360-61. Meskó was wrong, of course, since it was the 11th Archduke Rainer Infantry Regiment.

⁶⁷ Cf. [Franz Jaeger], *Geschichte des k. k. Infanterie-Regiments Georg Prinz von Sachsen Nr. 11*. (Teschen: Buchdruckerei von Karl Prochaska, 1879), 238.

⁶⁸ Karl Falkenstein, "Karl Friedrich Wilhelm von Gersdorff" *Zeitgenossen. Ein biographisches*

Magazin für die Geschichte unserer Zeit 37 (1836): 53-54.

⁶⁹ At least his letter dated from 31 October 1813, which was written from there, points that way. See ÖStA, KA, Wiener Hofkriegsrat (hereafter HKR), Protocolla (hereafter Prot.) 1814 Dep. Lit. G 191.

⁷⁰ Horstenau, *Feldzug von Dresden*, 298-99.

⁷¹ See ÖstA, KA, AFA, Karton-Nr. 1529, 594-610.

force on 1 November 1814.⁷² Later he moved to the town of Kőszeg (Güns) in Western Hungary, where the hero of tattered reputation soon died on 29 August 1815.

As for his private life, on 2 August 1801, he married to Katharina von Görz (1779-1868), who was a daughter of a Lieutenant Colonel from County Palatine of the Rhine: the location of the wedding was Meskó's then regiment posting, in Troppau (Opava, Czech Republic). Child was not born during their marriage.⁷³ Also the popular contemporary German-language newspaper in Upper Hungary, the *Pressburger Zeitung* reported on his death and final farewell and according to it he died following a long and serious illness, then he was buried on 1 September 1815 with full military honors that commanded by Major General Franz von Vlasits as befitted Meskó's rank and glorious career.⁷⁴

The "Case Meskó" had been leaving a blemish on the Austrian military history for

a century, and only the Austrian officer and military historian Edmund Glaise von Horstenau tried to clarify the role of the general at Dresden. However, some biographies about Meskó, briefly dealt with this episode compared to the other, much more detailed chapters of the glorious career.⁷⁵ However, some accounts and general summaries of the Battle of Dresden makes serious mistakes in regard to the facts concerning the division, and they sometimes even blame Mesko for.⁷⁶ In my opinion, the Dresden case is more likely to be considered as a result of the inexperience of the Allied military leadership, a series of unfortunate circumstances and the difficult controllability of huge forces regarding the given conditions⁷⁷ and not so much as mistakes of Meskó, whose unavoidable captivity in a hopeless situation could not make an indelible mark on his military honor and memory.

⁷² Horstenau, *Feldzug von Dresden*, 299; and ÖStA, KA, Staab Buch 10. 1815 Undienende Generalität, 4964-65.

⁷³ ÖStA, KA, MMThO, VI. Witwen, Waisen und Verwandte der Ordensmitglieder (1769-1905) M 20; ÖStA, KA, Officiers Heirathsbuch 2. fol. 174r.; ÖStA, KA HKR Prot. 1801 Dep. Lit. G 6450.

⁷⁴ See *Pressburger Zeitung* (Pozsony/Pressburg), 26 September 1815: 1.

⁷⁵ See for example B. Meskó József, "Magyar Néplap (Pest), 7 November 1857: 710; and "Ferdinand Voith," 152.

⁷⁶ Thus, for example, one of the most prominent modern historian Dominic Lieven consider Meskó's subordinates as inexperienced and poorly trained. In addition, although he acknowledged the failures of the military leadership and the difficulties of

command, he still finds that Mesko and his officers would avoid their destiny, if they had led their troops better. At the same time, he does not confirm the latter statement by any explanation. See Dominic Lieven, *Russia Against Napoleon: The Battle for Europe, 1807 to 1814* (London: Penguin 2010), 297.

⁷⁷ The command of the army had been thoroughly tested that the size of the army had been overwhelmingly swelled in a few years, especially at the beginning of the War of Sixth Coalition. Due to the contemporary, limited communication possibilities and the initial inexperience of the general staff, the issued commands were often delayed, and the military leadership was often unaware of the exact location of the troops. Moreover, this was compounded by the conflicts between the Allies.

Napoleonic Memorabilia as the Mediator of Historical Memory in Chateau Collections in Lands of the Bohemian Crown

by Marian Hochel

The Napoleonic Wars are still reflected by works of art and products of arts and crafts, or any imprints of human creativity called “Napoleonic memorabilia” (or “Napoleonics”). Regarding the rich iconography of these objects we can create an idea of the events and personalities that at the turn of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries were stirring the fate of Europe. It is a specific category of cultural heritage which functions as a mediator of historical memory with a clear reference to the contradictory character of Napoleon Bonaparte. His dizzying life story, which surprised and shocked the society at the same time, has been presented in numerous collections of chateaus and other manor residences for many centuries. Among the major historical events that influenced the collecting of these artefacts in the historical lands of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, besides military successes of Coalition in the Battle of Aspern and other battles in recent years of the Napoleonic wars, was also the marriage of the Emperor Napoleon I with the Austrian Archduchess Marie Louise, the factual alliance of the Austrian and French Imperial Houses. These events, their main actors and other participants, whether standing alongside or against France, provided artists with a variety of

themes for their artistic interpretation. The birth of the successor of the French throne, the legitimate descendant of the Habsburg and Bonaparte dynasty, with the newly established title of the King of Rome, meant one of the decisive inspirational impulses for the world of art and period iconography. Renowned events attended by the members of both Imperial Houses and the Czech nobility are still commemorated in iconography on a number of objects in chateau collections currently managed by the National Heritage Institute in the Czech Republic. These collections also preserved items from Napoleon's inheritance which were perceived by their former owners and noble collectors as relics or curiosities and, at the same time, a trace of “great history” preserved in their ancestral memory. This paper is not an exhaustive list of them, but a partial analysis of exceptional meaning and function of these acquisitions through several significant examples in collections of noble houses.

The milestone of the French culture transfer of the Empire period in the Czech lands is considered to be the year 1810, when a temporary rapprochement between Austria and France occurred.¹ After Napoleon's victory campaign in 1809, which had very serious consequences for

¹ Josef Polišenský, *Napoleon a srdce Evropy* (Praha, 1971), 231.

Austria, the lines between Austrian and French diplomacy connected, seeking a common way to achieving their goals. Austria, territorially reduced, after signing the unfavourable peace conditions politically, militarily and economically degraded to the position of the second-rate monarchy, sought to return to a number of European powers. France, surrounded by a convolute of satellite countries, shifting the boundaries of its influence increasingly eastward, sought a throne successor who legitimized Napoleon's dynastic claims in the Empire. After Napoleon I failed in his policy to offer a marriage in Russia, he accepted an idea of alliance between his family and another European ancient dynasty, the House of Habsburg. After the divorce of Napoleon I and Josephine, the position of the First Lady of France was intended for only the eighteen-year-old Austrian Archduchess Marie Louise, the daughter of the Austrian Emperor Franz I. The purpose of this marriage was fulfilled when on 20 March 1811, the expectant heir Napoleon François Charles Joseph Bonaparte was born to the imperial couple and given the title of the King of Rome at his birth. This well-known event encountered an unusual interest in artistic production and became the engine of many orders addressed to artists with the aim to celebrate the dynastic policy of the French Emperor. This marriage policy was skilfully managed for the Austrian side by the newly

appointed Foreign Minister Klemens von Metternich. Although this policy had only volatile effects in practice, it brought its fruit into the sphere of art. From 1810, new major themes were programmed in the iconography of the Empire period: The imaginary union of the restored Eastern and Western Empire, whose guarantor should have been the Austrian archduchess sitting on the French throne and the continuation of the French imperial family, the symbol of which the birth of the King of Rome should become. These should have been the guarantees of Napoleon's legitimacy on the French imperial crown. The world-wide ideas of the French Emperor were reflected in the world of art especially in France in a carefully designed combination of symbols.² A wave of new themes found a response in artistic engagements both in the Austrian monarchy court and in the ranks of the Czech and Austrian aristocracy. The nobility of Czech lands assisted directly in the preparation of the imperial marriage, or participated in the numerous official festivities held on this occasion. The iconography of the years 1810 and 1811 naturally grew into the decoration of the noble houses. As Annie Jourdan pointed out, the artists celebrated the imperial marriage, the new French Empress and the birth of the King of Rome.³

² On the occasion of the bicentennial anniversary of the Napoleon I and Marie Louise imperial marriage, two interesting exhibitions were held in Paris and Vienna, offering a number of new findings and valuable iconographic material published also in catalogues: Collectif, *1810. La*

politique de l'amour. Napoléon 1^{er} et Marie-Louise à Compiègne (Paris, 2010); and Monica Kurzel-Runtscheiner, *Napoleons Hochzeit* (Wien, 2010).

³ Annie Jourdan, *Napoléon: héros, imperator, mécène* (Paris, 1998); 268, 284, and 306.

The events resonating between France and Austria, or over the whole Europe, which ruling elites were direct witnesses of, should have stayed immortalized by the means of art and should have entered into historical memory. The evidence of these intentions is for example the graphics of the period without signature, preserved in the Waldstein (Wallenstein) collection at Duchcov (*Dux*) Chateau in the Northwest Bohemia, supplemented by the legend: “Vermählung des Kayser Napoleon mit der Prinzess Louise von Österreich” (The marriage of Emperor Napoleon [I.] with Princess [Marie] Louise of Austria) (see fig. 1).⁴ The subject of this artefact represents imperial marriage on Austrian ground *per procurationem* on Sunday, 11 March 1810, as indicated by the Gothic interior of the Augustinian Church in Hofburg, in which the wedding ceremony took place. The Marshal Louis-Alexandre Berthier represented the Majesty of Napoleon I and the Austrian Archduke Charles who attended the ceremony instead of the absent groom the French Emperor alongside Marie Louise.⁵ At Tuileries in Paris, a festive parade was held on this day.⁶ The subject of memorable proxy marriage in Vienna was depicted in 1813-1814 on impressive oil paintings by the Viennese court painter Johann Baptist

Hoechle in cooperation with the interior decorator of the court theatre Johann Janitz.⁷ The graphic preserved at Duchcov Chateau is a free interpretation of this historical event and at the same time it is a proof of the importance and popularity of the imperial alliance in period iconography and art production of the Habsburg monarchy. Some other examples can be mentioned.

At the former Habsburg Chateau in Ploskovice (*Ploschkowitz*), cast iron chess pieces on circular stands are deposited, totalling 30 pieces not originating from Ploskovice. They present the French and Austrian court, affiliated by the imperial marriage (see fig. 2). In this case, the author put a special emphasis on the realism and individualism of the two related emperors (Franz I and Napoleon I) in gestures, in the clothing of both empresses (Maria Ludovica and Marie Louise) or in the uniform stylization of the members of their suits.⁸

In Ploskovice is also deposited a sepiolite pipe with silver assemblage and relief carving, originated from the Thun Chateau in Klášterec nad Ohří (*Klösterle an der Eger*), signed by M. Ehrman dating back to 1813. The pipe presents Napoleon's son nicknamed “*Aiglon*” at a young age in an

⁴ NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Duchcov, Inv. No. DH 6298.

⁵ Kurzel-Runtscheiner, *Napoleons Hochzeit*, 36; and Dimitri Casali, ed. *Napoléon Bonaparte* (Larousse, 2008), 254.

⁶ Jean Tulard and Louis Garros, *Napoléon au jour le jour* (Paris, 2002 [1992]), 411.

⁷ *Marschall Berthier hält bei Kaiser Franz um die Hand der Erzherzogin Marie Louise an (5. 3. 1810)*, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie,

Inv. No. 8666; *Trauung per procurationem in der Wiener Augustinerkirche (11. 3. 1810)*, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Inv. No. 8669; *Übergabe der Erzherzogin Marie Louise an Marshall Berthier in Braunau (28. 3. 1810)*, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Inv. No. 8705; Kurzel-Runtscheiner, *Napoleons Hochzeit*, 8-9, 18-19, and 68-71.

⁸ NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Ploskovice, Inv. No. P 1743.

officer's uniform and with his father's heroized bust (see fig. 3). The iconographic program of this scene respects the official portrait tradition as it was determined by court artists working on direct orders of Napoleon's family.⁹ However, the pipe from Ploskovice is also interesting by the fact that a similar artefact is displayed in the Hall of Medals (*Salle des médailles*) at the Napoleon Museum in the Town Hall (*Musée napoléonien de l'Hôtel de Ville*) of Ajaccio in Corsica.¹⁰ That suggests the qualities and exceptionalities of this exhibit, originated apparently from the Southern or Central European production. The popularity of Napoleon's son in a portrait tradition in the Czech lands is not surprising. Although he was brought up in the Viennese court, he received the title of the Duke of Zákupy (*Reichstadt*) with the North Bohemian Zákupy (*Reichstadt*) domain, and Czech patriots, especially from the Czech intelligentsia and nobility, accepted him as his own. His sudden death in 1832 caused numerous orders of sentimental reminders with his portrait.¹¹

Another important Napoleonic memorabilia which declare alliance of the Habsburgs and Bonapartes is a music piece preserved in the Metternich collections at the Kynžvart (*Königswart*) Chateau - an original notation of the festive poem for

vocals and piano or harp called "The Tribute to the Majesty of the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Marie Louise on the occasion of the alliance formed between their two noble families."¹² This ode was originally composed on the occasion of the imperial marriage in 1810 (see fig. 4). As the dedication on the title page noted "To the Count of Metternich," a copy of this notation was given as a special gift to the Austrian Foreign Minister Metternich, who attended the wedding celebration in honor of the Imperial couple. The piece was written by the poet Armand Gouffé and composed by the violinist Pierre-Jean Vacher, an academician and a member of Napoleon's court orchestra. The engraver Joseph Théodore Richomme prepared the notation for the press. In the third and fourth stanza of this ode is depicted the ethos of Napoleon's Empire, materialized by artistic means, a world that reflects the visions which impacted the history and the events which were destined to perpetuate. These could be considered all that should be written in historical memory by Napoleon as a reference to future generations. The poem is a celebration of Napoleon's successes and the legitimacy of his sovereign claim to the French throne, confirmed by his marriage to the daughter of the Habsburg monarch:

⁹ NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Ploskovice, Inv. No. P 768.

¹⁰ Donation of Vognsgaard, Inv. No. MNA.974.1.185.

¹¹ Dana Stehlíková, "Tabatěrka s portrétem Napoleona II., vévody zákupského," in *Biedermeier. Umění a kultura v českých zemích 1814–1848*, ed. Radim Vondráček (Praha, 2010), 340, Cat. No. 255; see also: Dana Stehlíková,

Encyklopedie českého zlatnictví, stříbrnictví a klenotnictví (Praha, 2003), 213.

¹² *A Monsieur le Comte de Metternich. HOMMAGE A leurs Majestés l'Empereur NAPOLÉON et l'Impératrice MARIE LOUISE. Au sujet de l'alliance formée entre leurs deux augustes familles*; NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 1994.

From the Nile to the Caesar's seat, [Napoleon], you let yourself feel your power. The most beautiful artistic monuments your genius enriched France with. What could be missing out on your success? We see it on this festive day. You give [your] Marie [Louise] to the French, behold, your most beautiful catch. Love is looking for great warriors up on [the goddess] Bellona's carriage. This god[dess] adds the myrtle to the laurels to knit a crown from them. Do you, [Napoleon], not have the right known to all for this beloved crown? Mars received it from the hands of Venus, you receive it from Marie's hands.¹³

The iconography of the years 1810 and 1811 is also represented by commemorative medals or tokens preserved in numismatic collections of Czech noble residences. More expensive, made of precious metals, or cheaper plaster casts were the favourite artefacts of many collectors, as exemplified a rare numismatic collection of Prince Metternich at the Kynžvart Chateau or the large collection of plaster casts at the Waldstein Chateau in Mnichovo Hradiště

(*Münchengrätz*) in Central Bohemia. At the Kynžvart Chateau there have been preserved commemorative medals reminiscent of the Imperial marriage. These pieces are of different origin with various iconographic program.

The obverse of the first medal of French provenance presents a double portrait of the heroized bust of the imperial couple (Napoleon I and Marie Louise) viewed from the right, without a legend or a motto, only with the signature of the renowned engraver of the Paris Mint of Medals, Jean-Bertrand Andrieu, *ANDRIEU F* [ecit].¹⁴ Both Majesties are captured in a stylized manner in accordance with the Roman imperial tradition: The Emperor is crowned by the laurel wreath of *triumphateur*, a symbol of military power; the Empress is decorated with a tiara that declares the sovereign legitimacy (see fig. 5). On the reverse of this medal dated to MDCCCX, i.e. 1810, is depicted Amor bearing on its wings the spindle with thunderbolts of Jupiter, the king of gods (see fig. 6). The god of love and Love itself, the son of the god of war Mars and the goddess of love and beauty Venus, also worshiped as the deity

¹³ “Du Nil au séjour des Césars, Tu fis connoître ta puissance; Des plus beaux monumens [sic] des arts, Ton génie enrichit la France. Que manquoit-il à tes succès ? Nous le voyons dans cette fête : Tu donnes MARIE aux Français, Voilà ta plus douce conquête. L’Amour cherche les grands guerriers jusque sur le char de Bellone; Ce Dieu joint le myrthe aux lauriers, Pour leur tresser une couronne: N’as-tu pas des droits bien connus A cette couronne chérie? Mars l’obtint des mains de Vénus, Reçois-la des mains de MARIE,” NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 1994. Full text in original and in translation, see: Marian Hochel and Marta Pavlíková, *Třináctá komnata*

Napoleonova. Obraz Napoleona Bonaparta v mobiliárních fondech Národního památkového ústavu (Praha: Národní památkový ústav, 2017), 106-10. The goddess of war worshiped in ancient Rome, her temple was situated near the temple of Mars, the god of war on Mars's field.

¹⁴ NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 25151. Bertrand Andrieu is undoubtedly considered to be the most important engraver of medals at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century in France. Catherine Delmas, “Denon directeur de la Monnaie des Médailles” in *Dominique-Vivant Denon. L’œil de Napoléon*, ed. Marie-Anne Dupuy (Paris, 1999), 284.

of harvest, was already considered by the ancient Greek myths to be a powerful and animating force. In connection with this commemorative medal, created for the occasion of the marriage of the Imperial couple, and in combination with the attribute of the king of gods Jupiter carries a significant message: “love brings lightning,” i.e. “love brings strength.” The traditional military symbolism of Mars in the form of weapons is replaced in the composition with the attribute of Venus, by the symbolism of Jupiter—and that is the message included in this commemorative medal. The marriage of members of two ruling European dynasties will consolidate their sovereign political position and be a guarantee of stability and peace in Europe.¹⁵ According to another explanation, this is a small Putto who carries Jupiter's winged spindle on its back.¹⁶ The attribute of winged Amor was a bow and arrow. Although Putto was often presented in iconography without the wings and his figure was often used as a decorative rather than a meaning element, his attribute was a swarm of abundance. The wings, however, are depicted in relation to the spindle with flashes asymmetrically—that in the spirit of the period canon would deny the skill of the author of the medal; this interpretation is therefore unlikely.

¹⁵ “*L'Amour emportant le foudre*,” in Ludwig Bramsen, *Médaillier Napoléon le Grand, ou Description des médailles, clichés, repoussés et médailles-décorations relatives aux affaires de la France pendant le Consulat et l'Empire* (Paris, 1907), II, Cat. No. 959.

A different iconographic type this time representing Central European production is represented by another bronze medal also preserved at the Kynžvart Chateau.¹⁷ On the obverse are depicted busts of the Imperial couple, the Emperor of France, dressed in an ancient Roman warrior's clothing, the Austrian archduchess dressed in an elegant peplos with clasps, with a tiara and pearls embedded in a refined hairstyle (see fig. 7). The medal is not signed on the obverse; the legend says: *NAPOLEON I GALLORUM IMP. ITALIAN. REX ET M. LUDOVICA ARCHI. AUSTRIAE* (Napoleon I, the Emperor of Gauls, the King of Italy and Marie Louise, the Archduchess of Austria). As indicated on the base of the column depicted on the reverse (*XI MARTII MDCCCX*, i.e. *March 11, 1810*) this piece is a commemorative medal made in a Prague mint in honour of the marriage *per procurationem* in Vienna on Sunday, 11 March 1810 (see fig. 8). The iconographic program of this medal indicates that the sovereign of the renewed Western Empire intends to conclude his Christian alliance with the member of the ruling dynasty representing the East Empire and, in an attempt to ensure a legitimate succession, to give peace to Europe: “Hymen carrying a burning torch, putting the garland on the royal crown which is situated over the Austria's emblem raised on a column.”¹⁸

¹⁶ Lisa Zeitz and Joachim Zeitz, *Napoleons Medaillen* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2003), 208, Cat. No. 114.

¹⁷ NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 22510.

¹⁸ “*L'Hymen, portant une torche allumée, pose une guirlande sur une couronne royale, qui surmonte un*

The reverse is signed, but the signature is not readable enough.¹⁹ The medal was identified on the basis of a comparative analysis - the engraver Anton Guillemard, who worked at the Prague Mint and Engraving School, and his younger friend and disciple Franz Xaver Stuckhart (or Stuckgart or Stukart), both graduates of the Viennese Engraving Academy.²⁰ Guillemard's domain was a portrait, while Stuckhart focused on allegorical scenes. In this case, however, Stuckhart created an obverse with portraits of the Imperial couple, probably inspired by Napoleon's official imperial portraits created by the Paris Engraving School.²¹ The medal was made of silver and offered in Guillemard's offer leaflet.²²

In addition to the iconography of the years 1810 and 1811, which had for both monarchies (French and Austrian) a political significance, the portraits of the main actors of the historical events of Napoleonic history, as well as the genre and battle scenes, reminiscent primarily by selected victorious battles and campaigns of the Coalition forces, have been the most

frequented subjects in chateau collections of the Czech, Moravian and Silesian nobility. The showpieces of noble collectors are also personal items of prominent personalities visiting the court or dignitaries in diplomatic and military services. These collections have also included historically valuable items from the personal property of Napoleon or his family members. Among noble family collections which have been distinguished by quantity and quality of Napoleonic memorabilia, the most significant have been the collections of Liechtenstein, Metternich, Schwarzenberg, Blücher and, of course, of Habsburg family members who visited their residences in Lands of the Bohemian Crown.²³

The collection of extraordinary value represents the precious and rarities of Prince Metternich at the Kynžvart Chateau, originating from his private local museum. These objects have already been presented as curiosities at the time.²⁴ A collection of these items with detailed descriptions of selected exhibits is mentioned in a 30-page catalogue entitled

bouclier appendu à une colonne." Bramsen, *Médaillier Napoléon le Grand*, II, Cat. No. 945.

¹⁹ The signature probably stands for: [Franz Xaver] *Stuckhart* [(1781–1857) et *A[nton]*]. *Guillemard* [(1747–1812)]. Bramsen, *Médaillier Napoléon le Grand*, II, Cat. No. 945.

²⁰ For more details on both authors, see Eduard Polívka, *Pražský rytec a medailér Antonín Guillemard 1747–1812* (Praha, 1988).

²¹ Jana Hubková, "Paměť vyrytá do kovu. Čechy a napoleonská tematika v životě rytce Antona Guillemarda," in Marcela Zemanová and Václav Zeman, eds., *Napoleonské války v české historické paměti a v paměti regionu*, (Ústí nad Labem, 2014), 123.

²² Hubková, 129–31.

²³ For more details, see Marian Hochel, "Stopy hrdinství a elegance: napoleonika a jejich odraz v historické paměti," *Acta Historica Universitatis Silesianae Opaviensis* (Opava: Ústav historických věd, Slezská univerzita v Opavě, 2015): 75–111.

²⁴ For more about the Curiosity Cabinet and Metternich Museum of Kynžvart Chateau, see Miloš Říha, "Metternichův kabinet kuriozit na zámku Kynžvart," in *Metternich a jeho doba. Sborník příspěvků z konference uskutečněné v Plzni ve dnech 23. a 24. dubna 2009*, ed. Ivo Budil and Miroslav Šedivý (Plzeň, 2009), 95–103; and Ladislav Fuks, *Zámek Kynžvart. Historie a přítomnost* (Karlovy Vary, 1958), 115–24.

Napoleon Souvenirs, preserved in the Prince's Metternich Museum in Kynžvart, dated 27 September 1860.²⁵ Its author was Professor Paul Rath, the administrator of collection ("museums director") and author of the seven-part inventory of the Curiosity Cabinet from 1850 to 1867.²⁶ Many of these items were acquired by Prince Metternich in the form of diplomatic gifts or purchased or otherwise acquired by personal ties with influential people from Napoleon's personal background. The career of a skilled diplomat and politician has contributed greatly to that. Of all the foreign diplomats he was closest to Napoleon and his family. His diplomatic career began in 1801 as an Austrian ambassador to Saxon Dresden, in 1803 he was an envoy to the Prussian Royal Court in Berlin, three years later at the Russian Tsar in St. Petersburg. From 1806 to 1809 he served as the ambassador of the Austrian Empire at Napoleon's Court in Paris, and in 1809 he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1813 he obtained a hereditary title of Prince from Emperor Franz I and from 1821 to 1848 he remained the first Austrian state chancellor. It was evident that in the memory of Metternich family, the reminiscence of the Napoleonic wars, which

ensured prosperity, fame, and wealth, was well established.²⁷ All these circumstances constituted the ideal conditions for the creation of art and curiosities collections, including the works of renowned artists and remarkable collection of Napoleonic memorabilia, which Prince Metternich gathered as an extraordinary imprint of his time at Kynžvart Chateau from 1828 to 1859. From these collections, he established the noteworthy Chateau Museum including the Curiosity Cabinet with an unprecedented collection of authentic monuments of a number of prominent personalities and events in the European history and culture.²⁸

Regarding the subject of this paper, it is necessary to mention some valuables from the list of items that were noticed in the *Napoleon Souvenirs Catalogue* by Paul Rath. They are still preserved at the Kynžvart Chateau. Under number 210 is mentioned

a strand of Napoleon I hair, cut at the Fontainebleau Chateau in 1814 two days before leaving for Elba Island; preserved by Count Tuscune, Chief Chamberlain and His Majesty's

²⁵ *Napoleon-Souvenirs aufbewahrt im hochfürstl. von Metternich'schen Museum zu Koenigswart*, NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 3635.

²⁶ Paul Rath, *Kurzgefasste Übersichts-Alphabet sämtlicher Museums Objecte etc.*, 7 Vols. (1850–1867).

²⁷ For about the biography, correspondence and memory of Prince Metternich, see *Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren*. Herausgegeben von dem Sohne des Staatskanzlers Fürsten Richard Metternich-Winneburg, geordnet und zusammengestellt von Alfons v. Klinkowström, Autorisirte deutsche Original-Ausgabe, I–VIII,

(Wien, 1880–1884); Clemens Wenzel Lothar Metternich, *Mémoires, documents et écrits divers laissés par le prince de Metternich*, I–V, (Paris, 1880); Richard Metternich, ed. *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*, I–V, (London, 1880–1882); Luigi Mascilli Migliorini, *Metternich*, (Paris, 2018); and Eduard Schmidt-Weissenfels, *Fürst Metternich: Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Zeit*, 2 Vols. (Praha, 1860).

²⁸ Říha, "Metternichův kabinet kuriozit na zámku Kynžvart," 96.

Wardrobe Custodian. This relic of world-class historical value was handed over to the Kynžvart Museum on August 11, 1822.²⁹

The strand of Napoleon's hair was embedded in a glass medallion with a gold-plated hoop, however, the adjustment still raises some questions (see fig. 9).³⁰ Professor Rath's note in the Princely Museum's catalogue at Kynžvart presents this exhibit as

Napoleon's curl, cut off in April 1814, two days before [Napoleon's] departure to Elba Island, preserved in the collection of Count Tuscune, the chamberlain and His Majesty's wardrobe attendant. This curl is placed under glass in a round gold-plated case. (...) It was acquired into

collections in 1828. (...) This curl is mentioned in the Conscription Sheet IX III (...) by words: "The hair of Emperor Napoleon I (i. e. the first) cut off in Fontain[e]bleau in April 1814, two days before his departure to Elba Island. [This curl was] taken by Count von Tuscune, his valet and wardrobe attendant, stored in a paper envelope. This consignment is signed in Plasy G. Adler on August 11, 1828."³¹

Professor Rath, however, pointed out in this context that "the custodian and former museum director Karl Huss [(1761-1838)] mentions this object with the same words in his list in 1828. As far as the current case is concerned, I found it in this form without any mention when the paper envelope was replaced by this case."³² However, Rath's

²⁹ "Eine Haarlocke Napoleon d. I. ten abgeschnitten zu Fontainebleau im Jahre 1814 zwei Tage vor der Abreise nach der Insel Elba; gesammelt & aufbewahrt von dem Grafen Tuscune S[eine]r Majestaet Kammerherrn u[nd] GarderobMeister. Diese Reliquie der welthistorischen Grösse wurde am 11.º Aug. 1822 dem Königswarter Museo übermacht," NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 3635.

³⁰ The circular-shaped medallion, 3 cm in diameter, author unknown; NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 1631.

³¹ "Haarlocke Napoleons, abgeschnitten im April 1814, zwei Tage vor seiner Abreise nach der Insel Elba, gesammelt von dem Grafen Tuscune Sr. Majestaet Kammerherrn u. Guaderobmeister. Diese Locke ist in runder, vergoldeter Tombackfassung hinter Glas. Der Durchmesser der Fassung ist 8 1/2 u. ihre Tiefe 3. Einlaufszeit: 1828. Gl. Schr. II F I. Diese Haarlocke ist angemerkt auf dem Consgn. Blatte IX III n. mit den Worten: 'Haare vom Kaiser Napoleon den 1 ten (soll heissen dem ersten) abgeschnitten zu Fontain[e]bleau in April 1814 zwei Tage vor seine Abreise auf die Insel Elba. Gesammelt durch den Grafen von Tuscune seinen Kammerherrn Garderobmeister in einem Papierumschlage.' Dieses Consgn. Bl. ist zu Plass am 11. Aug. 1828 von G. Adler unterzeichnet," Paul Rath, *Kurzgefasste Übersichts-Alphabet sämtlicher Museums Objecte etc.*, III: 576; and Fuks, *Zámek Kynžvart*, 121 and 143.

³² "Custos Huss bringt diesen Gegenstand mit denselben Worten in seinem Verzeichnisse vom Jahre 1828 n. Was die gegenwertige Fassung anlangt, so habe ich dieselbe schon vorgefunden, ohne dass irgendwo angemerkt wäre, wann sie mit dem Papierumschlage vertauscht worden ist."

different date of acquisition in the Napoleonic catalogue is unclear as compared to the one noted in the Prince's Museum catalogue.

In Metternich's collections, another similar "relic" of Napoleonic history has been preserved, closely related to the personality of Napoleon Bonaparte (see fig. 10).³³ Professor Rath mentioned it in the catalogue of Napoleonic memorabilia under number 211

a watch case made of the funeral cover of Napoleon's coffin. The skirt is black of medium quality and the pouch made of it is simply stitched by white silk [threads]. The symbol N is wrapped [ornamentally] by falling forgot-me-not motifs, and the attached handle has a double thread. At the bottom there is a small (...) fixed glass medallion in a gilded frame in which [light chestnut] hair of the late Napoleon is embedded. Both slides of this medallion are [decoratively] polished, one with the initials A P?, the other capturing the famous mourning willow from the [Island of Saint] Helena with a tombstone [of Napoleon's grave]. The hair itself is tied around with a black thread. I found the necessary information about this museum object in a leaflet which was in that case. The announcement of this gift handwritten note is as follows: "According to my promise, me E. H.,

I am handing over this nice black case made by my wife in 1828 in England from a single piece of funeral cover of Napoleon I for a curious cabinet [Cabinet of Curiosities] of His Highness the Prince von Metternich. On the left side, I found a piece of paper that still holding, and on the basis of which this [object] came to England and to my hands. From the same source also comes a medallion with several Napoleon hair that I attach to this watch case, since both things belong to one another and it will be better for it to be deposited in Kynžvart [Château] than to me where no one sees it. Miss Hurst at that time told me that her brother belonged to Napoleon's close neighborhood and had friendly relations with him, and that the authenticity of this cover and of this hair is undoubtedly confirmed. E. H., the most humble Haenel Ritter von Cronenthall.

In this letter, a piece of paper is attached to the back of the handgrip on the case and contains the following message: 'Napoleon's blankets cut off by his chamberlain [Louis-Joseph-Narcisse] Marchand [(1791–1876)] and handed over to Mr. Webb, surveyer of the works of St. Helena, who sent it to his sister Madame Hurst to Greenwich.' Substitution of Miss

Rath, III: 576; and Fuks, *Zámek Kynžvart*, 121 and 143.

³³ NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 1630.

and Madame is undoubtedly *Lapsus calami*.³⁴

As the preserved indication points out, it is not the Napoleon's "relic" from Elba Island, as previously thought,³⁵ but from the Island of Saint Helena, and soon after the death of the former French Emperor, its museum value was attributed to its historical significance. The objects that formed this relic were interconnected, and should be exhibited as a testimony of the time and remembrance of the giant to whom they had a direct link. The embroidery with the motif of the forget-me-not flowers selected for decoration is evident: "Do not forget me."

³⁴ "K. N. 211. Ein Uhrtäschchen aus einem Stücke von Napoleons Sargtuche gefertigt. Das Tuch ist mittelfeiner Qualität, von schwarzer Farbe, u[nd] das daraus gefertigte Säckchen ist mit weisser Seide ziemlich kunstlos ausgenäht. Ein mit Vergissmeinnicht Ranken umgebenes N ist auf dem Täschchen selbst angebracht und der Wandlappen hat eine doppelte Fadenberänderung. An Letztern ist ein kleines, nur 8''' im Durchmesser haltendes, Glasmedaillon in Goldfassung angenäht, in welchem Haare von Napoleons Leiche aufbewahrt sind. Die beiden Gläser dieses Medaillons haben, das eine die Namens-Chiffre A ? u[nd] das andere die bekannte Helena-Trauerweide mit dem rabmonumente eingeschliffen. Die Haare selbst sind mit einem schwarzen Faden zur kreisrunden Locke zusammengebunden. Ich fand diesen Museumsgegenstand schon hier vor, u[nd] ein im Täschchen befindlicher Zettel gab mir die nöthigen Aufschlüsse. Der Wortinhalt dieser autographen Geschenkebeigabe ist nämlich folgender: „Meinem Versprechen gemäss überreiche ich E. H. für das ebenso schöne als merkwürdige Kabinet S[eine]r Durchlaucht des Fürsten von Metternich eine schwarze Uhrtasche von meiner Frau im Jahre 1828 in England aus einem Stücke des Leichentuchs Napoleons gefertigt. Auf der linken Seite bemerkte ich damals auf einem Stück Papier, welches noch ansteckt, auf welche Weise es nach

Among the other memorable items that Professor Rath registered in *Napoleon Souvenirs* Catalogue with regard to the supposed former property of French Emperor, there are noticed three French cockades, listed also in the Curiosity Cabinet Exhibits Catalogue in Section *III. Geschichtlich Interessantes: Ordensdecorationen, Feld- & Parteizeichen Kokardens* under registration numbers 308, 309, and 310. Under the number 308, a

cockade [in the colours of the French] tricolor of the Napoleon I hat, took off in His Grace's own hand. The opportunity for this remarkable acquisition was a random conversation between Napoleon and

England u[nd] in meine Hände kam. Aus derselben Quelle erhielt ich auch die in dem Medaillon befindlichen wenigen Haare Napoleons, welche ich der Uhrtasche beifüge, da beide Dinge zusammen gehören u[nd] sie in Königswart besser aufgehoben sind, als bei mir, wo selbige Niemand sieht. Miss Hurst theilte mir damals mit, dass ihr Bruder mit den nächsten Umgebungen Napoleons in sehr freundlichen Vernehmen gestanden hat, wodurch die Echtheit des Tuches u[nd] der Haare vollends ausser allen Zweifel gesetzt wird. E. H. unterthänigster Haenel Ritter von Cronenthall. NB. Der in diesem Briefe besprochene Zettel ist an der Rückseite des Wandlappens mit einer Stecknadel befestigt u[nd] enthält nachstehende Zeilen: 'Von dem Leichentuche Napoleon's durch dessen Kammerdiener Marchant abgeschnitten u[nd] dem Herrn Webb, surveyer of the works of St. Helena gegeben, welcher es an seine Schwester der M.^e Hurst in Greenwich schickte.' Die Verwechslung der Ausdrücke von Miss & Madame ist ohne Zweifel ein *Lapsus calami*." NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 3635.

³⁵ Marie Mžysková, *Napoleon a jeho doba. Výběrový katalog výstavy ke 190. výročí bitvy u Slavkova* (Historické muzeum ve Slavkově u Brna, 1995), 99, Cat. No. 316.

Prince Metternich, and as a result of which the Emperor [Napoleon], during his speech, seized the cockade from his hat and gave it to His Grace [Prince Metternich] as a historical curiosity. I heard this interesting anecdote from the mouth of His Highest Grace [Prince Metternich] in 1807.³⁶ The second larger cockade [in the colours of the French] tricolor [preserved] in the collection, which is also regarded as Napoleon's, comes from Compiègne in 1810, but the reason for its acquisition is unknown to me.³⁷ (see fig. 11)

The third cockade, kept in the collection of Metternich Museum, registered under number 310, was to witness the Battle of Aspern, as the original manuscript mentions: "Aus der Schlacht von Aspern," (From the Battle of Aspern).³⁸ The battle, which took place on 21 and 22 May 1809 and ended with the victory of the Austrian Archduke Charles over the French, was attended by many members of the Czech

and Austrian nobility. That is the reason of the imprint of this event in the ancestral memory of their descendants. The Battle of Aspern has become the preferred subject, decorating the interiors of many noble houses in Austrian and Czech lands.

Another valuable of Metternich collections including Napoleonic memorabilia is Napoleon's washbasin from Elba Island, made in a representative Empire style (see fig. 12).³⁹ Even this artefact speaks to us, it has become a guardian of historical memory, it was destined for this. On the bottom rung of this piece is situated a brass plate with the French inscription: "This washbasin was used by Emperor Napoleon, who devoted it to his sister Princess [Pauline] Borghèse when he left Elba Island. [Then, this washbasin] was donated by the Princess to the Duke of Reichstadt and by him to Prince Metternich."⁴⁰ According to another report, the washbasin was donated by Princess Borghèse to Napoleon as he left for exile to Elba Island. Thereafter, Napoleon sent it with other

³⁶ NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 1635.

³⁷ "Tricolor-Kokarde vom Hute Napoleon I von S[eine]r Durchlaucht eigenhändig abgelöst. Veranlassung zu dieser seltsamen Acquisition gab ein zufälliges Gespräch, das sich zwischen Napoleon und dem Fürsten von Metternich über Sammlungs-Liebhabeereien entspann, u[nd] in Folge dessen der Kaiser die in Rede stehende Kokarde, als historisches Curiosum, S[eine]r Durchlaucht vom Hute abzulösen erlaubte. Ich habe diese artige Anekdote aus dem Munde S[eine]r Durchlaucht Hochselbst mit der Jahresdate 1807. Eine zweite grössere Tricolor-Kokarde der Sammlung, gleichfalls als eine Napoleon gehörige bezeichnet, ist aus Compiègne vom Jahre 1810, ihre Acquisitionsweise mir jedoch unbekannt." NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 3635;

NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 1640.

³⁸ NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 1641; Vladimír Kočan, "Kokarda Napoleona I," in *Poklady zbrojnic na státních hradech a zámcích ve správě Národního památkového ústavu*, ed. Petr Czajkowski (Brno: Národní památkový ústav, 2017), 261, Cat. No. 114.

³⁹ NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 1145.

⁴⁰ "Ce lavabo a été à l'usage de l'Empereur NAPOLEON, se geul l'a donné au moment de son depart de l'île d'Elbe à sa soeur la Princesse BORGHÈSE. Il a été légué par elle au Duc de REICHSTADT et par celui ce au Prince de METTERNICH." NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 1145.

items to his son *Aiglon*. In both cases, after the death of *Aiglon*, this valuable came into the possession of Marie Louise and she gave it to the Chancellor Metternich in 1832 with other reminders of her former deceased husband.⁴¹

In the catalogue of Professor Rath, the literal transcription of the text of Marie Louise's letter, sent to Chancellor Metternich, is cited:

I am writing to you these few lines, my dear Prince, to ask you to keep in memory of my poor son the two things you mentioned to me yesterday and which came from Princess [Pauline] Borghèse. I believe that this way I will interpret to your understanding the desire of my dear deceased [son]. You, who always showed him the paternal care and was a real friend. Mr. de Foresté will also give you two little things in my name that will serve for daily use. (...) Schönbrunn, July 25, 1832, Your most loyal Marie Louise.⁴²

⁴¹ Fuks, *Zámek Kynžvart*, 77.

⁴² "Je vous écris ces peu de lignes mon cher Prince pour vous prier de garder comme un souvenir de mon pauvre fils des deux objets dont Vous m'avez parlé hier et qui proviennent de la Princesse Borghèse. Je crois interpréter de cette manière les desirs de mon cher défunt à votre égard. Vous qui avez toujours montré pour lui la sollicitude d'un Père et d'un vrai ami. M. de Foresté vous remettra aussi en mon nom deux petits objets qui ont servi à son usage journalier. (...) Schönbrunn le 25 Juillet 1832. Votre très affectionnée Marie Louise" in Fuks, *Zámek Kynžvart*, 77.

⁴³ "Clemens erhielt ein gütiges und rührendes Schreiben von Marie Louise, die ihm einen

Two days after the death of the son of Marie Louise, on 24 July 1832, Melanie von Metternich, born Zichy-Ferraris, mentioned in her journal:

Clement received a kind and moving letter from Marie Louise who sent him a washbasin in memory, which belonged to Napoleon, and which Princess Pauline Borghèse donated to Duke of Reichstadt. Clement will send this souvenir to Kynžvart [Chateau], whose museum will acquire by this a new decoration.⁴³

The dating of Marie Louise's letter to Melanie von Metternich's journal raises questions. It is certain, however, that the washbasin was viewed as an exhibit of historical significance with undoubted museum value which will enrich the collection of the Metternich Museum at the Kynžvart Château. The two little things that Marie Louise gave to the Chancellor Metternich with Napoleon's washbasin and mentioned in her letter as objects for everyday use were specified by Professor

Waschtisch zum Geschenke macht, welcher Napoleon gehört und den die Prinzessin Pauline Borghèse dem Herzog von Reichstadt vermacht hatte. Clemens wird dieses Andenken nach Königswart schicken, dessen Museum dadurch eine neue Zierde erhält. Melanie von Metternich, 24. VII. 1832." *Aus dem Tagebuche der Fürstin Melanie 1831-1848*, in *Aus Metternich's nachgelassenen Papieren*. Herausgegeben von dem Sohne des Staatskanzlers Fürsten Richard Metternich-Winneburg, geordnet und zusammengestellt von Alfons v. Klinkowström, Autorisirte deutsche Original-Ausgabe, V: 236; and Fuks, *Zámek Kynžvart*, 77 and 142.

Rath in the catalogue of Napoleonic memorabilia under number 287:

*The ceremonial decoration of the Duke of Reichstadt, consisting of the Crosses of the Order of St. Stephen and Constantine in a miniature form on a golden chain in the leather case of her Highest Imperial Highness, the most respectful mother of Prince Metternich, which she took over with the two things mentioned and in the letter cited as an object of everyday use.*⁴⁴

A number of personal items, coming from the former property of Napoleon's family, are also preserved in other chateau collections. In the collection of Habsburg Konopiště (*Konopischt*, *Konnepisch*) Chateau in Central Bohemia, there are a couple of sticks attached to a wooden plate covered in a beige plush and equipped with a table rest (see fig. 13). This memorabilia can be identified by a German inscription on the attached metal plate which informs us that Napoleon's son "*Aiglon*," the Duke of Reichstadt, used these sticks of harness to control a pair of goats—it was a favourite pastime of the number of aristocratic children and small Austrian archdukes in the gardens and parks of their castle residences.⁴⁵ After his father's abdication in 1814, the former King of Rome grew up at

the Austrian Imperial Court in Vienna, so his link to this memorabilia is more than likely.

At the Duchcov Chateau, there are presented Napoleon's white-leather gloves made of soft buckskin, decorated with gilded embroidery with imperial symbolism (see fig. 14). This memorabilia is displayed without any historical connection to this Waldstein Chateau and was obtained from the former private collection, apparently at auction.⁴⁶ The composition of the power symbols is respected by the stable iconographic program used in the First French Empire—the imperial eagle with its wings spread out, clutching in its talons Jupiter's spindle, wrapped in two laurel branches, an authentic symbol of victory and power in the antiquity, overlaid with the imperial crown of Charles the Great (Charlemagne), the traditional symbol of power and legitimacy of Napoleon's government in France. The attached plate tells us about the acquisition of the gloves associated with Napoleon's sister Elisa, Princess of Lucca and Piombino, Grand Duchess of Tuscany. The text placed above the gloves inscribed in German on the base plate of the frame confirms that "these gloves belonged to the Emperor Napoleon I."⁴⁷ Napoleon acquired them probably as a

⁴⁴ "K. N. 287. Ordens-Decoration des Herzogs von Reichstadt, bestehend aus den Kreuzchen des St. Stephan u[nd] Constantin Ordens in Miniaturformat an einem goldenen Kettchen, sammt Leder-Etui von Ihrer kais. Hoheit, der Mutter des Entheltendem Fürsten von Metternich Durchl. mit den beiden vorerwähnten Gegenständen übermacht, u[nd] im angeführten Schreiben als objet pour l'usage journalier

bezeichnet," NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Kynžvart, Inv. No. KY 3635.

⁴⁵ "Zäume mit denen der Herzog v. Reichstadt seine Ziegenböcke führte," NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, SZ Konopiště, Inv. No. K 32709.

⁴⁶ NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, central depository, presented at the Duchcov Chateau, Inv. No. JE 9812.

⁴⁷ "Diese Handschuhe gehörten dem Kaiser NAPOLEON I," NPÚ ÚPS v Praze, central

gift and presented this acquisition in his private collection. Considering the overall state of their preservation and their oversized dimension, they had never been worn by the Emperor; their function was purely aesthetic and representative. They might have been donated from Napoleon's property like a number of other Emperor's personal belongings as inheritance to other members of his family, in this case, to his sister Elisa. Later, they have been bought at an auction by the private collector in Prague with the collection of other seven gloves of famous historical personalities before they have been acquired to the state collections.⁴⁸

Another example of the noble family, which intervened in historical events in the decisive moments of the Napoleonic wars and strengthened its position and prestige, is the Prussian House of Blücher. Their collectors' interest in Napoleonic memorabilia is illustrated by several exhibits associated with the Silesian Raduň (*Radun*) Chateau which is located near Opava (*Troppau*) in the historic Czech Silesia in the current Czech Republic, neither in Belarus nor in Polish Wrocław (*Breslau*), as it has been mistakenly mentioned by some authors. The memory of the family has been revived for several

generations by the remembrance of the renowned ancestor, the Prussian Field Marshal Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher (1742-1819), who had distinguished himself especially in the last three years of the Napoleonic wars. In 1813, he was appointed by the Allies Chief of Staff of the Silesian Army and participated in the victory of Coalition armies in the "Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig. In 1815, he was the leader of the Prussian army incorporated into the Coalition army which was subordinated to the Supreme Command of the Duke of Wellington. Blücher, at the crucial moment, helped Allies to contribute to the final defeat of Napoleon in the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June. Shortly thereafter, he was appointed a military governor of Paris which surrendered to the Allies.⁴⁹ The Prussians captured the Napoleon Belle Alliance carriage in the Battle of Waterloo. Marshal Blücher ordered this memorabilia to be transferred to his Wahlstatt (*Legnickie Pole*) domain. Later the carriage was moved to Krieblowitz (*Krobiełowice*) in Prussian Silesia where the renowned marshal was buried. One of Marshal's descendants Gebhard Leberecht, the 3rd Prince Blücher (1836-1916), commanded to move the carriage to Raduň in 1901 as the "Napoleon I travel carriage, which my great-grandfather, Field Marshal Blücher,

depository, presented at the Duchcov Chateau, Inv. No. JE 9812.

⁴⁸ For more about the context of this Napoleonic memorabilia, see Hochel and Pavlíková, *Třináctá komnata Napoleonova*, 278 and 281-82; and Vladimír Kočan, "Rukavice Napoleona I," in *Poklady zbrojnic na státních hradech a zámcích ve správě Národního památkového ústavu*, ed. Petr Czajkowski (Brno: Národní památkový ústav, 2017), 260, Cat. No. 113.

⁴⁹ For more about the biography of Field Marshal Blücher, see the details in Wilhelm Burckhardt, *Gebhard Lebrecht v. Blücher, preussischer Feldmarschall und Fürst von Wahlstatt: Nach Leben, Reden und Thaten geschildert* (Stuttgart, 1835); Michael V. Leggiere, *Blücher. Scourge of Napoleon* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014); and Johannes Scherr, *Blücher: Seine Zeit und sein Leben*, Zehn Bände in drei Abtheilungen, I–III, (Leipzig, 1887).

captured after the French flee after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815.”⁵⁰ The Blücher family kept this Berlin carriage as a rare family memorabilia before donating it to the museum at the Malmaison Chateau in France in 1973 where it is presented till now and since 1975 fully owned by the French state.⁵¹

Gebhard Bernhard, the 2nd prince Blücher von Wahlstatt (1799-1875), who got the domain of Raduň by marriage in 1832, began to manage it fully in 1835. In 1872, he acquired the hereditary title of the Prince and benefited from his grandfather's reputation.⁵² In the interior of Raduň Chateau there have been preserved five portraits of Ladies of Napoleon's family which were installed on the main stairway from the ground floor to the piano nobile and on its platform in front of the main representative hall and reception hall of the chateau. Apparently these artefacts were supposed to decorate the representative

chateau interior and commemorate the famous time of Marshal Blücher, the defeater of Napoleon. These artefacts are copies of large-format oil paintings, official portraits created by renowned French painters: a portrait of Napoleon's sister Pauline, married to Borghèse, Duchess of Guastala (1806), with the bust of her brother Napoleon I, according to the original by Robert Lefèvre from 1806 (see fig. 15);⁵³ a portrait of Napoleon's sister Elisa (who was married to Baciocchi), Princess of Lucca and Piombino (1805-1814), Grand Duchess of Tuscany (1809-1814), with her daughter Elisa Napoléone, by Pietro Benvenuti from 1809;⁵⁴ and a portrait of Napoleon's sister Caroline (who married Murat), Grand Duchess consort of Cleves and Berg (1806-1808) and Queen consort of Naples (1808-1815), with her children, Achille, Marie Letitia, Lucien and Louise, by François Pascal Simon Gérard from 1808 (or 1809–1810).⁵⁵ The collection

⁵⁰ Eva Kolářová, *Státní zámek Raduň* (Ostrava 2009), sine pag.; Eva Kolářová, *Zámek Raduň – náhled do interiérů a sbírek* (Kroměříž, 2015), sine pag.; and Eva Kolářová, *Příběh raduňského zámku* (Kroměříž, 2015), 70 and 106-08.

⁵¹ Musée national des châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau, Inv. No. MM 75.12.1; Céline Meunier, “Berline de Waterloo,” in *Musée national des châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau*, ed. Bernard Chevallier (Paris, 2006), 98–99; Jehanne Lazaj, ed. *Le bivouac de Napoléon. Luxe impérial en campagne* (Ajaccio – Milan, 2014), 22–23; Jean Tulard ed. *La Berline de Napoléon. Les mystères du butin de Waterloo* (Paris, 2012), 66–71.

⁵² Kolářová, *Státní zámek Raduň*, sine pag.

⁵³ NPÚ ÚPS v Kroměříži, SZ Raduň, Inv. No. HM 8707; the original version deposited in *Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon*, Inv. No. MV 7684; the reproduction see: Maria Teresa Caracciolo, *Les sœurs de Napoléon. Trois destins italiens* (Paris, 2014), 125, Cat. No. 72;

Frédéric Lacaille and Marie-Lys Marguerite, eds., *Napoléon. Images de la légende* (Paris, 2017), 151, Cat. No. 49.

⁵⁴ NPÚ ÚPS v Kroměříži, SZ Raduň, Inv. No. HM 8711; the original version deposited in *Musée national du château de Fontainebleau*, Inv. No. F 3357 C; the reproduction see: Christophe Beyeler, *Napoléon. L'Art en majesté. Les collections du musée Napoléon I^{er} au château de Fontainebleau* (Paris, 2017), 186.

⁵⁵ NPÚ ÚPS v Kroměříži, SZ Raduň, Inv. No. HM 8713; the original in two versions deposited in a private collection and in *Musée national du château de Fontainebleau*, registered in the collection of *Musée national des châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau*, Inv. No. MM 40-47.73.1 (MM 73 11); the reproduction see Beyeler, *Napoléon. L'Art en majesté*, 185; Maria Teresa Caracciolo and Jehanne Lazaj, eds., *Caroline, sœur de Napoléon. Reine des Arts* (Milano, 2017), 74, Cat. No. 14; and Xavier Salmon, *Peintre des rois, roi des*

of portraits of Napoleon's sisters complements the copy of the portrait of Marie-Julie Clary (the wife of Napoleon's brother Joseph), Queen consort of Naples and Sicily (1806-1808) and Queen consort of Spain and the Indies (1808-1813) with daughter Zénaïde by Robert Lefèvre from 1807;⁵⁶ and the copy of the portrait of Hortense de Beauharnais (the wife of Napoleon's brother Louis), Queen consort of Holland (1806-1810) and Duchess of Saint-Leu (1814), with son Napoleon-Louis, by François Pascal Simon Gérard from 1807.⁵⁷

The Field Marshal Blücher, the defeater of Napoleon, knew the originals of these portraits. In 1815, he ordered to transfer them as part of the war booty from the Bonaparte Family Chamber (*salon de famille*) at the Imperial Palace in Saint-Cloud to his Prussian domain, but apparently first to his palace in Berlin. The paintings were kept in Blücher family property until 1976 before they were gradually retrieved back to the French state collections.⁵⁸ Copies of the official Ladies Bonaparte portraits might have

been installed in one of Blücher's residences before the heirs of the renowned marshal moved to Raduň. However, it has not yet been found out when and who ordered these portrait copies for the decoration of the staircase, but it is certain that they are part of the equipment of the Raduň Chateau and have a direct connection to this residence and to the Blücher family. The portraits were probably mentioned for the first time in the estate of Prince Gebhard Bernhard Blücher in 1875 as “5 Napoleons”; another mention of this collection comes from the inventory of the chateau equipment from 1906 when the paintings were installed in the staircase entrance hall of the Raduň Chateau. Due to their dimensions they would not enter another space.⁵⁹ But it was, in addition to the ancestral pride, a hidden, yet understandable, gesture of the admiration of the Prussian Marshal and his followers for his rival's family, and in particular for the aesthetic effect of the impressive Bonaparte official portrait tradition developed in the First French Empire.⁶⁰

peintres: François Gérard (1770–1837), portraitiste (Paris, 2014), 113, Cat. No. 28.

⁵⁶ NPÚ ÚPS v Kroměříži, SZ Raduň, Inv. No. HM 8708; the original version deposited in *Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon*, Inv. No. MV 4714; the reproduction see Joconde, *Portail des collections des musées en France*, http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde_fr?ACTION=RETROUVER&FIELD_98=TOUT&VALUE_98=Julie%20Clary&NUMBER=8&GRP=0&REQ=%28%28Julie%20Clary%29%20%3aTOUT%20%29&USRNAME=nobody&USRPWD=4%24%2534P&SPEC=5&SYN=1&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=1&MAX3=200&DOM=All [10-08-2018].

⁵⁷ NPÚ ÚPS v Kroměříži, SZ Raduň, Inv. No. HM 8712; the original version deposited in *Musée national du château de Fontainebleau*, Inv. No. F 1997.5; the reproduction see Beyeler, *Napoléon. L'Art en majesté*, 183; and Salmon, *Peintre des rois, roi des peintres*, 109, Cat. No. 27.

⁵⁸ Beyeler, *Napoléon. L'Art en majesté*, s. 182, 186; Lacaille – Marguerite (eds.), *Napoléon. Images de la légende*, 150; and Salmon, *Peintre des rois, roi des peintres*, 108 and 112.

⁵⁹ Kolářová, *Zámek Raduň*, sine pag.; and Kolářová, *Příběh raduňského zámku*, 134 and 146.

⁶⁰ For more about the Empire portrait tradition of Napoleon's sisters, see Maria Teresa Caracciolo, *Les soeurs de Napoléon. Trois destins italiens* (Paris, 2014); and Claude Pommereau, *Les soeurs de*

Whether it was the interest of the Marshal Blücher or his descendants, we can ask where are (not only in the case of the former Blücher family property but generally in the case of the collections of Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian nobility) the boundaries between the will to keep a trace of “heroism” and the desire to surround themselves by the symbols of “elegance” from the period of the “great history?” For

centuries, the carnival of the Muses has revived the memory of ancient heroes and has remained in the dwellings of those who wanted to make their name immortalized. It is certain that the Napoleonic memorabilia (the mirrors of power, the conquerors of history) continue to talk in the memory of former noble houses in the Czech Republic and they are still admired by all those who want to understand them.



Fig. 1. The Imperial marriage per procuration in the Augustinian Church in Vienna (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)

Napoléon. Trois destins italiens (Paris: Musée Marmottan Monet, Beaux-Arts éditions, septembre 2013).



Fig. 2. The chess with motifs of the French and Austrian court (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 3. The pipe with the motif of Napoleon's son Aiglon (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 4. The notation of The Tribute to Napoleon and Marie Louise (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 5. The obverse of commemorative medal reminiscent of the Imperial marriage by Jean-Bertrand Andrieu (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 6. The reverse of commemorative medal reminiscent of the Imperial marriage by Jean-Bertrand Andrieu (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 7. The obverse of commemorative medal reminiscent of the Imperial marriage by Anton Guillemard and Franz Xaver Stuckhart (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 8. The reverse of commemorative medal reminiscent of the Imperial marriage by Anton Guillemard and Franz Xaver Stuckhart (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 9. The strand of Napoleon's hair embedded in a glass medallion with a gold-plated hoop (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 10. The watch case made of funeral cover of Napoleon's coffin with Napoleon's curl (photo by National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 11. The cockade of the Napoleon's hat (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 12. Napoleon's washbasin from Elba Island (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 13. The couple of sticks of harness to control a pair of goats of Napoleon's son Aiglon (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 14. The gloves that belonged to the Emperor Napoleon I (photo by Marta Pavlíková, National Heritage Institute)



Fig. 15. The portrait of Pauline Bonaparte, married to Borghèse, with the bust of her brother Napoleon I, according to the original by Robert Lefèvre (photo by Marian Hochel, National Heritage Institute)

Napoleon and the Romantics: From Hero to Villain

by Wayne Hanley

By the time Napoleon Bonaparte had completed his First Italian Campaign, he had become not only a national hero within France, but also an international hero figure whose image was reproduced for popular consumption, even in the Holy Roman Empire and in the United Kingdom.¹ This adulation was certainly true for many the British Romantic poets who viewed the French general as the embodiment of the Romantic hero, an individual of seemingly limitless talent and potential.² Within a few, short years, however, the English Romantics would portray Napoleon as a satanic figure and as a threat to British and European security. Ironically, this transformation had much less to do with the actual military threat posed by Napoleonic France than with Bonaparte's "betrayal" of the public image

he had fostered—that of the Romantic hero.

In his 1957 dissertation, "Five English Romantics and Napoleon Bonaparte," Nelson V. Davis contends that the majority of the five Romantics he studied (Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Scott, and Hazlett) had adopted a "wait-and-see attitude" toward the young General Bonaparte, but that for these individuals the "real turning point was the Peace of Amiens. When that uneasy period ended in 1803, many cautious Englishmen abandoned their noncommittal views and declared their hostility toward Napoleon."³ Davis's contention could almost be considered canon, especially among literary critics. In other (faulty) interpretations, it was Napoleon's invasion of Switzerland in 1798 which was the turning point. What unites these interpretations is a belief that

¹ Wayne Hanley, *The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda, 1796-1799* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 136-39 and 143-45.

² See, for example, the interpretations of Howard Mumford Jones, *Revolution and Romanticism* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1974), 294; Marilyn Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Revolutionaries: English Literature and its Background 1760-1830* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), 2; Marilyn Gaull, *English Romanticism: The Human Context* (New York: WW Norton, 1988), 167-68; Maurice Cranston, *The Romantic Movement* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 82; Simon Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 2; David Blayney Brown, *Romanticism* (London: Phaidon, 2001), 84; Adam Zamoyski, *Holy Madness: Romantics, Patriots, and Revolutionaries, 1776-1871* (New York: Penguin,

2001), 159; Ivane Menteshashvili, "The Great Romantics: Napoleon in Lord Byron's Poetry," *Napoleonic Scholarship: The Journal of the International Napoleonic Society* 3 (May 2010): 99, accessed 29 June 2016; available from http://www.napoleonicsociety.com/english/frameSetAccueil_Eng.htm; and P. Anamika, "Individualism: The Romantic Hero" [database on-line] (November 2013: 2-3, accessed 3 July 2016); available from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258245021_Individualism_The_Romantic_Hero.

³ Nelson V. Davis, *Five English Romantics and Napoleon Bonaparte* (Ann Arbor, MI: Xerox University Microfilms, 1974), v. This idea is echoed again and again in literary and artistic commentary on the Romantic era. See, for example, Maurice Cranston, *The Romantic Movement* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 63.

it was the military threat posed by Napoleon which caused the reversal of opinion among the English Romantics. A closer reading of the actual writings of early Romantics, with special attention given to the context of their writings, reveals a much more nuanced view of the future Emperor and alters the timing of the changes of opinion to 1799, not 1803.

As mentioned earlier when General Bonaparte began his Italian campaign in 1796, he captured the attention and imagination of the general populace. Perhaps Stendhal best captures the mood in his 1839 *Chartreuse of Parma* (although it was written well after events):

On the 15th of May, 1796, General Bonaparte marched into the city of Milan, at the head of the youthful army which had just crossed the Bridge of Lodi, and taught the world that, after the lapse of centuries, Caesar and

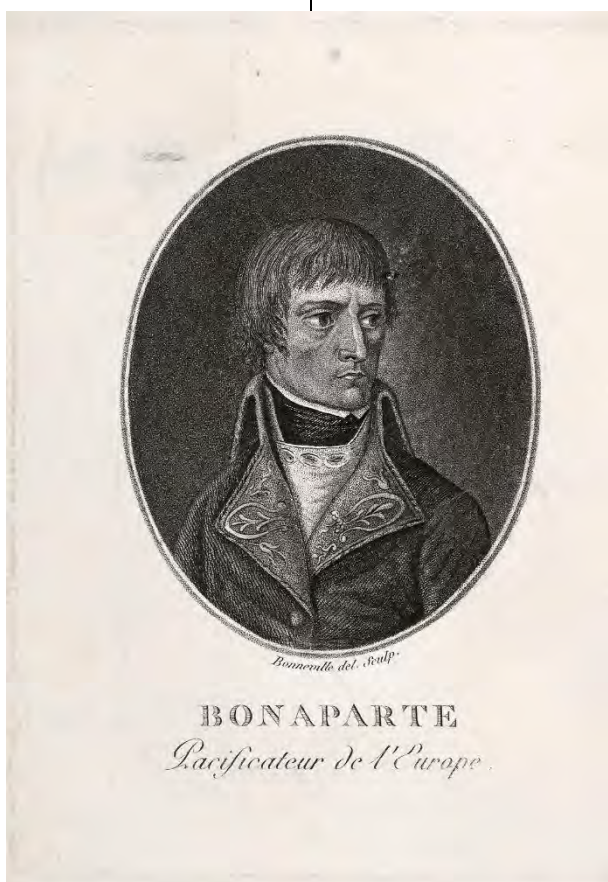
Alexander had found a successor at last.

The prodigies of genius and daring witnessed by Italy in the course of a few months, roused her people from their slumbers. But one week before the arrival of the French, the Milanese still took them for a horde of brigands, whose habit it was to fly before the

troops of his Royal and Imperial Majesty.⁴

Indeed the first mention of Bonaparte by an English Romantic writer occurred just a month after the event described by Hal. In a note accompanying his “Ode to the Departing Year” (1796), Samuel Taylor Coleridge notes that “... in the meantime Archduke Charles [of Austria] turns the scale of victory on the Rhine, and

Buonaparte is checked before Mantua.”⁵ This was written just prior to Napoleon’s dramatic victory at Rivoli (14 January 1797), capture of Mantua (2 February 1797), and *armistice* of Leoben (18 April



⁴ Stendhal [Marie-Henri Beyle], *Chartreuse of Parma*, trans. by Maurice Hewlett (London: William Heinemann, 1904), 1.

⁵ Davis, 66- 67; cf. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Ode on the Departing Year* [archive on-line] (Bristol: N.

Briggs, 1796, accessed 1 June 2016), 9; available from <https://archive.org/details/odeondepartingye00cole>.

1797) which effectively ended the campaign and made Bonaparte an international celebrity. As Nelson Davis comments:

By the beginning of 1798, General Bonaparte's potential greatness had come to be recognized in the central sources of power and policy in France. . . . His fame had also begun to spread beyond the borders of France, but only as the fame due any notable general. It was in this time that increased awareness of the great man began to grow among English writers.⁶

Indeed according to Simon Bainbridge, English writer Walter Savage Landor drew his inspiration for the eponymous hero of his novel *Gebir* from Bonaparte's campaign in Italy (and in Egypt), calling Napoleon "a mortal man above all moral praise."⁷ If the campaign in Italy had attracted the attention of the

Romantics to Bonaparte, his Egyptian campaign would make him their true hero.

What made the Egyptian campaign different was that in addition to taking an army of infantry, cavalry and artillery, Napoleon also brought along an army of scientists, artists and savants—a fact which as J. David Markham writes: ". . . allowed him to be seen in a much broader

light."⁸ The future emperor captured the imagination of his age. As Napoleon pacified Egypt and moved into Palestine, Robert Southey wrote to his wife on 13 May 1799, "Well well Buonaparte is making a home for us in Syria, and we may perhaps enjoy freedom under the



suns of the East, in a land flowing with milk and honey," Southey alluding both to the crackdown on "sedition" in England with the arrest several of his friends and to his long-time desire to form a utopian pantisocratic commune.⁹ Indeed during the

⁶ Davis, 80. This idea is echoed in J. David Markham, "Napoleon and the Romantic Poets," *Consortium on Revolutionary Europe: Selected Papers* 1998: 653; in Paul Stock, "Imposing on Napoleon: The Romantic Appropriation of Bonaparte," *Journal of European Studies* 36 (2006), 364-65; and in Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism*, 33-35.

⁷ Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism*, 27. According to Bainbridge, ". . . *Gebir* became the first major literary work to represent Napoleon and the only contemporary

English literary response to his Italian campaign of 1796-7 which was his dramatic arrival on the international stage."

⁸ Markham, 653. See also Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism*, 20.

⁹ Robert Southey to Edith Southey, 13 May 1799, *Romantic Circles: The Collected Letters of Robert Southey (Part Two: 1798-1803)*, ed. Ian Packer and Lynda Pratt, accessed 1 July 2016; available from https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/Part_Two/HTML/letterEEEd.26.408.html.

Egyptian campaign, Southey gushes with admiration of Napoleon, noting his skills in mathematics, calling him “remarkably studious,” and concluding that “he was always the great man, always the first, always Bonaparte.”¹⁰ Later following a string of French victories in the War of the Second Coalition, Southey exclaims in a letter to Humphry Davy, “Massena, Buonaparte, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, Egypt, all at once! The very spring-tide of fortune! It was a dose of gaseous oxide to me, whose powerful delight still endures.”¹¹ Likewise in these first years of Napoleon’s public career, Samuel Taylor Coleridge referred to the conqueror of Italy as a “man of science” and wrote to his friend Southey following Napoleon’s victory over the Turks at Aboukir, “what do you say to the Resurrection and Glorification of the Saviour of the East after his tryals [sic] in the Wilderness?—I am afraid that this is a piece of Blasphemy—but it was simple verity such as an infusion of animal Spirits into me—Bonaparte!—Bonaparte! dear dear DEAR Bonaparte.”¹² Even the popular press celebrated the achievements of Napoleon. In an anonymous 33 quatrain poem, “Buonaparte,” the writer traces the career of the triumphant general from his childhood to his campaign in Egypt and his return to France:

¹⁰ Robert Southey to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 3 October 1799 at *Romantic Circles*, accessed 1 July 2016; available from https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/P art_Two/HTML/letterEEEd.26.440.html.

¹¹ Robert Southey to Humphry Davy, 18 October 1799 at *Romantic Circles*, accessed 1 July

Good courteous reader, I am sure the name

Of Buonapare must have reach’d
thine ear;

But, lest though be deceived in his
fame,

E’en from my Muse his glories shalt
thou hear....

The poet goes on to describe the general and his various attributes, including his intellect:

... In science he is deep—his rapid pen
At once describes a vict’ry and a
bust;

And fighting in a swamp and marshy
fen,

He tells how many thousands bit the
dust....

Later describing Napoleon’s famous proclamation of to the Army of Italy, the writer continues:

... On ev’ry side the dreadful clamours
arise’

No watches, shirts, or shoes do we
possess;

Nor thee, nor the Directory we prize,

Unless ye save us from our sad
distress.

“*Courage!* My lads; *allons!* see yonder
plains

“And armies give us by Fate’s
decree;

“The Austrian spoils shall well reward
you pains,

2016; available from https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/P art_Two/HTML/letterEEEd.26.447.html.

¹² Quoted in Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism*, 22.

“Watches enough, and Wurmser’s watch for me...”

In such a manner the author traces events of the Italian campaign, the peace of Campo Formio, the threatened invasion of England, Napoleon’s voyage to Egypt (and Nelson’s victory), the siege of Acre, and Bonaparte’s victory at Aboukir over the Turks, concluding: “So out of Egypt, Buonaparte

Bold,/Escap’d to Paris, where I hear he thrives.”¹³ While Napoleon did indeed thrive in Paris following his return from Egypt, however, his reputation among the English Romantics suffered as a result of his coup of 18-19 Brumaire, the creation of the Consulate, and the subsequent life-consulship.

Before continuing with the impact of the coup on Napoleon’s reputation in England, I want to make a quick note regarding the role of Switzerland in shaping the opinions of the Romantics, and especially of William Wordsworth. One of the more traditional interpretations of the change of opinion

toward Bonaparte was that it was his 1798 invasion of Switzerland which disillusioned

the Romantics. According to English professor Nelson V. Davis:

Wordsworth and Coleridge began as advocates of the Revolution, but the invasion of Switzerland in 1798 disappointed their hopes for France. They viewed Napoleon cautiously until about 1800 or 1801, when they began to develop a

much more conservative view of him. After the collapse of the Peace in 1803 they asserted an opposition to Napoleon which they never afterwards abandoned.¹⁴

While Davis will later amend this idea, stating that “though Bonaparte did not himself lead this invasion, it certainly was a result of national policy about which he must have been consulted.”¹⁵ These are widely held beliefs by many literary critics, but they are patently false. 1) Napoleon never invaded Switzerland; 2) why, at this point in his career (1798), must Napoleon have been consulted? and 3) there is



¹³ Anonymous, “Buonaparte,” *The Meteors I* (1799), 17-25, available at *Romantic Circles: British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism, 1793-1815*, ed. Betty T. Bennett. accessed 2 July 2016; available from

https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/warpoetry/1799/1799_1.html.

¹⁴ Davis, vi.

¹⁵ Davis, 82.

actually no evidence that the Directory did consult him. It seems Davis and others are reading history backwards: Because Napoleon would become First Consul and then Emperor and would control French foreign policy, then he must have always had a hand in controlling foreign policy.

At the time of the invasion, there are only two mentions of Switzerland in Napoleon's correspondence. The first is a February 1798 letter informing the government of the Cisalpine Republic that as a result of a popular uprising in the Vaud, he has dispatched General Monnier to "*les bailliages italiens*" in hopes of maintaining order as they desired to be part of larger Helvetic Republic; and the second is a 10 March 1798 letter to Berthier in Milan, noting General Guillaume Brune's recent successes in Switzerland.¹⁶ Neither of these documents could be construed as evidence of Napoleon's being consulted regarding affairs in Switzerland—there is, in fact, no correspondence with the Executive Directory on the matter at all! As for the attribution of the date of the invasion,

literary critic J.C. Maxwell points out that the problem originated with faulty editing in Ernest de Sélincourt's 1928 edition of *The Prelude* in which he misattributed General Michel Ney's 1802 French campaign in Switzerland (which was authorized by Bonaparte as First Consul) with Brune's 1798 invasion (which had nothing to do with Napoleon). The error has been repeated ever since (and often compounded by attributing the invasion to Bonaparte directly).

And as if to add insult to the injury of conflating the dates, Maxwell demonstrates that even "the 1802 invasion of Switzerland ... was not of overwhelming importance" to determining Wordsworth's change of attitude toward Napoleon.¹⁷ The situation was further compounded with the appearance of Wordsworth's "Thought of a Briton on the Subjugation of Switzerland." This poem, however, written in 1806, is actually not about Switzerland as it is about the loss of liberty and the threat to the loss of British liberty.¹⁸ As Christina Root concludes in her 1991 dissertation,

¹⁶ Napoléon au Directoire Exécutif de la République Cisalpine, Paris, [28 February 1798], in Napoléon Bonaparte, *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, Vol.3 (Paris: Henri Plon, 1859), 653, no.2424; and Napoléon au Général Berthier, Paris, 10 March 1798, in Napoléon Bonaparte, *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, Vol.4 (Paris: Henri Plon, 1860), 22-23, no.2438.

¹⁷ T.C. Maxwell, "Wordsworth and the Subjugation of Switzerland" *The Modern Language Review* 65 (January 1970), 16-18. Maxwell's quote is from page 18. If one desires to use literature to gage popular responses to historical events, proper dating of those works is key. One cannot just assume the subject matter of a poem places its composition to the temporal proximity to an event. As another example, Wordsworth's "On the

Extinction of the Venetian Republic" is often grouped (because of its subject matter) with "Thought of a Briton on the Subjugation of Switzerland" with poems originally thought to have been written in mid-1802, but like this poem, as Alan G. Hill shows, was actually probably written in January 1807 (in response to Venice's inclusion in the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy, rather than as a result of Bonaparte's capture of the city in 1797). See Alan G. Hill, "On the Date and Significance of Wordsworth's Sonnet "On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic," *The Review of English Studies* 30 (November 1979), 441-45.

¹⁸ Christina Root, "Representations of Napoleon in English Romantic Literature" Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1991, 122-27.

“Representations of Napoleon in English Romantic Literature,” by 1806, Britain and her navy were “the last and only hope against Napoleonic domination of Europe, so, in a sense, Wordsworth's plea to liberty is a rallying cry to the British.”¹⁹ Despite its title, the poem has little to do with the actual French campaigns in the Helvetic Republic.

If it were not affairs in Switzerland, then what caused the disenchantment of the Romantics toward Napoleon? It was not the breakdown of the Peace of Amiens that Professor Davis contends, but rather a rapid transformation of Romantic opinions dating from Napoleon's overthrowing the Directory and creation of the Consulate. Not long after news of the coup reached England, Southey wrote to Coleridge: “I wish Bonaparte had stayed in Egypt, and that Robespierre had guillotined Sieyes.”²⁰ A

few weeks later, John Rickman, a friend and government statistician, wrote Southey, chiding, “How do you and Bonaparte agree at present? I never liked the Corsican, and now he has given me new offence.”²¹ Southey's response conveyed a disappointment as great as had been his admiration: “The Corsican has offended

me, and even his turning out the Mamelukes will not atone for his rascally constitution. The French are children with the physical force of men, unworthy, and therefore incapable of freedom....

Bonaparte has made me Anti-Gallican....”²²

Writing to Coleridge a few days later, Southey seemed to moderate his frustration with Napoleon and focused it on his supporters,

“Bonaparte's reputation is in bad hands to be defended by such whelps as this man [Benjamin Constant] and Roederer. ... The



¹⁹ Root, 127. Root also notes that Wordsworth is partially to blame for the problems of dating: “this poem. placed in the midst of the sonnets written in 1802 in the 1807 volume” (Root, 127).

²⁰ Robert Southey to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 23 December 1799 at *Romantic Circles*, accessed 1 July 2016; available from https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/P art_Two/HTML/letterEEEd.26.466.html.

²¹ Quoted in Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism*, 23.

²² Robert Southey to John Rickman, 9 January 1800 at *Romantic Circles*, accessed 4 July 2016; available from https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/P art_Two/HTML/letterEEEd.26.476.html.

second Consul (damn their barbarizing affectation of titles!) Cambaceres is one of the fairest characters that has yet appeared, and his nomination is creditable to the government.—but what of all this? Sieyes and the Corsican have trod upon my Jacobine [sic] corns—and I am a thorough English republican.”²³

For a brief time Bonaparte’s peace overtures softened Southey’s opinions, especially when the British press began ridiculing Napoleon’s intercepted letters from Egypt. Writing to his brother, Southey condemned

the rankest and most virulent abuse of Bonaparte—they have published all this by Authority—and thus contrived to throw another obstacle in the way of peace—by rendering themselves the personal enemies of the Chief Consul. Good God admitting that he was the worst of all rascals—what is that to us?—they have as much right to force a wise governor upon us, as we have to force an honest one upon them. And when this man whom they so vilify—is Napoleone [sic] Buonaparte!—I do not justify his assumption of power—let the use he makes of it, do that, but in review his past conduct—what I privately know of his youth—what all the world

know of his actions—the rank he holds as a general—the views he entertains as a philosopher—the feelings which made him in the career of victory the advocate of peace—I do not hesitate in pronouncing him the greatest man that events have called into action since Alexander of Macedon.²⁴

But by November 1801, Southey was thoroughly frustrated with the First Consul. Writing to Mary Baker, he concludes of Bonaparte: “Why had not the man perished before the Walls of Acre in his greatness and glory!—I was asked to write a poem upon that defeat, and am half tempted to do it because it went to me very heart.” And by June 1803, in a letter to his brother, he writes a patriotic poem which promises a proper reward should Bonaparte attempt an invasion of England.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s attitudes seemed to closely parallel those of Southey: initial outrage with the coup, then a moderation brought on by the opportunity for peace, then disillusionment. Writing to Southey immediately following the events of Brumaire, Coleridge called the coup, “Detestable Villainy,” and he is likewise critical of the veil of republicanism found in France’s new constitution.²⁵ In a series of articles in written for *The Morning Post*,

²³ Robert Southey to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 16 January 1800 at *Romantic Circles*, accessed 4 July 2016; available from https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/P art_Two/HTML/letterEEEd.26.476.html.

²⁴ Robert Southey to Thomas Southey, 2-3 February 1800 at *Romantic Circles*, accessed 4 July

2016; available from https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/P art_Two/HTML/letterEEEd.26.484.html.

²⁵ Quoted in Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism*, 23.

Coleridge concludes his 7 December 1799 essay “we believe that few are so wholly unacquainted with the nature of the human mind, as to expect very sanguinely a system productive of quietness from intriguers, or a constitution favourable to genuine liberty from a Commander in Chief.”²⁶ In his second essay several weeks later, while noting the use of universal manhood suffrage to ratify the new constitution, Coleridge remains skeptical of a system of government created “by secret intrigue in the palace of a military Dictator,” especially one with such an important institution as the Senate which is to be personally selected by Napoléon Bonaparte and Emmanuel Siéyès:

For who are to elect the Senate? Not the people, whose power of acquiescence we have shown to be a mere trick of French politeness—but the Committees! And who elected the Committees? Sieyes and Buonaparte. And here we must pause—we can rise no higher in this system of causation. These are self-elected—power and wisdom of France impersonated in an Abbe and a Commander in Chief.²⁷

This cynical analysis of Napoleon’s blatant power-grab, however, softens with

Bonaparte’s offers of peace negotiations (although, how much of this change was due to Coleridge’s reevaluation of Napoleon and how much of it was due to his detestation of the Pitt government, is open for debate).²⁸ When William Pitt declined Napoleon’s overtures in January 1800, Coleridge feared the consequences:

Never was a moment when peace promised so much, or threatened so little.... Her factions suspended by national danger, and her pride insulted by rejected proffers, France will have place herself like an army under the first military genius of the modern world! Fear of a threatened invasion will have restored him to all his popularity! And the man, who has achieved by his exploits the splendor of a hero in romance, wields at his will the whole force of a romantic people, and unites in his single government the dispatch and unity of a despotism, with the enthusiasm and resources of a Republic!²⁹

A few days later, Coleridge wrote another article in his series “On Peace” that point to the ultimate benefit of treating with Napoleon: “We admit, that an honourable Treaty concluded with Buonaparte would

²⁶ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, “On the French Constitution I” (7 December 1799), *Essays on His Times*, vol. 3, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Kathleen Coburn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 36.

²⁷ Coleridge, “On the French Constitution II” (26 December 1799), *Essays on His Times*, 48. In the subsequent essay on the same topic, Coleridge notes “A Senate elected by Buonaparte and Sieyes can only be considered as accomplices of

Buonaparte and Sieyes. We are justified, therefore, in considering the Executive Government and the Senate as one and the same body” [Coleridge, “On the French Constitution III” (27 December 1799), *Essays on His Times*, 52].

²⁸ Christina Root, “Representations of Napoleon in English Romantic Literature” Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1991, 19-20.

²⁹ Coleridge, “On Peace III” (3 January 1800), *Essays on His Times*, 71.

confirm his power, and that by this and his subsequent moderation in may continue, till the revival of commerce and manufactures in France calls into active power ... a Government modified accordingly.”³⁰ A month later Coleridge could even see as a Romantic hero:

In conniving at the usurpation of Bonaparte, they have seated on the throne of the Republic a man of various talent, of commanding genius, of splendid exploit, from whose policy the peaceful adherents of the old religion anticipate toleration; from whose real opinions and habits of men of letters and philosophy are assured patronage; in whose professional attachment and individual associations the military ... look confidently for the exertions of a comrade and brother; and finally, in whose uninterrupted felicity the multitude find an object of superstition and enthusiasm.³¹

But he also warns that

In his individual character and conduct, the Chief Consul has hitherto supported the part of a man ambitious of greatness: too intensely pre-occupied to be otherwise than austere in morals; too confident in his predestined fortune ... too ambitious of a new greatness for the ordinary ambition of conquest or despotism....

In his usurpation Bonaparte stabbed his honesty in the vitals; it has perished ... but the mausoleum, where it lies interred, is among the wonders of the world.³²

Despite Coleridge’s desire for negotiations with Napoleon and his ability to see the future Emperor’s potential greatness, he never really could forgive the coup. In an “Apologia,” written for *The Morning Post*, Coleridge reminds his readers that “Bonaparte deserted the gallant army which his own ambition had led into Egypt; and, on his return into France, instead of the death which was due to him, he procured the unshared possession of the supreme power. Bonaparte is a fugitive and an usurper. These are our opinions....”³³ And by 1802, despite his earlier acknowledgment of Napoleon’s charms, in two open letters to Mr. Fox, Coleridge had completed his transformation in opposing Bonaparte, noting with alarm “the atrocious ambition of the First Consul,” “the iron despotism, under which this upstart Corsican had reduced forty millions of your fellow creatures” and calling on the government to wake up to the dangers posed by Napoleonic France, and then tracing Bonaparte’s betrayals of humanity at Jaffa and with the restoration of the slave trade and by his censorship of the press and his high-handed interference in Switzerland and Holland (among other

³⁰ Coleridge, “On Peace V” (6 January 1800), *Essays on His Times*, 78-79.

³¹ Coleridge, “Bonaparte I” (11 March 1800), *Essays on His Times*, 208-09.

³² Coleridge, “Bonaparte I” (11 March 1800), *Essays on His Times*, 210-11.

³³ Coleridge, “Apologia I” (8 January 1800), *Essays on His Times*, 85.

things).³⁴ At one point, writing to his friend Humphry Davy, Coleridge even notes that killing a bad man might be for the greater good and suggests “that Buonaparte wants a gentle Dose of this kind, dagger or bullet *ad libitum!*”³⁵ As noted by Christina Root, though, such changes of opinion toward Bonaparte (from admiration to opposition) were so commonplace among the contemporaries of Coleridge and Southey that “it has become a cliché of the ‘Romantic ideology.’”³⁶

There does appear to be at least one notable exception to this pattern, or, at least for whom the pattern cannot be confirmed. William Wordsworth did not share his early opinions of Napoleon Bonaparte—at least not in writing. That he was inspired by the early Revolution, but disgusted by the excesses of the Reign of Terror is well documented, as is his opposition to Napoleon. The nature

of his writings do suggest, however, that his early attitudes may have been similar to those of his friends Southey and Coleridge.³⁷ In Spring 1802, Wordsworth was in Calais (to visit his French mistress) and witnessed thousands of English tourists, taking advantage of the Peace of Amiens and making their way to Paris to in hopes of catching a glimpse, among those were Charles James Fox, Pitt’s rival in Parliament.³⁸ Those events inspired a series political poems (modeled on Milton’s sonnets).³⁹ In “Calais, August, 1802” the

poet describes the scene as “Lords, lawyers, and men unknown, sick, lame, and blind,/Post forward all, like creatures of one kind,/With first-fruit offerings crowd to bend the knee/In France, before the new-born Majesty.” When such sychophantic people refused to recognize the dangers posed by Bonaparte, Wordsworth chides them: “When truth, when sense, when



³⁴ Coleridge, “Letter to Mr. Fox I” (4 November 1802), *Essays on His Times*, 387; and Coleridge, “Letter to Mr. Fox II” (9 November 1802), *Essays on His Times*, 393-94.

³⁵ Quoted in Davis, 93.

³⁶ Christina Root, 16.

³⁷ Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism*, 54-56.

³⁸ John Worthen, *The Gang: Coleridge, the Hutchinsons and the Wordsworths in 1802* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 228.

³⁹ Simon Bainbridge, *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Visions of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 106.

liberty were flown./What hardship had it been to wait an hour?/Shame on you, feeble Heads, to slavery prone!”⁴⁰ For Wordsworth Napoleon has the illusion of glory, but is ultimately unfit for the role he created for himself when he seized power as can be seen in “I grieved for Buonaparté”:

I grieved for Buonaparté, with a vain
And an unthinking grief! The
tenderest mood
Of that Man’s mind—what can it be?
what food
Fed his first hopes? What knowledge
could *he* gain?
‘Tis not in battles that from youth we
train
The Governor who must be wise and
good,
And temper with the sternness of the
brain
Thoughts motherly, and meek as
womanhood.
Wisdom doth live with children round
her knees:
Books, leisure, perfect freedom, and
the talk
Man holds with week-day man in the
hourly walk
Of the mind’s business: these are the
degrees
By which true Sway doth mount; this
is the stalk
True Power doth grown on; and her
rights are these.⁴¹

According to Wordsworth, Napoleon was unfit to govern because his military background did not give him the proper

education needed for successful governance—all he knows is martial, not civilian. With poems such as these, Wordsworth hoped to awaken his fellow countrymen to the threat posed by Bonaparte, remind them of the greatness of English liberty, and to rouse the people of his country to combat that threat.

As Paul A. Cantor notes in his discussion of Byron’s heroic conceptualization of Napoleon, “ finds a heroic power in Napoleon, which made him rise above the ordinary ranks of human beings, but he questions the goals the Emperor pursued. For all his greatness, Napoleon could be vain and petty, often questing after the same vulgar honors ordinary men covet.”⁴² It is this vanity and pettiness that began to make itself manifest with the coup of 18-19 Brumaire and Bonaparte’s later becoming Consul-for-life, more than the resumption of hostilities in 1802-03, that caused the British Romantics to change their attitudes toward Napoleon. The idealized hero of 1798 proved himself to be a little too human by November 1799. And while the second generation of Romantics, notably Lord Byron, would transform the Emperor Napoleon into the Romantic-Promethean hero, for the first generation, beginning in 1800, Bonaparte became an implacable enemy against whom they would try to rally a nation.

⁴⁰ William Wordsworth, “Calais, August, 1802,” in *English Romantic Writers*, ed. David Perkins (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1967), 287.

⁴¹ William Wordsworth, “1801,” in *English Romantic Writers*, ed. David Perkins (Fort Worth:

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1967), 286.

⁴² Paul A. Cantor, “The Politics of the Epic: Wordsworth, Byron, and the Romantic Redefinition of Heroism,” *The Review of Politics* 69 (Summer 2007), 393.

Napoleon's Forgotten Victory: Mondovi (21 April 1796)

by Karl Jakob Skarstein

What happened at Mondovi on 21 April 1796? Was it a real battle or just a glorified skirmish? The battle of Mondovi is mentioned in many histories of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, but it is rarely described in any but the vaguest terms. There are no detailed tactical maps available and the written accounts tend to be fragmentary and imprecise. One is often left with the impression that it was hardly a battle at all, just a brief and insignificant rearguard action.¹ A typical example is Martin Boycott-Brown's otherwise excellent book *The Road to Rivoli* in which he describes the engagement at Mondovi in just two paragraphs and leaves the impression that the Piedmontese fled almost without fighting.² On the other hand we have a painting, an aquarelle, by Giuseppe Pietro Bagetti, entitled *Première vue de la bataille de Mondovi et de la position de Brichetto - le 21 avril 1796*. This shows a swirling mass of soldiers engaged in a fierce struggle on the slopes of a central height (the Brichetto) with the town of Mondovi just visible in the background, behind huge billows of powder smoke. It is hard to understand how this can be a scene from the same battle described by Boycott-Brown. One of the versions must be wrong. This paper will describe the engagement at Mondovi and try to place it in its proper

context within Bonaparte's opening campaign in 1796. The manoeuvres and tactics of both sides, as well as the scale and intensity of the fighting, will be examined as far as the sources permit, in order to achieve a clearer understanding of what actually took place on that April day in 1796.



The battle of Mondovi marked the end of Napoleon Bonaparte's first campaign as an army commander. The main features of this campaign are well known. With an audacity that was to become one of his trademarks as a strategist, 26-year-old Bonaparte thrust his French army in between his allied foes, the Austrians and the Piedmontese. Pushing back the Austrians in the battles of Montenotte and Dego he gained the freedom to turn most of his forces on the now isolated Piedmontese. Making full use of his local superiority of

¹ David G. Chandler, *The Campaigns of Napoleon* (New York, 1966), 74; and Edward Cust, *Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 5 (London, 1860), 7.

² Martin Boycott-Brown, *The Road to Rivoli: Napoleon's First Campaign* (London, 2001), 270-72.

force he manoeuvred them out of strong defensive positions at Ceva and along the Corsaglia river, although the French suffered some nasty tactical setbacks in the process. In the final operation, on 21 April, Bonaparte's men inflicted shattering defeats on the Piedmontese at Vicoforte and Mondovi and so reduced their strength and will to resist that the Piedmontese king asked for an armistice a week later, and eventually felt compelled to accept a peace that came close to a full capitulation. In a mere ten days Bonaparte had decisively defeated an enemy army that had resisted his predecessors for more than three years. And this was only the first of a series of successful campaigns, known collectively as the First Italian Campaign, that would lay the foundations for the Napoleonic legend.

No wonder then, that this campaign has attracted the interest of many historians.

The most well-known aspect of the campaign is Bonaparte's initial advance, showcasing his use of the strategy of the central position. Knowing that his army was outnumbered by the combined forces of the Austrians and the Piedmontese, Bonaparte struck at their point of junction and separated them. In that way he achieved local superiority of force against each of his enemies in turn, defeating first the Austrians and then the Piedmontese, before they were able to unite against him. From a strategic point of view the decisive moments were the victories against the Austrians at Montenotte and Dego that gave Bonaparte the time and space to turn on the Piedmontese before the Austrians could intervene. It seems like many



historians consider Bonaparte's subsequent victory over the Piedmontese as something of a walkover once the Austrians were out of the way. This may also reflect a view of the Piedmontese army as a second-rate army, not on par with the French and Austrians.

In fact, the campaign against the Piedmontese would be far from a walkover, as the French soon discovered when they moved west following their victory in the two-day battle of Dego. Michelangelo Alessandro Colli-Marchi, the Austrian general commanding the Piedmontese army, had positioned his main force in a fortified line along a ridge stretching north from the castle of Ceva. General Charles Pierre Augereau, commanding the lead French division, approached the position on 16 April and decided to attack immediately. Augereau was quickly punished for his rashness. The Piedmontese easily repulsed the French attacks and even launched local counterattacks, inflicting heavy losses on the French.³

Despite this success, Colli's Piedmontese had to abandon their position at Ceva during the following night. The French division of General Jean Mathieu Sérurier was approaching from the south, down the Tanaro valley, and would soon outflank the Ceva position. Other French forces were about to outflank the Piedmontese on the north. Colli decided to withdraw westwards and occupy a safer position.

On 17 April Colli positioned his army facing east behind the Corsaglia river with his left flank protected by the Tanaro river below its confluence with the Corsaglia. In all Colli may have had just over 10,000 men under his command. Leaving General Amédée de la Harpe's division near Dego to observe the Austrians, Bonaparte led the rest of his troops, probably more than 20,000 men, westwards to attack the Piedmontese.⁴

The French Defeat at San Michele

Bonaparte launched his attack on the Corsaglia position on 19 April. Melting snow in the Ligurian Alps had swollen the rivers, and the French had great difficulties getting across. At the northern end of the line general Barthélemy-Catherine Joubert did his best to get his Frenchmen from Augereau's division across the Tanaro. When the soldiers hesitated to wade into the strong current, Joubert drove his horse into the river and rode across, despite the fire from enemy pickets. But when he returned the French infantrymen still refused to cross, and Joubert admitted that they were right, the current had almost swept him away, a crossing on foot would be much too risky.⁵

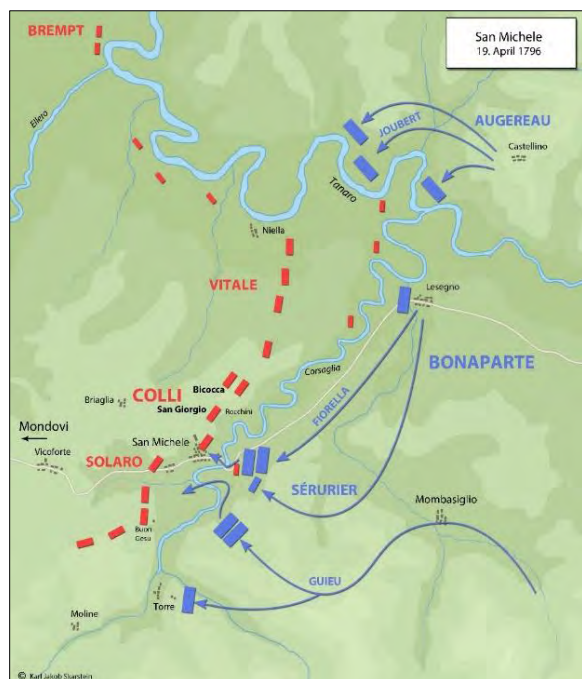
At the southern end of the line, near the town of San Michele, soldiers from Sérurier's division eventually found an unguarded aqueduct where they could get across the Corsaglia. As more and more Frenchmen crossed the river and attacked

³ Felix Bouvier, *Bonaparte en Italie* (Paris, 1899), 336-38.

⁴ Bouvier, 348.

⁵ Bouvier, 360.

San Michele from the south, others took advantage of the confusion and stormed across the main bridge into the town. Some Piedmontese soldiers were cut off and captured, many more fled in confusion. Colli himself was nearly captured when the French stormed the castle on the bluffs above the town, his staff and orderlies had to fight to give their commander time to escape.⁶



Sérurier's division appeared to have won a significant victory, and thinking that the battle was over, famished French soldiers dispersed in search of food and loot. This turned out to be a serious mistake. On the ridge north of the town, Colli rallied part of his troops and gathered some fresh reserves. Then he started a counterattack. The

scattered Frenchmen had no time to reassemble before the Piedmontese struck and were unable to muster an effective defence. It quickly turned into a rout. For the French it was now only a matter of reaching safety across the Corsaglia. Many did not make it before the attacking Piedmontese reached the bridge and cut them off. With this escape-route barred, many Frenchmen tried to wade or swim to safety, but were swept away by the current and drowned. The battle of San Michele ended as a humiliating defeat for Bonaparte. Close to 100 French were captured, and about 500 killed, drowned or wounded. Piedmontese casualties were about 350 men in total.⁷

This setback made Bonaparte realize that he had make more thorough preparations before his next offensive. Another failure could be fatal, as the Austrians were now gathering around Acqui, about 30 miles to the northeast, preparing to march to the aid of their allies. It was essential for Bonaparte to inflict a crushing defeat on Colli's Piedmontese before the Austrians could help them. The young French commander spent 20 April positioning his forces for a concerted offensive the following day.

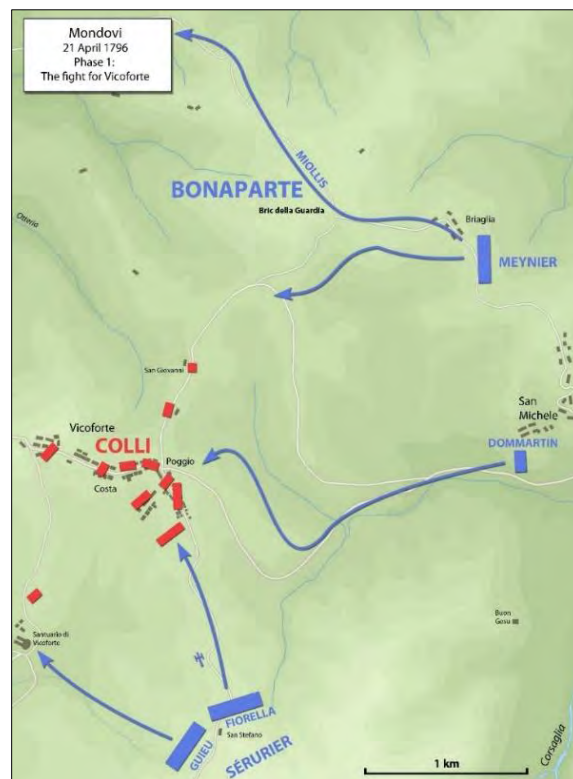
At the same time Colli was increasingly worried about the situation. Despite his victory at San Michele he did not have much confidence in his troops' ability to

⁶ SHD GR 1M 428: Campagnes de Napoléon en Italie, en 1796-1797. *Projet de Relation de la Bataille de Mondovì* par le chef de bataillon Parigot, 10-11 (copie); and Boycott-Brown, 267.

⁷ SHD GR 1M 413. *Mémoire historique et militaire des opérations de l'armée d'Italie depuis sa formation jusqu'à la paix du Roy de Sardaigne (1792-1796)* par le chef de bataillon du génie Paulinier de Fontenille, 157; and Bouvier, 360.

withstand another attack. According to reports from the north the French were advancing towards the Tanaro in the direction of Cherasco. If they managed to cross the river here, they would be in position to cut off Colli's army from Turin, the Piedmontese capital. There were also alarming reports from the opposite flank, where French troops from Sérurier's division had seized a couple of bridges and a ford at Torre and Moline, south of San Michele. This meant that the line of defence along the Corsaglia had been compromised. Colli held a council of war and decided to retreat to the heights just east of Mondovi, where he could make stand while removing artillery and other military equipment from the magazines in Mondovi. Then he would continue the retreat westwards across the Ellero and Stura rivers to Cuneo, where he hoped to meet reinforcements.⁸

That night a full moon shone across the hills of Piemonte, but a Piedmontese officer named Malaussena thought that the myriad campfires on both sides of the Corsaglia outshone the moonshine, and "the huge number of French campfires made an even stronger impression as it removed any doubt about their plans for the coming day." During the night the Piedmontese commenced their retreat, but left their campfires burning in order to dupe the French into believing that they still held their positions in strength. By this age-



old ruse they hoped to gain a few hours' time to complete their retreat and establish themselves in their new positions before the French attacked.⁹

The Fight for Vicoforte

The burning campfires may have fooled the French for a few hours, but a reconnaissance party dispatched by Bonaparte soon discovered that the Piedmontese had left their positions. In any case the French were ready to advance, and moved forward at dawn, while most of the Piedmontese army was still on the road to Mondovi. In the south, Sérurier crossed the Corsaglia at Torre and Moline with the brigades of Pascal Antoine Fiorella and

⁸ Boycott-Brown, 269-70; and Léonce Krebs and Henri Moris, *Campagnes dans les Alpes pendant la Révolution, d'après les archives des états-majors français et austro-sarde* (Paris, 1895), 420.

⁹ Malaussena in Gabriel Fabry, *Mémoires sur la campagne de 1796 en Italie* (Paris, 1905), 139; and

SHD GR 1M 413. *Mémoire historique et militaire des opérations de l'armée d'Italie depuis sa formation jusqu'à la paix du Roy de Sardaigne (1792-1796)* par le chef de bataillon du génie Paulinier de Fontenille, 161-62.

Jean Joseph Guieu, perhaps 6,000 men in all. The Piedmontese rearguard on the steep hills east of the river may have counted as many as 2,000 men, but it offered hardly any resistance before commencing a rapid retreat that in some places degenerated into pure flight. It is possible that the Piedmontese officers were afraid of being cut off, as they could already see several French columns crossing the Corsaglia further north, near San Michele.

The Frenchmen crossing the river belonged to Jean Baptiste Meynier's small division, a little more than 3,000 men. Meynier's men secured the Bicocca hill behind San Michele and then marched west through a hilly landscape. General Elzéar-Auguste Cousin de Dommartin and his brigade, 1,600 men strong, also passed through San Michele after having crossed the river further north. Dommartin was headed for Vicoforte to join Sérurier's division. At the same time General André Masséna crossed the river at Lesegno with about 6,000 men. Adding some cavalry under generals Henri Christian Michel Stengel and Marc-Antoine Beaumont, more than 17,000 Frenchmen crossed the Corsaglia that morning in pursuit of Colli's army. In addition, Augereau's division, 5,000 men, was approaching the Tanaro further north, threatening Collis lines of communication to Turin.¹⁰

Colli's main concern was to save as much as possible of his army, but he needed time to remove artillery and stores from the magazines in Mondovi. In order to achieve

this, he had positioned his forces, perhaps 9,000 men in all, along the narrow ridge that wound westwards to Mondovi, hoping to fight a delaying action. But the French probably arrived faster and with greater strength and determination than Colli had imagined, and it seems like the rapid French advance left the Piedmontese army commander shocked and unable to cope with the rapidly changing situation. The Piedmontese battalions were lumped together in and around the villages on the ridge without forming a coherent front, and the fleeing soldiers from the rearguard created even more disorder. Before Colli and the Piedmontese officers managed to sort out the situation they saw Sérurier's Frenchmen deploy on the heights around the chapel of San Stefano, less than a mile distant.

From the heights Sérurier could see the huge dome of the Santuario di Vicoforte glinting in the morning sun on the floor of the valley in front. To his right the heights continued as an uneven ridge running in a long curve to the north and west, forming a sort of natural amphitheatre around the Sanctuary. Along the ridge lay the elongated and more or less continuous villages of Poggio, Costa and Vicoforte. Beyond Vicoforte the ridge continued in another curve towards the town of Mondovi, and beyond that were the broad flat fields in the heart of Piedmont with the snow-capped peaks of the Alps as backdrop. However, it is unlikely that Sérurier spent time enjoying the view. He sent Guieu's brigade down the gentle slopes towards the

¹⁰ Krebs and Moris, 419.

Sanctuary, while he himself led Fiorella's brigade to the right, along the ridge towards Poggio and Costa.¹¹

Some Piedmontese battalions had positioned themselves on the open hillsides just in front of the villages, but the fire from two light guns and the muskets of Fiorella's advancing troops quickly persuaded them to fall back to the cover of the houses. Here the French encountered more determined resistance. Even though the Piedmontese units were clumsily positioned, the buildings gave good cover and they defended themselves with stubborn determination.¹²

Soon scattered *tirailleurs* from Dommartin's skirmish line started to appear on the slopes leading up from the valley on the north side of the ridge. With increasing support from Dommartin Fiorella's men were able to drive their opponents out of Poggio and Costa, but the progress was very slow. The Savoyard Joseph François Marie de Martinel, who probably participated in the campaign with the Piedmontese army, described the fighting like this:

The bravest of the Piedmontese stood their ground at the most advantageous spots and shot from the gaps between the buildings. The shooting was at its most intense on the small plateaus on each side of the

village, from the garden walls, and especially from the castle grounds. There was also much shooting along the main road.¹³

Down in the valley to the south Guieu had halted his men some distance in front of the Santuario di Vicoforte, but when he saw Fiorella's men drive the Piedmontese from Poggio and Costa, he gave the order to attack. Meeting minimal resistance Guieu's Frenchmen pushed past the huge Sanctuary building and up the slopes on the other side, towards Fiamenga and the western edge of Vicoforte. Here they appeared to have met stronger resistance, and the advance slowed.

Up on the ridge, the Piedmontese continued their dogged defence among the houses of Vicoforte, but they were gradually pushed back to the upper (western) part of the village, around the church and castle. The French pressure kept increasing. On the southern slopes Guieu's men swung around Pasque, a village that extended south from Vicoforte, and thus threatened to cut off the defenders of Vicoforte. On the other flank Sérurier led a column from Fiorella's brigade down into the valley to the north in order to outflank the Piedmontese on that side. Dommartin was tasked with maintaining the pressure along the ridge in the centre.¹⁴

¹¹ Xavier Salmon, *Bonaparte en Italie: Aquarelles de Bagetti (1764-1831)* (Versailles, 2003), 63. Salmon confirms that it was a clear, sunny day.

¹² Martinel in Fabry, *Mémoires*, 104; and SHD GR 1M 428: Campagnes de Napoléon en Italie, en

1796-1797. *Projet de Relation de la Bataille de Mondovi* par le chef de bataillon Parigot, 18 (copie).

¹³ Martinel in Fabry, *Mémoires*, 104.

¹⁴ Martinel in Fabry, *Mémoires*, 105; and Bouvier, 376.

The fear of being surrounded broke the last Piedmontese resistance in Vicoforte. Colli was swept along by the mass of fleeing soldiers along the main road out of the village. Freeing himself a from the throng, he apparently attempted to stop the retreat with the assistance of a few grenadiers from the Piedmontese guard. He ordered the grenadiers to block the road and threaten to shoot those who would not halt, but it was no use, the fugitives simply spread in all directions, desperate to get away from the pursuing French.¹⁵ Two Piedmontese guns on the height of Mercato Vecchio fired a few shots at short range against the French as they debouched from Vicoforte, but with little result. The fire from the French *tirailleurs* and the threat of the outflanking columns soon persuaded the Piedmontese artillerymen to abandon their position.

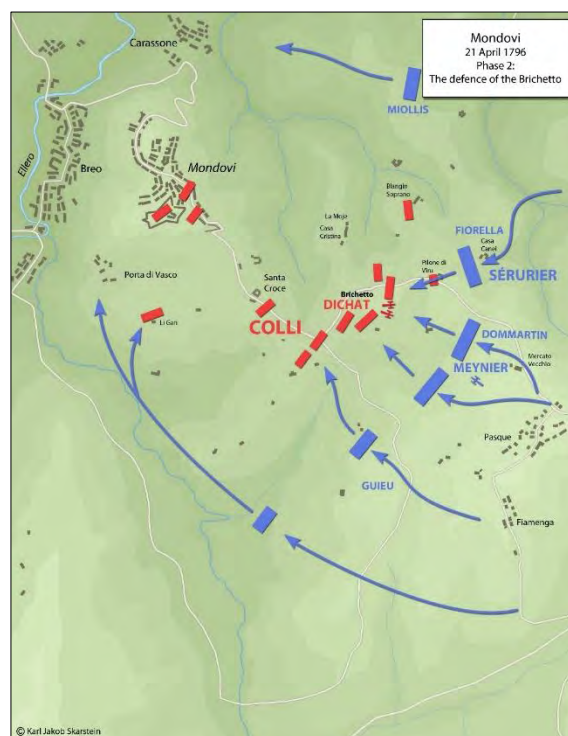
The Last Stand of the Piedmontese

It was just past noon, and the first phase of the battle was over. The Piedmontese had only one remaining defensible position along the ridge leading west to Mondovi, but this was also the strongest: A large round hill named Brichetto, with open slopes to the east and south. Lesser heights extended to the north and the southwest, making it possible to establish a solid, coherent front facing east.

This position was occupied by six Piedmontese grenadier battalions under the command of Colonel Jean-Gaspard Dichat de Toisinge. 56-year-old Dichat had distinguished himself during the defence of

San Michele two days before. He was a brave and steadfast warrior, determined to defend his position to the last. In addition to his grenadiers he had four cannon and two light howitzers in a small redoubt on the Brichetto. Colli managed to rally some of the troops that fled from Vicoforte and positioned them to support Dichat. By defending the Brichetto as long as possible Colli hoped to gain time to complete the evacuation of troops and equipment from Mondovi.

On the French side Bonaparte was watching the fighting from afar. After crossing the Corsaglia with his staff in the



morning he rode up on a hill called Bric della Guardia that offered a good view of the landscape to the west towards Mondovi and south towards Vicoforte. From here he could also follow Masséna's advance further

¹⁵ Malaussena in Fabry, *Mémoires*, 140.

north. Having observed the fighting for Vicoforte he sent orders to Sérurier to continue the attacks.¹⁶

Sérurier was already in the process of moving against the north side of the Brichetto-position with Fiorella's battalions. The French crossed the Otteria brook on a footbridge and advanced across the slopes towards a large building surrounded by a brick wall next to a holy pillar called Pilone di Viru. The building and the wall were occupied by some Piedmontese chasseurs who directed "a lively and well-aimed fire" at the French.¹⁷

Young Auguste Marmont from Bonaparte's staff participated in the attack. Many years later he remembered how Sérurier drew his sword, placed himself at the head of one of the assault columns and lead the attack up the steep slope: "It was beautiful to see an old general who was so resolute, so determined and whose vigour was strengthened by the presence of the enemy."¹⁸

As Sérurier's men crested the ridge at Pilone di Viru they saw the Brichetto in front of them and came under fire from Dichat's artillery. Nevertheless, the French continued their advance and stormed the wall and the building, driving out the Piedmontese chasseurs. Then Sérurier's men pushed on towards the Brichetto, but

they did not get far before they encountered the disciplined musket volleys from Dichat's grenadiers. The French halted and withdrew to Pilone di Viru.¹⁹

Both sides regrouped for a new trial of strength. Colli summoned Stettler battalion from Mondovi as well as some of the units that had fought in Vicoforte in the morning. These troops were placed north and south of the Brichetto. Colli thought that Dichat had enough soldiers on the hill itself. On the French side General Meynier had finally arrived at Vicoforte with one of his brigades after a time-consuming march through difficult terrain. From Vicoforte he led his brigade west along the ridge together with Dommartin's brigade to reinforce Sérurier. With this support Sérurier could continue his attack on the Brichetto. Two guns were rolled into position on the height west of Mercato Vecchio, just opposite the Brichetto, and opened fire on the Piedmontese position. At the same time French skirmish lines kept up the pressure on the Piedmontese with unrelenting musket fire as the rest of the French battalions deployed in serried ranks and started to ascend the slopes.

The dense battle formations passed through the skirmish line, and the shooting became more and more intense. The gun smoke thickened, and the ranks fell into disorder

¹⁶ Bouvier, 377.

¹⁷ SHD GR 1M 428: Campagnes de Napoléon en Italie, en 1796-1797. *Projet de Relation de la Bataille de Mondovi* par le chef de bataillon Parigot, 23 (copie).

¹⁸ Auguste-Frédéric-Louis Viesse de Marmont, *Mémoires du maréchal Marmont, duc de Raguse*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1857), 162; and Bouvier, 376.

¹⁹ Martinel in Fabry, *Mémoires*, 105; and SHD GR 1M 428: Campagnes de Napoléon en Italie, en 1796-1797. *Projet de Relation de la Bataille de Mondovi* par le chef de bataillon Parigot, 23 (copie).

as the soldiers struggled to load and fire in the inferno of noise and terror. Gaspard Eberlé, commander of the French 56th demi-brigade, led some companies of grenadiers in the attacks on the Brichetto. “Three times the grenadiers under my command tried to drive the enemy [from the height], and three times their efforts were in vain. The ground was covered with the dead.” Eberlé was wounded three times and had to spend several months in the hospital.²⁰

Up on the Brichetto, Dichat noticed that his troops were growing more and more uneasy due to the fear of being surrounded by French columns passing to the north and south of their position. In an effort to give them confidence he led forward a few companies of grenadiers that he had held in reserve. Colli, who was also worried about being outflanked by the French, rushed up to Dichat and shouted: “Where are you going Dichat! Have you lost your head!” But Dichat ignored him.²¹

In the meantime, a French officer took advantage of the confusion and led a group of soldiers up to the redoubt on top of the hill. Afterwards there were rumours that he pretended to be have been sent forward to negotiate, and that for this reason the Piedmontese let him through. What really happened is impossible to say for sure, but in any case, he and some of his men managed to get inside the redoubt and assaulted the artillerymen with swords and

bayonets. The French shouted “les canons sont a nous!” (“the guns are ours!”). At that moment it seemed like the battle was decided, but then Dichat led his grenadiers in a counterattack with bayonets ready, and the French were driven out.²²

This was the first of a series of counterattacks. The Austrian Guylai Croats, who had fled shamefully from Vicoforte that morning now redeemed some of their reputation by driving the French out a small wood north of Pilone di Viru. Colli also seized the moment and sent forward the Stettler battalion as well as the remnants of some of the units that had fought in Vicoforte. The French were driven back, down into the small valley in front of the Brichetto.

But the situation was still critical for the Piedmontese. Guieu’s Frenchmen had chased small Piedmontese detachments from several positions south of the Brichetto and were closing in on Porta di Vasco on Mondovi’s southern outskirts. Soon they were within musket range of the bridge across the Ellero comprising the main escape-route for the Piedmontese. To the north French General Sextius Alexandre François de Miollis led some battalions from Meynier’s division along the heights west of Briaglia and were getting near to Carassone, just north of Mondovi. This meant that the French pincers were about to close around Collis forces. Further north Masséna had reached

²⁰ Bouvier, 378; and Gabriel Fabry, *Rapports historiques des régiments de l’armée d’Italie pendant la campagne de 1796-1797* (Paris, 1905), 262-63.

²¹ Pinelli 1854, p. 659.

²² Martinel in Fabry, *Mémoires*, 105-06; Bouvier, 379; and G Polver, *Il 17° fanteria. Memorie storiche* (Bergamo, 1893), 149.

Niella and threatened to block the route to Turin.

In front of the Brichetto the Piedmontese counterattacks petered out. More and more Frenchmen joined the skirmish line and kept firing at the Piedmontese.

According to Martinel some of the skirmishers went very close to the Piedmontese position. And all the time the two French guns fired at the redoubt. Suddenly Dichat was hit in the chest by a small cannonball. He died shortly afterwards. This was a severe blow to the morale of his troops.

Bonaparte was now present on the battlefield and ordered another attack. Once again, the tired French soldiers marched up the slopes towards the redoubt, but this time resistance was weak. By now many Piedmontese thought only of getting away before they were surrounded. The artillerymen in the redoubt realized that there was no time to save their guns, and they fled in haste without even taking the time to spike their guns.

Soon the first triumphant Frenchmen entered the redoubt and seized the guns, but now they came under fire from Piedmontese guns in Santa Croce and the

citadel of Mondovi. The French quickly turned the captured guns and returned fire. Some of their cannonballs hit the houses of Mondovi. The Piedmontese were driven

back everywhere. Guieu's men stormed an artillery position on Li Gari, a small ridge just 500 yards southeast of Mondovi's walls. To the north Meynier's musicians played the Marseillaise while the French soldiers chased their opponents from one position after another. Many Piedmontese fled in panic, especially when they saw French cavalry appear on the

battlefield. Others continued to fight to delay the French advance. Several small units or groups were cut off and captured, like a company from the Chablais regiment that put up a stiff defence at the villa Casa Cristina to the north of the Brichetto before being forced to surrender.²³ The battle was over.

Despite the French pursuit, most of Colli's army managed to escape across the Ellero, and some units retreated in good order. When French cavalry led by general Stengel crossed the Ellero and tried to harass the Piedmontese in their retreat, the Piedmontese infantry formed squares and repulsed the attack while Piedmontese cavalry followed up by attacking the



²³ Bouvier, 379-82.

French horsemen, mortally wounding general Stengel. Although Colli got away with most of his troops, the Piedmontese had been dealt a heavy blow from which it would take time to recover, and with Bonaparte on their heels they would be given no time. Colli's army had suffered heavy losses in both men and materiel. At least 1,600 men were casualties, of these about 1,200 were prisoners while the rest were killed or wounded. In addition, the French captured 11 flags and 8 guns. At about seven o'clock in the evening, Bonaparte entered Mondovi in triumph. The French losses are hard to ascertain with accuracy, but they were most likely more than 600 men killed, wounded or captured.²⁴

Mondovi was certainly not a big battle when compared to Marengo, Austerlitz or Borodino, but within the context of the campaign in April 1796 it was clearly an important action. Just two days before, the Piedmontese had defeated the French at San Michele, and their resistance at the Brichetto gave ample proof of their fighting qualities. It was their misfortune that they were badly organised, as the retreat from the Corsaglia position showed, and that their Austrian commander was completely outclassed by Bonaparte.

²⁴ Bouvier, 392.

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The Marengo Spy: Military Espionage in Napoleon's Second Italian Campaign

by T. E. Crowdy

'I have served you both well, says the perfect double agent in the twilight of his life.'

--John Le Carré, *Smiley's People*

ESPION (espions) d'ARMÉE - Type of spies acting for money. We must consider them as friends or as enemies; sometimes they are both: in this case they are called DOUBLE SPIES.

--Etienne Alexandre Bardin, *Dictionnaire de l'armée de terre*, Volume 4

The campaign of Marengo

The contemporary military analyst, von Bülow described Napoleon's 1800 campaign as "miraculous."¹ The First Consul departed Paris on 6 May and agreed the Convention of Alessandria on 15 June, bringing into French hands all the fortresses of Piedmont, and the cities of Genoa and Milan. Marengo was the foundation stone of the First Empire: It confirmed Napoleon as *the* great military leader of his age. This is why the battle remains one of the most important of all the great Napoleonic victories, conquests, and disasters.

We should quickly rehearse the essential elements of this campaign. At the beginning of 1800 Napoleon Bonaparte found himself faced with two Austrian armies poised near the frontiers of France: one in Germany, the other in Italy. As he considered his military options, Napoleon enjoyed a key advantage: He held Switzerland. This mountainous country

formed a salient between the Austrian armies and prevented them cooperating effectively. This was something Napoleon sought to exploit. Gathering fresh troops, Napoleon created a new French army centred on Dijon from where he could direct this "Army of the Reserve" through Switzerland to attack whichever front he wished.

Italy was Napoleon's preferred theatre of operations. It was there he first made his reputation, and the loss of Italy to an Austro-Russian invasion in 1799 was an affront to French military prestige. The First Consul instructed General Massena to tie up the Austrian forces in Italy with a defence of Genoa and the Ligurian coast. At the same time, he instructed, counselled, and at times even pleaded for General Moreau to advance through Germany to protect the northern part of Switzerland. Then, using the Alps as a curtain of manoeuvre, Napoleon launched the Army of the Reserve through Geneva, Lausanne and over the Alps at Martigny, crossing the

¹ Dietrich Heinrich, Freiherr von Bülow, Charles Louis de, tr. *Histoire de la campagne de*

1800, en Allemagne et en Italie (Paris : Magimel, 1804), 185.

Great St Bernard Pass, and descending into Italy. From there the French raced to Milan, taking the city on 2 June. At the same time, Moreau begrudgingly detached part of his forces, sending them over the St Gotthard Pass into Italy, thus linking the forces in the German theatre with those in Italy. Chandler described the manoeuvre as a “lightning bolt” – and rightly so.² As von Bülow described it: “miraculous.”

After a terrible siege, on 4 June Massena evacuated a starving French garrison from Genoa, handing the important port over to the Austrians. But with Napoleon in Milan, the Austrians had little time or inclination to celebrate their success. The Austrians saw themselves surrounded. The Army of Italy on one side, and the Army of the Reserve on the other. But although Napoleon had effectively declared “check” by cutting his opponent’s main line of communication, it was not yet checkmate. The Austrians were still dangerous, and still had options. Napoleon knew this and so wanted to know what the Austrians were planning to do in response: fight or flight?

So now we come to one of the most interesting parts of the campaign. How do we suppose the First Consul proposed to learn the intentions of his opponent?

Napoleon’s solution was to employ a spy. Not just any spy, but an Italian secret agent already working for the Austrians.

The Hidden Hand

Often our understanding of military history is incomplete. Can we imagine today a history of the Second World War which did not reference the Allied code breaking operation at Bletchley Park? Could we write a definitive history of the 1944

Normandy landings which did not reference the complex *Bodyguard* deception operation, including the British Security Service’s expert use of double agents such as the Spaniard Juan Pujol (codenamed *Garbo*)? Until the 1980s, accounts of that conflict contained scant reference

to the secret intelligence provided to Allied commanders. When the breaking of *Enigma* was made public, it required us to reappraise many aspects of that conflict.

The absence of evidence, and perhaps a certain nineteenth-century prudishness in admitting to the employment of *dishonorable practices*, means espionage has figured very little in Napoleonic studies. Spies of this period tend to be viewed as foppish scarlet pimpernels, ambitious courtiers, or disgruntled émigrés, not professional, military intelligence



² David G. Chandler, *The Campaigns of Napoleon* (London: Macmillan, 1966), 298.

gatherers. Take the classic work by Napoleonic veteran, Carl von Clausewitz. His posthumously published *Vom Krieg* is utterly dismissive of secret intelligence. It is said he had a ‘contempt’ for the subject.³ To Clausewitz, intelligence was almost always false, and just used as an excuse by timid men not to take action. Clausewitz believed a commander ought instead to rely on his “intellect” and “moral force.” A surprising number of people still rate Clausewitz today.⁴

In fact, like Frederick the Great before him, Napoleon employed secret agents in order to be better informed than his opponents (political and military), to deceive them, and even bribe them. In my view, to attempt to understand Napoleon and his system of warfare without appreciating his masterful use of secret agents, is to unfairly underestimate the man. Clausewitz is therefore lacking as a commentator in this regard.

Espionage was particularly important in Napoleon’s early Italian campaigns, when his resources were few and his impatience for victory great. In the memoirs of Jean Landrieux, for example, we read about the organization of the *partie secrète*—Napoleon’s military intelligence bureau.

³ See Victor M. Rosello, *Clausewitz’s Contempt for Military Intelligence* (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, 1991).

⁴ Clausewitz dismisses information gained through outposts and spies as ‘rumours. General Carl von Clausewitz; Colonel J. J. Graham tr., *On War* (London: N Trubner & Co., 1873), 117.

⁵ See Jean Landrieux, *Mémoires de l’adjudant-général Jean Landrieux, 1795-1797* (Paris: A. Savine, 1893).

The author describes a world of spies, counter-espionage, secret backchannels to the Austrians, agent-provocateurs, revolts and cutthroats.⁵ The Marengo campaign is little different, with numerous references to the employment of spies in the military records.⁶ The majority of these spies were employed by local commanders to scout the advance of their columns. But one spy in particular had access to the highest levels.

The Milan Spy

There is a small passage relating to the 1800 Marengo campaign in Volume 4 of Bourrienne’s memoirs. Napoleon’s Private Secretary describes an encounter between First Consul and an Italian spy who came to visit him in Milan on 3 June 1800. The spy had been sent by the Austrian commander-in-chief, General Michael Melas, to discover the strength and dispositions of the French forces entering Switzerland by the Alpine passes. In return for this information, the spy offered to provide Napoleon with accurate intelligence on the strength and condition of the Austrian army then concentrating at Alessandria.⁷

⁶ See Gaspar Jean Marie René, comte de Cugnac, *Campagne de l’armée de Réserve en 1800*. 2 Vols. (Paris: R. Chapelot, 1900-1901).

⁷ Louis Antoine Fauvelet de Bourrienne, *Mémoires de M. de Bourrienne, ministre d’état sur Napoléon, le directoire, le consulat, l’empire et la restauration*, vol.4 (Paris: Chez Ladvocat, 1829), 105-07.

Napoleon considered the transaction a fair one and paid well for it: 1,000 gold Louis. After all, Napoleon wanted Melas to know the forces arriving from Switzerland were significant, and threatened the Austrian lines of communication. And what was the risk? The information revealed nothing of Napoleon's intentions. The First Consult therefore ordered Berthier to provide the spy with a reasonably accurate description of his army's strength and positions. What was the result of this transaction? Let us quote from Bourrienne:

The information given by this man proved so accurate and useful that on his return from Marengo Bonaparte ordered me to pay him the 1,000 Louis. The spy afterwards informed him Melas was delighted with the way in which he had served him in this affair, and had rewarded him handsomely.⁸

True enough, in addition to the description of the Austrian order of battle, the spy revealed the city of Alessandria (the point of concentration for the Austrian army), was poorly provisioned and full of sick. When it came to negotiating with the Austrians after the battle of Marengo,

Napoleon knew the Austrians could not sustain a siege and so he played hardball, insisting they hand over Genoa to the French: 1000 Louis for such an outcome was actually quite a bargain. But while this little anecdote is all very interesting, there is an essential flaw in it. If the information

provided by this spy was so "accurate and useful," why was Napoleon surprised by the Austrian attack on Marengo on 14 June? Famously he nearly lost the battle and was only saved by the timely arrival of reinforcements commanded by Desaix.

Napoleon was not expecting a battle on 14 June, and even when it started, he was incredulous. Truly Napoleon

did not leave his headquarters until eleven o'clock in the morning, three hours after the Austrians began their attack.⁹ More critically, if Napoleon was so well informed, why did he divide his forces the day before the battle, detaching 30 percent of his infantry from the main body of the army (8,778 men from 27,000 infantry present on 13 June)? Rather than the happy situation described by Bourrienne, this reads like a near-fatal failure of intelligence. What really happened?



⁸ Bourrienne, 107. The sum of 1,000 Louis was approximately eight times the annual basic pay of a French senior infantry captain.

⁹ Petit is the key witness for this timing. See: Alexandre Foudras, *Marengo or the Campaign of*

Italy by the Army of Reserve, translated from the French of Joseph Petit, Horse-Grenadier in the Consular Guard (London: J.S. Jordan, 1801), 24.

We find an indication of the truth in the memoirs of Marshal Victor.¹⁰ He describes how the First Consul was deceived about Austrian intentions by a spy who had access to both headquarters; a level of access which was so good, it should have aroused more suspicion. Sure enough, we find additional references to a spy in an Austrian staff history by Karl Mras, published in 1822.¹¹ This account speaks of a deception planted on Napoleon by the Austrian chief of staff, Generalmajor Anton Zach. Clearly the story is more complex than Bourrienne's little anecdote first suggests.

The Art of Espionage

The Marengo spy has long been identified in French works as an Italian called Francesco Toli. The source of this story is the French author Edouard Gachot. According to him, Toli was a native of Verona, who worked in General Wurmser's headquarters in the intelligence services in 1796. Toli was physically assaulted by General Davidovitch after not alerting the Austrians to a French advance on Brescia. This humiliation caused Toli to sell his services to Napoleon. By 1800, we learn Toli has again taken the Austrian's pay and in May that year, is sent on a daredevil mission to discover the French army collecting on the other side of the Alps. Disguised as a priest, Toli attempts to cross

the Great St Bernard, but he is discovered. The French shoot at him. He escapes. He now makes a detour, climbing the Alps at a different point. For sixty hours he clambers over ice and rock. Gripping stuff! Evading the French sentries at the bridge of Mauvoisin he enters the valley of Bagnes. There he is captured by a French cavalry patrol. They are about to shoot him, but Toli asks to be taken to Napoleon at Martigny. Throwing himself at Napoleon's mercy, Toli pleads for his life. Napoleon recognizes the spy from his earlier campaigns, and offers to pay him handsomely if he will spy on Melas at Turin. Gachot then describes the meeting between the spy and Napoleon at Milan. The essence of the story is the same given by Bourrienne, but the dialogue is different. They arrange to meet again at Pavia on 9 June. And then the story blows cold. There is nothing about any involvement with Marengo. Nothing about misleading Napoleon prior to the battle. No mention of a deception. This is troubling.¹²

Although widely referenced, everything we know about Toli can be traced back to Gachot—and he alone. Where did he get his information? In 1898, Gachot was interviewed for an editorial piece in the *Revue du Foyer* of Lyon. This was ahead of the publication of Gachot's forthcoming book *La deuxième Campagne d'Italie*. Born in 1862, Gachot is described as a journalist,

¹⁰ Claude-Victor Perrin, duc de Bellune, *Extraits des memoires inédits de feu* (Paris: J. Dumaine, 1846), 158.

¹¹ Karl Mras, *Geschichte des Feldzuges 1800 in Italien* (Wien: Oesterreichische Militarische Zeitschrift; 1822-1823), 138.

¹² Gachot's final mention of the spy Toli places him in Napoleon's headquarters at Montebello, presumably on 10 June. Edouard Gachot, *La Deuxième Campagne d'Italie, 1800* (Paris: Perrin & Cie, 1899), 260.

novelist and historian. His writing is accessible and filled with interesting anecdotes and local history sources. Gachot told the interviewer how he had visited Switzerland while researching the book, and spent five days crossing the Great St Bernard Pass, following in the footsteps of Napoleon. One imagines the pass and the monastery in 1898 had changed very little since Napoleon's time. The austere, grey monastery; the monks and their giant dogs; the icy, jagged rocks and the final precipitous climbed to the pass—for a writer with the verve of Gachot, this must have set his pulses racing.

Now comes the thunderbolt. Gachot had long been trying to locate the name of a French agent who betrayed the Austrian General Wurmser in 1796. Nothing had turned up in the French War Archives, but while staying with the monks at Martigny, Gachot claims he found a note by the provost, or head of the monastery (Louis-Antoine Luder) which read: "General Bonaparte was locked up on 18 May with, a certain François Toli, whom he knew since 1796; he is a spy."¹³

A happy coincidence followed. Gachot claims eight days after this discovery he found a small pamphlet hidden inside a book, in a private collection in the Italian town of Aosta. He called this pamphlet *l'art de l'espionnage* written by a certain Francesco Toli and published in Milan in 1807 by the publisher Monteni. It was one

of only 20 copies ever printed. This is where Gachot found the dramatic Toli story.

This pamphlet remains, grail-like: elusive and undiscovered. For 20 years I and others have searched for it or for clues of someone independent of Gachot referencing the book or the Toli story. But alas, it is as if Gachot is the only man since 1807 to have clapped eyes on the document. Yes, there are plausible elements to the story—and who would not love it to be true—but the trail Gachot leaves is so elusive it is a subject of conjecture if this source will ever be discovered again: *if it ever existed at all*.

In the absence of this pamphlet, the note written by the provost takes on high importance. In 2017 I asked a colleague in Switzerland to email the monks and provide details of the 1898 interview. Did they know about this note of Luder? Could we come and have a look for it? The monks were very gracious. We were welcome to visit in the summer, when the pass was clear of snow; but to find such a note? "Good luck" I was cautioned.

In June 2017, I went to Switzerland and was taken to the summit by my colleague Pierre-Yves Chauvin. No mule to the summit for us: a fast Mercedes made short work of the climb. After several hair-raising bends and pitiless sheer cliff faces, we entered a different world (one of fog, and ice-cold, dirty clumps of permafrost hanging from black rocks), the very piece of road the Army of the Reserve clambered

¹³ J. Perroud, *La Revue du Foyer* (Lyon: X. Jervain, 1898), 76-77.

over 217 years before. History where it happened—just as Grenadier Coignet described it. (No beaker of wine or cheese sandwich for us—weary travelers now eat rösti in the adjacent restaurant).

Louis-Antoine Luder (provost from 1775 to 1803) was a prolific writer. As one might expect, much of his work pertains to ecclesiastical matters. His correspondence is well indexed, and I had studied it before leaving for Switzerland. Gachot unlikely had the same luxury before travelling. So I put myself in Gachot's shoes. If he was passing through, writing about the French army crossing the Alps, what records would he have speculatively asked to view? After all, he was not, at this point, researching the story of a spy.

We spent the morning in the monastery searching through the Napoleonic vintage documents and the relevant personal papers of Luder (Gachot also spoke of an account written by Luder). There are some interesting papers up at the summit of the pass: a handwritten letter by Murat enquiring about the First Consul's carriage; a letter from Berthier asking if he might be sent one of their famous dogs as a pet; and many ledgers detailing the provisions given to French troops, and futile reclamations for payment to the peasants who helped carry the army's equipment over the mountains.¹⁴

I found several documents with a note by Luder scratched on the reverse. There was

an anonymous account by "a monk," but having compared the scripts, this account was not penned by Luder. The account did mention how Napoleon ordered several false moves at Martigny in order to confuse enemy spies, but as for an interview with the spy Toli: Nothing. In fact the account by the monk said Napoleon locked himself in a room for three days and saw no one but his secretary (which reminds me: Bourrienne said nothing of the spy at Martigny either). Surely the arrival of a spy pleading for his life would have been remarkable—if nothing else, than for being the only audience Napoleon granted to anyone during his three day stay? But no, Bourrienne says nothing. So, no pamphlet, and no "note." No visitors. No secret agents. The mysterious Toli remains elusive. But as one trail ends, another begins. Let us return to the summer of 1799, where outside the great Italian city of Mantua it is night: two riders are approaching ...

The Real Marengo Spy

After two centuries of franco-centric commentary on the battle of Marengo, we must really start listening to the Austrian side of the story. We must get to know the participants in the white coats and come to understand them more fully if we are to progress our understanding of things. And it is a difficult sell to do this. It is hard to lure people away from the bright lights of Napoleon's meteoric career, particularly for

¹⁴ An interesting aside I did not know until I visited the monastery. Napoleon never paid the peasants for portage—the debt was only finally

'settled' in 1984 when French President Mitterrand presented the local inhabitants with a commemorative bronze plaque.

non-German speakers. The great Hapsburg Empire, dismembered after the Great War it initiated, can appear to a modern audience byzantine in its complexity, somehow arcane—a labyrinthine blend of languages, people and religions, stretching across central and southeastern Europe, a double-headed eagle, perched above Italy, simultaneously watching east and west. But if we take the time to learn something about the soldiers and armies who were such persistent opponents of Revolutionary then Napoleonic France, our understanding of the Marengo campaign becomes far more three dimensional and exciting!

I have heard it said that one must never trust the Austrian sources because they were duplicitous and spiteful in defeat. I have not experienced this. In fact, with the usual caution one applies to any primary source, the writings of Radetzky, Stutterheim, Neipperg and émigrés such as Crossard are essential for understanding the 1800 campaign. And then there is a certain reassurance in contemporary records, made on the spot—military reports, and even correspondence relating to payments made, to pensions, or retainers, all of which must be justified to a dispassionate exchequer. Compared to Gachot's insinuated sources and vague references about a spy, the Austrian

accounts detailed below provide iron testimony.

It must have been in 1998, the bicentennial of Marengo was looming. I was corresponding with author David Hollins about the battle. We knew about Gachot by then and of his Napoleonic James Bond thriller in the Alps. Hollins had just returned from Vienna with an explosive find. It was a letter from Melas to the President of the Hofskriegsrat, Ferdinand Tige and dated, 7 December 1799,

published by Herman Hüffer. Let us read a few lines of the letter, and imagine ourselves being the happy recipient as it arrived in Vienna ten days later:

A certain Carl Giovelli, born in Alba in Piedmont, where his father still lives as a doctor, came to General von Zach at Roverbello near

Mantua on 16 June and expressed his hatred against the French and his support for the Imperial troops, who alone were fighting for justice. He declared that he had been despatched by the French General of Division [MacDonald] with a letter which was hidden in the heel of his shoe, to the commander of the Mantua fortress, General of Division Foissac-Latour and as a sign of his good sympathies,



he wanted to hand this over to General Zach, but no longer serve the enemy.¹⁵

The letter goes on at length, over 1,500 words, describing how this Giovelli was MacDonald's "chief of secret correspondence"; how Giovelli carried messages in secret compartments inside the heels of his boots; and of how he betrayed the French at Mantua and delivered the French battle plans for Genola (4 November 1799). Most incredibly, the letter detailed how Giovelli single-handedly brought about the end of the siege of Cuneo on 3 December 1799 by entering the city with a forged letter from General Suchet instructing the garrison to seek the best terms available, as relief would not be forthcoming. Twenty-four hours after Giovelli entered the city disguised as a lemon salesman, the garrison marched out and surrendered. Melas was astounded. He even had a French officer interviewed to confirm the circumstances of the surrender.¹⁶ Melas's letter is a sensational document which goes a long way to explaining the disastrous performance of the French army in Italy in 1799. Just to emphasize the point again: General MacDonald's chief intelligence officer was an Austrian agent. Those versed in Cold War era treachery will understand the damage this caused. And we have more.

In Radetzky's memoirs we find an account of the spy being brought in at Mantua. Radetzky and a cavalry trooper were riding through the marshes at night when the Austrian saw a figure darting through the shadows. He gives chase. As Radetzky catches up, the man turns, aims a brace of pistols at the Austrian. Beneath the stranger's cape is the uniform of a French captain. "Your friend or your enemy," the spy greets Radetzky, adding he will kill the Austrian if he attempts to arrest him.¹⁷ This is pure cinema. The two men begin to speak, and Radetzky takes the man back to camp, handing him over to the chief of staff, Zach for interrogation. This is spy is the same man Melas describes in his December letter. We even have the testimony of the unlucky French commander at Mantua, Foissac-Latour who talks about a Piedmontese "emissary" sent by MacDonald, and the false assurances provided by him. Foissac-Latour even warns MacDonald the spy might be a double agent, but to no avail. Of course Giovelli turned over to Zach Foissac-Latour's correspondence. When he was held a prisoner in Paris after Marengo, Zach admitted as much to Foissac-Latour.¹⁸

Then we have the memoirs of the émigré Crossard, a staff officer in Melas's army who met the spy in 1799.¹⁹ Crossard paints the picture of a young attorney working in

¹⁵ Hermann Hüffer, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Krieges von 1799*, vol.1 (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1900), 510-14.

¹⁶ Hüffer, *Krieges von 1799*, 513.

¹⁷ Johann Joseph Franz Karl Radetzky, *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Feldmarschall Grafen Radetzky. Eine Selbstbiographie*, vol. 1 (Wien: L.W. Seidel & Sohn, 1887), 47.

¹⁸ François Philippe de Foissac-Latour, *Précis ou journal historique et raisonné des opérations militaires et administratives qui ont eu lieu dans la place de Mantoue* (Paris: Magimel, 1800), 177.

¹⁹ Crossard, Jean Baptiste Louis, baron de, *Mémoires militaires et historiques pour servir à l'histoire de la guerre depuis 1792 jusqu'en 1815*, vol. 2 (Paris: Migneret, 1829), 204.

Turin when the French Revolution turns his world upside down. We can add more. Radetzky states this same spy was also used at Marengo, but claims the spy this time caused the Austrians to make a costly mistake. There is no ambiguity about this in Radetzky's account. The Mantua and Marengo spy are one and the same. And by the way, Radetzky thought the spy was debauched and should have been either paid a fortune or hanged! Stutterheim also talks about the spy in his staff history of the Marengo campaign published by Hüffer. In the second draft of Stutterheim's account of the campaign, he even adds a footnote about having read Bourrienne's account of the spy meeting with Napoleon in Milan. Stutterheim admits at being amused by the craftiness of the Italian in playing both sides.

The Marengo Deception

We now fast-forward to 9 June. A column of Austrian troops blunders into the corps of Lannes and Victor near Montebello. It is an encounter battle, with neither side expecting to fight, and completely unaware of the size of each other's forces. After a sharp action (this is the battle where the sharp-tongued Lannes said his soldiers' bones cracked like glass in a hailstorm) the Austrians are forced to withdraw towards Alessandria where the rest of their army is concentrating.

Napoleon arrives from Milan. By now he knows Genoa has fallen to the Austrians, and this has freed up additional forces for the enemy. The situation is becoming urgent. On 10 June, he visits the battlefield.

At some point that day he interviews the spy again. This time it is Napoleon who wants to know what the Austrians are planning to do? In Napoleon's analysis, there are three options for Melas:

1. Melas could fight. After concentrating his forces at Alessandria, Melas could offer battle on the plain between Alessandria and Tortona. The Austrians enjoyed a numerical advantage in artillery and cavalry, and the plain would provide Melas the perfect terrain for deploying his army.
2. Melas could run. He could cross the Po north of Alessandria at Casale and make a dash for Milan, recovering his lines of communication.
3. Melas could withdraw to Genoa and be protected by the British fleet. This was probably the worst outcome for Napoleon. His lightning campaign would grind to a halt. It would take months to reduce all the Austrian-held fortresses in Piedmont. And all the while Parisian tongues would wag Napoleon was no better than those who had lost Italy the year before; *not like that successful General Moreau ...*

We know from the Austrian sources, the spy posed these three questions to his Austrian handler, Generalmajor Zach. It is a well known thing how you can guess your opponent's intentions from analyzing his intelligence gathering objectives. Zach was smart—an intellectual far better suited to teaching than commanding men (or so his many detractors claimed). Zach could see Napoleon was concerned the Austrian main army might elude him. So Zach developed a complicated deception plan to lure Napoleon into a trap.

Zach told the spy to confirm the Austrians were in a state of terror following the battle of Montebello. They did not want to fight, and were going to cross the Po at Casale. Zach drew up false marching orders for the garrison of Genoa, showing them arriving at Alessandria, then continuing on to Casale. Zach even sent bridging equipment to Casale. He did everything to give the impression the Austrians were trying to escape, when in reality he planned to attack. Through the medium of the spy, Zach indicated to Napoleon he could catch the Austrians in the act of a river crossing. All Napoleon had

to do was advance his army towards Casale, across the northern edge of the plain, through the village of Sale. Zach then began making plans to attack the French as they made this false march.²⁰



On the morning of 13 June the spy delivered Zach's false information to Napoleon. By then the French cavalry scouts had entered the great plain between the Scrivia and the Bormida rivers. Apart from a few vedettes, the Austrians had withdrawn towards Alessandria and placed advanced posts at the little village of Marengo. There was no indication the Austrians were about to give battle. The

information delivered by the spy confirmed the Austrians were planning to escape. Napoleon therefore directed a strong infantry division under General Desaix south towards Genoa to intercept the forces marching up from there, and another under Lapoype to re-cross the Po in order to block the Casale escape route. Having delivered his message, the spy reported back to Zach. When he was told the First Consul had fallen for the deception and split his forces, Zach was cock-a-hoop, running around his

²⁰ Hermann Hüffer, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Zeitalters der Französischen Revolution. Erster Teil. Quellen zur Geschichte der Kriege von 1799 und 1800. Aus den sammlungen des K. und K. Kriegsarchivs,*

des haus-, hof-, und Staatsarchivs und des Archivs des Erzherzogs Albrecht in Wien. Zweiter Band. Quellen zur Geschichte des Krieges von 1800 (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1901), 71-72.

headquarters loudly exclaiming: “This time we have this Bonaparte!”²¹

Alas for the Austrians, the spy proved something of a double-edged sword. On his return to Alessandria, the spy told Zach that the French were indeed at Sale, with just a small covering force at San Giuliano. Zach therefore divided the Austrian forces into three columns. One to march northeastwards to pin the French forces at Sale; one to march southeastwards blocking the return of Desaix; and a main column which would march out through Marengo, execute a left turn, and drive into the flank of the unsuspecting French.²² The plan was brilliant, except ...

In fact, the French were not at Sale at all. Napoleon had listened to the spy; but he also received reports from French forces on the left bank of the Po opposite Casale. They had seen the bridging equipment arrive, but they did not believe the Austrians were about to cross the river crossing in strength. While Zach was handing out his battle orders, Napoleon concentrated his infantry in the middle of the plain, and marched straight at Alessandria, arriving at the village of Marengo at four o'clock in the evening.

Time for the *fog of war*. No one told the Austrians rearguard at Marengo the army was going to march through the village the following morning to attack the French. When attacked, this rearguard fell back towards Alessandria and the protection of a

formidable artillery earthwork protecting the bridges over the River Bormida. By surrendering Marengo, the Austrians sowed the seed of disaster: The following morning their columns were mown down trying to recapture the place.

More *fog of war*. Desaix marched south towards Novi, but a tremendous downpour saw his artillery stuck in mud and his infantry were unable to cross the Scrivia, dramatically swollen by the torrential rain. The result? Desaix was much closer to the battlefield on 14 June than the Austrians anticipated.

Napoleon was not immune to the confusion either. The retreat of the Austrian rearguard to the Bormida bridgehead appeared to confirm the Austrians would not attack him. Napoleon went to sleep at his headquarter on the night of 13-14 June, some seven miles away from Marengo. When the Austrians attacked, Napoleon remained at his headquarters, convinced it was nothing but a feint covering their withdrawal. Despite the roar of gunfire to the west, Napoleon did one thing, and one thing only at the start of the battle. He sent Desaix an order to complete his crossing of the Scrivia and to march southwestwards to intercept the Genoa–Alessandria Road. Clearly he still believed the Austrians were planning on escaping him. It was only much later, probably around noon, that Napoleon actually witnessed the full extent of the Austrian attack for himself and only then ordered Desaix to urgently return “in

²¹ Hüffer, *Zeitalters der Französischen Revolution*, 73.

²² Hüffer, *Zeitalters der Französischen Revolution*, 309-12.

the name of God.”²³ Fortunately for Napoleon, Desaix was still close enough to intervene.²⁴

On the Austrian side, the impact of the spy was far more consequential:

1. The spy initially refused to deliver Zach’s deception because the French had scouts opposite Casale. The spy would not deliver an outright lie to Napoleon. The Austrian chief of staff was therefore obliged to send bridging equipment to Casale to back up the spy’s statement. On 14 June, the Austrians did not have enough equipment remaining to lay a new bridge to outflank the French position in front of Marengo. This resulted in a costly frontal assault that wrecked much of the Austrian main column.
2. Zach wrote the battle orders based on the intelligence provided by the spy. This resulted in a false march by the column commanded by General Ott. This column was directed on a lengthy march to the left flank, through Cascinagrossa towards Sale. Ott made little impact on the battle until after midday. Had Ott attacked the flank of the French army sooner, the position could have been made

untenable two hours before the arrival of reinforcements in the guise of Monnier’s division and the Foot Guards.

3. A small column was detached to the right flank to look for Desaix coming up from the direction of Novi. Desaix did not reach this place because of the swollen river. These troops were absent when Desaix arrived in the evening.

While these factors were not the only ones which contributed to the Austrian defeat, Zach’s faith in the spy, built up over a year of constant successes, blinded him to the realities before his eyes. While Napoleon recovered from his mistakes and miscalculations, Zach did not.

Endgame

On Sunday 29 January 2017, I was sat at my desk at home. I was trying to discover the identity of an Italian politician named in some obscure letter relating to the Marengo campaign—I cannot even remember his name now. I was searching away for hours online—hundreds of records, links, entries, names, places, documents, books, and then I found myself scan-reading Giorgio Vaccarino’s monumental, two volume work: *I Giacobini Piemontesi* (1794 -1814), published in Rome in 1989. I do not really speak Italian, but if you scan

²³ Charles-Albert Costa de Beauregard, “Mon Oncle le general—Douze ans d’émigration en Autriche,” *La Revue Hebdomadaire* 9 (September 1908): 146.

²⁴ Talk of Desaix “marching to the sound of the guns” without orders is an absolute nonsense. Like the recipe for Chicken Marengo, it was a piece of Napoleonic mythology concocted long after the event.

through, you look out for the proper nouns and dates; a good knowledge of French and some words of common Latin root, restaurant menus, hotel Italian, it all adds up. Somehow the language begins to feel familiar. I cannot now remember what I thought I was looking for, but a thought occurred to me. *If Giovelli is a real name, there must be something on him here—a lawyer in Turin, inspired by the revolution according to Crossard; a doctor's son from Alba, wrote Melas, a Piedmontese spy wrote Foissac-Latour...* surely Vaccarino would have come across him? I raced to the index. Sure enough, in I saw an entry: “Giojelli (Gioelli) d’Alba, 917.”²⁵ Was it him? Yes! The text speaks of a poster printed in 1800 or 1801 which condemned Giojelli d’Alba as a known Austrian spy. Giojelli was a lawyer and was considered to have the confidence of the King of Sardinia and the Austrian generals. This Giojelli, the poster claimed, had been sent to the commander of Cuneo with the order to hold out for 15 days. He instead went to the Austrian General Zach.²⁶

This was my man. This was the vital second corroborating source confirming the name given to Melas. Vaccarino points out the spelling mistake in the name *Giojelli*, and instead calls him Gioelli. And of course, the Austrian Karl/Carl would have been “Carlo.” So now we have the real name: Carlo Gioelli of Alba, attorney, son of a doctor, revolutionary firebrand—a spy

turned traitor. This is the man who took the pay of Napoleon and Melas. He is the man who delivered Zach’s deception and in so doing, helped sowed the seeds of defeat for the imperial army. The famous Napoleonic spy, Karl Schulmeister now has a rival.

And Toli? What are we to do with Toli? At face value, there are many aspects of Gachot’s account which are plausible. But isn’t that the skill of a good writer? When I re-read Gachot now, I can see how he might have concocted the story from all those tantalising clues about spies and invented Toli as a literary device to fill the gaps in his knowledge. That said, I am not yet quite ready to reject the Toli story as a complete fabrication. Perhaps there was a spy named Toli who was involved in 1796; perhaps Gachot enhanced the story to include Marengo? Or is this story nothing but a ruse; a late nineteenth century romance, a flight of fancy, written by a man on an alpine adventure far off the beaten track.

Evidence beyond the pen of Gachot must be found. And you never know what might turn up. Maybe, just perhaps, somewhere out there in an attic, or trunk, might be this little pamphlet, last seen in 1898, tucked inside a book, in a private collection, somewhere in Aosta. And what about the other nineteen copies? If *l’art de l’espionnage* really does exist; if it *could* be found – what a story. What a coup.

²⁵ Giorgio Vaccarino, *I Giacobini Piemontesi* (1794 -1814), vol. 2 (Roma: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1989), 943.

²⁶ Vaccarino, 917.

Quatre Bras: Dutch Courage Saves the Day

by Dennis W. Potts

In the campaign of 1815, Napoleon, having returned to France and reclaimed his throne, decided to strike at the Allies before they could muster all of their overwhelming resources against him.¹ He therefore moved his army north into Belgium, which was then a part of the newly created United Kingdom of the Netherlands, with the objective of bringing the two armies positioned there, the Anglo-Dutch forces under the Duke of Wellington and the Prussian forces under Marshal Blucher, to battle and destroying them in detail before the Austrian and Russian armies already moving west could reach the French frontier. Blucher's Prussian forces were concentrated around the city of Namur, although his forward positions were along the River Sambre in the vicinity of Charleroi on the French border. Wellington's forces, which included almost 18,000 Dutch-Belgian soldiers, were more spread out, situated in a kind of arc extending from Ostend to Mons in the west and to Nivelles in the east with Brussels at the epicenter. There was a gap of approximately 10 miles between the westernmost units of Blucher's army and the easternmost units of Wellington's

around Nivelles where most of the Dutch Belgian troops were stationed.

Neither Wellington nor Blucher expected Napoleon to attack their forces in Belgium, anticipating instead that he would choose to defend France on French soil as he had done in 1814.² With great stealth, Napoleon assembled his army of approximately 115,000 men, in the vicinity of Paris in early June and moved it north to the Belgian border during 8-14 June. The French Army advanced in three columns with the focal point of the advance centered on Charleroi on the River Sambre. Napoleon intended to probe the gap between the two Allied armies to keep them separated and attack the one which presented him with the first opportunity.³

Because Blucher's forces were more concentrated than Wellington's, they were able to assemble more quickly in reaction to first contact when French columns encountered the forward most Prussian outposts on 14 June near Charleroi. The French quickly drove the Prussian outposts back and crossed the Sambre on 15 June. The Prussians fell back in a northeasterly direction toward Sombreffe while the main Prussian force under Blucher was moving

¹ The combined armies of Great Britain, Prussia, Russia and Austria.

² As late as June 13, 1815 Wellington stated as much in a dispatch to General Lord Lynedoch from Brussels. Wellington to General Lord Lynedoch, G.C.B., Brussels, 13 June 1815 in *The Dispatches of*

Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, During His Various Campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, The Low Countries and France from 1799-1818 compiled by Lt. Col. Gurwood, Vol. XII.

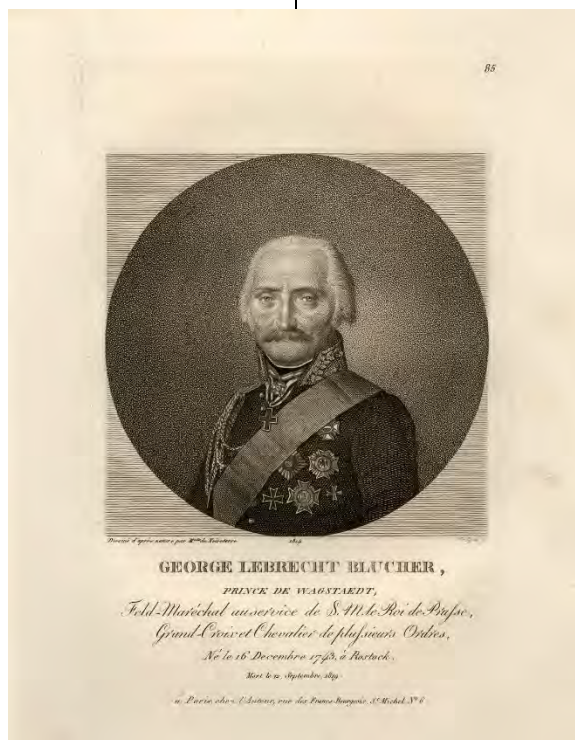
³ Commandant Henry Lachouque, *Waterloo*, (London: Hippocrene/Arms & Armour, 1975), 59.

west from Namur. Even after Wellington received the news of the French attack at Chareleroi, he continued to suspect that this might be a feint to disguise an attack to the west around Mons to cut his army off from its line of retreat to the port of Ostend.⁴

As Blucher completed the concentration of his forces around Ligny on 16 June, Wellington was in the process of moving his forces toward Nivelles at the extreme left end of his defensive arc. Situated just five kilometers east of Nivelles in the gap between the two armies was a small hamlet consisting of four or five houses at the intersection of the Charleroi/Brussels and Nivelles/Namur roads called Quatre Bras. On 16 June 1815, while the main French force under Napoleon attacked the Prussian army at Ligny, a major clash between smaller French and Anglo-Dutch forces took place at Quatre Bras which would ultimately prove to have far greater strategic significance, and it would set the stage for the Allied victory at Waterloo two days later. The courage of the Dutch/Belgian forces under General Baron David Henry Chasse and Lieutenant General Baron Hendrich George de Perponcher Sedlnitzky in holding off

superior French forces under Marshal Ney during the early stages of this battle allowed Wellington the necessary time to bring his superior numbers to bear and check the advance of the French left wing, an episode of the Waterloo Campaign that

has been largely overlooked by mostly historians who, perhaps understandably, have been more focused on the roles of Wellington and Ney in this Battle. This stand would allow the Prussians to regroup after their defeat at Ligny, and the Anglo-Dutch forces to retire in good order to the strong defensive positions at Mont Saint-Jean where the Battle of Waterloo was fought on 18 June 1815.



The Dutch-Belgian forces on Wellington's left wing were under the command of the Prince of Orange, the heir to and later occupant of the Dutch throne whose headquarters were at Genappe, four miles north of Quatre Bras. Until Napoleon's abdication in April 1814, the Netherlands and what is now Belgium had been part of the French Empire, and some of those soldiers had served in the French Army. As a result, Wellington questioned their loyalty. These troops were for the most part new recruits although the Jager and Line

⁴ William Siborne, *The Waterloo Campaign 1815* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1848), 97 and 119-20.

battalions were professional soldiers.⁵ The 2nd Netherlands Division under Lieutenant General Perponcher-Sedlnitzky and the 3rd Netherlands Division under Lieutenant General Chasse, totaling just under 15,000 men of all arms, were part of this force and were positioned near Nivelles. On the night of 15 June, Wellington, having heard that Charleroi was under attack, ordered the Prince of Orange to move the 2nd and 3rd divisions of the Anglo-Dutch Army toward Nivelles.⁶ Wellington seems to have anticipated that if Napoleon intended to strike at the junction of the Anglo-Dutch and Prussian forces, the attack would be closer to Nivelles than Quatre Bras. The Prince of Orange's chief-of-staff, Major-General Jean Victor de Constant-Rebecque, however, believed that the French force pushing the Prussians back from Charleroi was the centerpiece of Napoleon's attack and saw great danger to the forces of both Wellington and Blucher if the French left wing was allowed to advance through Quatre Bras without opposition. While



Quatre Bras would not even qualify as a small village, it had considerable strategic significance situated as it was at the intersection of two major roads in southern Belgium, the Charleroi-Brussels Road running north-south ("the Road") and the Nivelles-Namur Road running east-west.

Specifically, General Constant foresaw that Napoleon's left wing might be able to exploit the gap between Wellington's and Blucher's forces by taking Quatre Bras, isolating the two armies, and moving directly north toward Brussels, only some 20 miles away. Because the Prince of Orange had gone to Brussels on 15 June to meet with Wellington, Major-General Constant

decided on his own to move part of the Dutch force toward Quatre-Bras. Constant issued the following order to Lieutenant General Perponcher:

His Royal Highness has ordered me to write to you that, on receipt of this, you call your Division to arms as soon as possible, hold one brigade ready on

⁵ Siborne, 147.

⁶ Wellington's order reads as follows: "The Prince of Orange is requested to collect at Nivelles the 2nd and 3rd divisions of the Army of the Low Countries; and, should that point have been attacked this day, to move the 3rd division of British infantry upon Nivelles as soon as collected.

This movement not to take place until it is quite certain that the enemy's attack is upon the right of the Prussian army, and the left of the British army . . ." ("Memorandum for the Deputy Quartermaster General. Movements of the Army," Brussels, 15 June 1815, *Wellington Dispatches*).

the chaussee near Nivelles and the other at Quatre Bras, and this until further orders from HRH. Should Your Excellency, since this morning, already have assembled your troops, it may be necessary that they prepare and eat their meal at the assembly points.⁷

Perponcher would have received this order at about 5:00 p.m. on 15 June; Constant sent a similar order to General Chasse a short time later. Constant also sent a message to the Prince of Orange in Brussels apprising him of these events. At about 9:00 p.m., he received the following message from the Prince:

My dear Constant, unless you should have received news since this morning which leads you to believe it necessary to keep the troops out all night, please send them in my name to their cantonments but with orders to reassemble in their appointed places at 4:00 a.m. Please tell Abercromby from me to send the same orders to the British troops. The Duke of Wellington desires that I stay here this evening; so I shall not leave here until midnight or 1 a.m. Ever yours, William, Prince of Orange.⁸

At this time Constant was still unaware of the progress of the French advance against the Prussian I Corps or that it had penetrated well beyond Charleroi and that

the French left wing was approaching Quatre Bras.

Throughout 15 June the 2nd Brigade of Perponcher's 2nd division (some 4,500 strong) had been drilling and training along the Road near Genappe. These troops were largely inexperienced conscripts, and it was expected, at least by the British, that they would need to be combined with more experienced troops in order to mount an effective defense against the French advance. At around 2:00 p.m. Perponcher began to concentrate this force at Quatre Bras having decided that it would be wiser to defend that strategically important crossroads rather than to concentrate his entire force at Nivelles as previously ordered by Wellington.

By around 5:00 p.m. on 15 June the French left wing had reached Frasnes, one mile south of Quatre Bras. A small contingent of German infantry from the Nassau Brigade was stationed there under Major-General Prince Bernhard von Saxe-Weimar and was pushed back to Quatre Bras by the French advance. Perponcher, who was still at Nivelles, was informed of this development at around 8:00 p.m. and sent a message to Constant asking for instructions. Constant, not having received orders from the Prince, was unsure of what to do and sent the following message to Perponcher:

His Royal Highness is at present in Brussels but is expected back at any

⁷ F. de Bas and J. de T'Serclaes de Wommersom, *La Campagne de 1815 aux Pays-Bas d'après les rapports officiels neerlandais*, vol. I: Quatre Bras (Bruxelles: A. Dewit, 1908), 395.

⁸ F. de Bas, I: 396.

moment. I [Constant] believe it of importance ["qu'il serait important"] to support the 2nd Brigade by the first, and if necessary General Perponcher should call for support from the 3rd Division currently at Fayt and General Collaert's cavalry in the vicinity of Roeulx—the hospital and military court to Brussels. In any event General Perponcher will be so good as to send an officer to General Chasse [3rd Netherlands Division] at Fayt to inform him of the state of things and asking him to communicate with General Collaert.⁹

In the meantime, at around 10:30 p.m. Constant received the Prince's message ordering Perponcher's entire division to concentrate at Nivelles, west of the French left wing, in accordance with Wellington's orders. Constant now faced an acute predicament, having received information from Perponcher about the French advance on Quatre Bras, but having been instructed to concentrate his forces at Nivelles. Constant then sent the following order to Perponcher just after midnight:

Since sending Count Stirum to you, I have received the Prince of Orange's order from Brussels to tell you that you should assemble your Division at Nivelles. General Chasse's Division has received orders to march to Nivelles to join and support you; General Collaert has been ordered to

take position on the heights behind Haine-St. Pierre.¹⁰

By this message Constant passed his predicament on to Perponcher by simply relaying the Prince's order, but not addressing what the response should be to the French advance on Quatre Bras. Perponcher marched out of Nivelles at 2:00 a.m. on 16 June with two battalions, the 27th light infantry and the 8th Dutch militia. Along the way he was joined by some Prussian cavalry, and this force arrived to support his 2nd Infantry Brigade at Quatre Bras by sunrise. Constant arrived at Quatre Bras at about 5:30 a.m., and the Prince arrived there at about 6:00 a.m. From there the Prince sent a verbal order for van Merlen's light cavalry brigade to move from Nivelles to Quatre Bras immediately. Because the Prince still suspected that the main French objective was Nivelles, he kept a significant part of his force there.

During the evening of 15 June, Prince Bernhard's infantry had fallen back before the French Guard light cavalry under General Lefebvre-Desnouettes from Frasnes to Bossu Wood, a thick patch of forest just south of Quatre Bras. In addition to the Nassau regiments in Bossu Wood, Perponcher's forces were deployed there and south of the crossroads at Petit Pierrepont Farm and Gemioncourt, and east of the Road at Pireaumont. Perponcher also had some Dutch units in reserve near the Crossroads. Ney spent the morning of 16 June massing his I and II

⁹ F. de Bas, I: 408.

¹⁰ F. de Bas, I: 438-39.

Corps and probing the Allied positions south of the Quatre Bras but made no attempt to capture it even though he had a much superior force and had received an order from Napoleon that morning to take Quatre Bras and be ready to advance north on the road to Brussels as soon as the French reserve reached him.¹¹

Perponcher's 1st Brigade arrived at Quatre Bras at around 10:00 a.m., and the Duke of Wellington also arrived that morning to reconnoiter the situation from the heights just north of Frasnes before riding off to meet Blücher at Brye at approximately 1:00 p.m. By the morning of 16 June then, the Dutch forces, including the Nassau regiments, totaled 8,000 infantry and 16 guns at Quatre Bras. The French under Marshal Ney had 18,000 men including 2,000 cavalry and 32 guns in the vicinity of Quatre Bras. Throughout the day, however the Dutch began to receive reinforcements with additional Dutch, British and German troops reaching the crossroads until they

eventually numbered 40,000 men against 24,000 French troops.¹²

The French attack began at approximately 2:00 p.m. with a bombardment by the French battery of 22 guns followed by an attack of the French columns, preceded by swarms of skirmishers. The Dutch forces of the 2nd Division, 27th Jagers under Perponcher held their positions east of the Road as long as they could, but they were soon forced back. To the west of the Road the Dutch and Nassau troops at Petit Pierrepont Farm, a fortified position, retreated to Grand-Pierrepont Farm, a larger fortified position, while east of the Road the Dutch troops of the 1st Brigade under General Willem Frederik Graf van Bylandt retreated to Gemioncourt Farm, as did the Dutch 27th Jagers under pressure from General Bachelu's French division. The main French attack was directed at the center of the Allied positions, along the Road toward Gemioncourt. As long as the Dutch and German troops continued to hold Bossu Wood, however, the left flank of the French forces moving north along the

¹¹ Napoleon's Order prepared by Soult read as follows:

Marshal,

An officer of lancers has just told the Emperor that the enemy had masses on the side of the Quatre-Bras; Unite the corps of Count Reille and d'Erlon, and that of the Comte de Valmy, who is at this moment on his way to join you; With these forces you must beat and destroy all enemy bodies that may present themselves; Blücher was yesterday at Namur, and it is unlikely that he sent troops to Quatre-Bras, so you only have to deal with what comes from Brussels.

Marshal Grouchy is going to make the movement on Sombreffe, which I have announced to you, and the Emperor will go to Fleurus; It is there that you will address your reports to His

Majesty ([See https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Soult_to_Ney,_Charles_10:00_16_June_1815](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Soult_to_Ney,_Charles_10:00_16_June_1815). Translation credited to <http://waterloo-campaign.nl/bestanden/files/june16/frhfdkw.pdf>).

¹² A major problem facing Wellington as he attempted to concentrate his forces at Quatre Bras was the state of confusion and gridlock behind the lines, primarily caused by the disorganization of the British 3rd Division as it attempted to join the Battle. There has been criticism by several historians that poor staff work on the part of the British Army caused this gridlock and delayed the concentration of Wellington's forces. See Alexander Cavalie Mercer, *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1870), 230-46.

Road would be threatened. Ney soon saw the importance of Bossu Wood to the outcome of this struggle and ordered that it be taken at once.

While the Dutch were pushed back to Gemioncourt, the French 9th Infantry Division moved to attack the southern edge of Bossu Wood held by troops of the Nassau Regiment and the 8th Dutch militia. The French attack drove the Dutch and Nassau troops further back into Bossu Wood, but Prince Bernhard led volunteers from the 1st and 2nd Nassau Regiments and two companies of the 7th Dutch militia in a counterattack, which pushed the French back out of the Wood. After this, the Prince of Orange was able to reinforce these hard-pressed troops with the 2nd Nassau-Orange and 2nd and 3rd Nassau regiments. The French were soon reinforced by the 6th Infantry Division under Jerome Bonaparte which was immediately sent against Bossu Wood and forced the Nassau and Dutch troops to again fall back despite being supported by fire from the Dutch troops defending Gemioncourt to the east. In the meantime, the troops of General Foy's French 9th Infantry Division made a renewed push to dislodge the Dutch troops

from that fortified position. During this part of the battle Colonel DeJongh of the 8th Dutch militia was wounded and ordered his staff to tie him to the saddle of his horse so that he could stay with the battalion, which he did until the end of the battle. He also fought at Waterloo two days later.



To the east of the Road, four companies of the 27th Dutch Jagers were in the process of withdrawing from Gemioncourt Farm when a sudden and unexpected French cavalry charge scattered them and momentarily seemed to open the way to the Crossroads. On the west side of the Road, the Dutch and Nassau troops were slowly being forced back

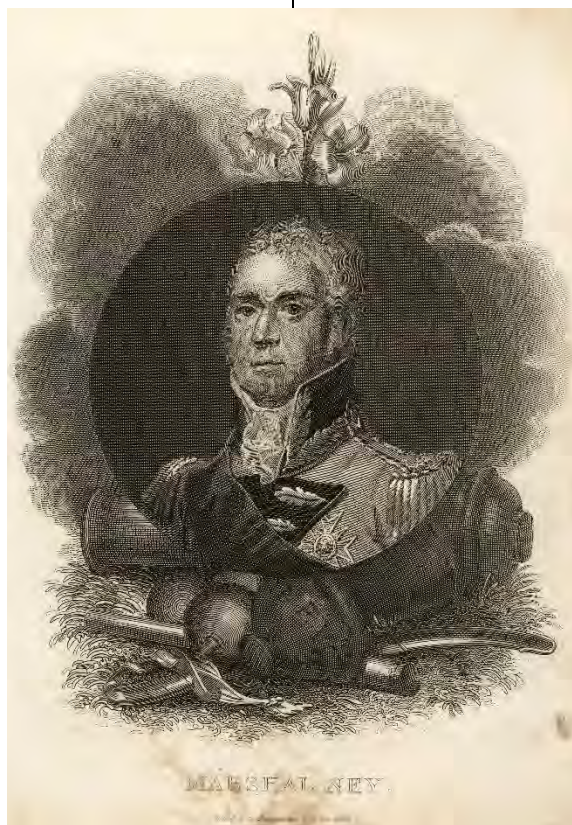
within Bossu Wood, and by around 3:30 p.m. were barely holding on to a small section of the northern part of the Wood.¹³ The French forces were now extremely close to the strategic crossroads at Quatre Bras on both sides of the Road. While the French seemed to be making good progress in pushing the Allied forces back on both sides of the Road, the delay caused by the stubborn resistance of the Dutch and Nassau troops enabled Wellington to bring strong reinforcements into play that afternoon while Ney, after having been reinforced by Jerome Bonaparte's 6th

¹³ Siborne, 181.

Infantry Division, did not receive much more in the way of reinforcements. By this time Wellington was attempting to concentrate as much as he could of his entire army Anglo-Dutch force to Quatre Bras.¹⁴ Thus, the longer the struggle for Quatre Bras went on, the more the balance of forces would tip against the French.

By 3:30 p.m. the Netherlands Cavalry Brigade commanded by Major General Jean Baptiste Baron van Merlen and General Thomas Picton's 5th Infantry Division arrived at Quatre Bras—as did several battalions of Brunswick infantry supported by artillery and cavalry. General van Merlen's Netherland Cavalry Brigade consisted of the 5th Light Dragoons and the 5th Hussars. As van Merlen's cavalry brigade was deploying, it was attacked by the French 5th Lancers and 1st Chasseurs and driven back, but the French did not pursue them. There then occurred one of those tragic incidents of “friendly fire” when the Scots of the 92nd and 42nd

Highland Brigades took van Merlen's Cavalry, dressed as they were in blue and green, for the French and fired upon them, inflicting heavily casualties.¹⁵ In the meantime, the French kept pressing the Dutch and Nassau troops along the entire front with the greatest concentration of force being directed in the center, along the



Road, and Gemioncourt was soon taken. The Dutch troops there had been reinforced by several British regiments, but the French attack dislodged them although the fighting around that defensive strong point, with attacks and counter-attacks by each side, would continue for the rest of the battle. Picton deployed his division and the Brunswickers to the east of the Road, and

they were able to recapture the village of Pireaumont which had been lost during the earlier French cavalry charge. The French retook Pireaumont a short time later and continued to maintain their hold on Gemioncourt, although they were under steady and ever-increasing pressure as

¹⁴ Wellington's dispatch instructions for the movement of the Army on the 16th. Signed by Col. Sir W. DeLancey, Deputy Quartermaster General to Gen. Lord Hill, G.C.B. — Genappe 16th June 1815.

¹⁵ An additional problem for the Allies throughout the Battle of Quatre Bras was the

language barrier between the Dutch-Belgian forces and their British allies. There were several instances throughout the battle where attempts by the Dutch-Belgians to assist the British were thwarted by this language barrier.

Wellington's reinforcements continued to arrive over the next few hours.

Around 4:30 p.m., Ney, under orders from Napoleon, made an all-out attempt to push through the crossroads, but further Allied reinforcements arrived between 7:00 and 8:00 p.m. which were decisive in allowing the Allies to turn the tide, retake Pireaumont and push the French out of Bossu Wood. The fighting continued without let-up, and it was not until 10:00 p.m. that the Allies were able to retake Gemioncourt for the final time. The fighting ended shortly after that with the French forces situated just north of Frasnes in the positions they had originally occupied at the beginning of the Battle. The Battle of Ligny likewise ended at around 10:00 p.m. on the night of 16 June 1815, with the Prussian Army in full retreat. Because both the French and Prussian forces were so exhausted after the carnage of that battle, the Prussian retreat was largely unhindered and, critical to the Battle of Waterloo that was to take place on 18 June, made directly north toward Wavre so as to maintain close proximity to Wellington.

During the night of 16 June, Wellington continued to bring his reinforcements forward to Quatre Bras and Nivelles even

after the fighting there had stopped. By the morning of 17 June, he had concentrated an army of approximately 70,000 men there. At 7:00 a.m. he learned of the Prussian retreat, and at around 10 a.m. in order to protect his left flank, began his retreat toward the position at Mont-Saint-Jean in front of the Soignies Forest, which he had already decided upon as the place where he would give battle to Napoleon. By noon on 17 June Napoleon had put his entire force,



with the exception of Grouchy who was following the Prussians, on the road to Quatre Bras where he joined Ney and thence proceeded north toward Mont-Saint-Jean. The rainfall and extraordinarily bad road conditions delayed the march of the exhausted French troops, and Napoleon quickly made the decision that there would be no battle until

the following day. He positioned his army in front of Plancenoit at La Belle Alliance and waited until the next day when the Battle of Waterloo took place.

Prior to the commencement of full-scale hostilities at Quatre Bras, Ney had a decisive superiority in men, cavalry and artillery, his force of 18,000 being opposed by no more than 8,000 Dutch/Belgian troops. The stout resistance which they put up to the initial French advance, however,

convinced Ney that he was opposed by a significantly larger force than was the case. Even after full scale hostilities had commenced later that day, Ney maintained a numerical advantage over the Allied forces opposing him, but he was unable to overwhelm or brush them aside and take possession of the critical Crossroads. Again, Ney's failure to achieve this critical goal was due primarily to the steadfast and valiant resistance of the Dutch-Belgian forces. That the Dutch-Belgian forces were able to delay the French advance and retire in good order during the early stages of Quatre Bras enabled Wellington to bring up a major part of his army over the afternoon and into the evening, which completely altered the balance of forces in favor of the Allies.

Had Ney been able to overwhelm the Dutch-Belgian forces opposing him during the early stages of Quatre Bras, capture the crossroads and move north along the Road toward Brussels, the French would have been able to realize two critical strategic advantages which might well have altered the outcome of this campaign:

1. The movement of the Allied reinforcements on the roads leading south toward Quatre Bras, strung out and gridlocked as they were, would have been interrupted and thrown into confusion by a French advance north of Quatre Bras. In such an event Wellington would have been forced to order a halt to the forward movement of these reinforcements and move them north to the nearest defensible

position. Depending on the depth of the French penetration, this could well have resulted in a retreat by Wellington beyond Mont-Saint-Jean to the Soignies Forest or beyond, and would have deprived Wellington of the outstanding defensive position at Mont-Saint-Jean where he was able to fight the Battle of Waterloo.

2. A French penetration into the rear echelon of Wellington's force as described above would at the same time have brought tremendous pressure to bear on Blucher's right flank. While Ney would not have been able to attack Blucher's right flank or cut off his line of retreat, this pressure would in all likelihood have caused the Prussian resistance at Ligny to falter at a much earlier time and thus result in a much more decisive French victory. Under these circumstances the Prussian retreat from Ligny would have been nowhere near as orderly as it actually was and would have likely resulted in a decision by Blucher to retire east toward Namur along their natural line of communications with Prussia. Blucher no doubt would have been forced to make this decision in order to escape not only Napoleon's oncoming forces, but also the threat that he would have perceived from Ney's advance along his right flank.

The capture of Quatre Bra by the French on 16 June would have changed in a most

profound way what happened at Ligny that day and at Waterloo on 18 June. A battle undertaken by Wellington in Soignies Forest just to the north, or even beyond, along the approaches to Brussels without Prussian assistance would likely have resulted in a victory by the French, perhaps not decisive, but something altogether different from the total disintegration of the French forces which actually took place at Waterloo.

There has been a tendency by some British historians and soldiers to criticize the performance of the Dutch-Belgian troops during the Waterloo Campaign. In the comments on the Waterloo Campaign by many British historians it is almost as if Wellington's force, or at least that part of it which was critical to the successful outcome, was entirely British, and very little mention is made of the significant contribution by the Dutch-Belgian troops. When the Dutch-Belgian troops are discussed, they are discussed in a negative light by British historians such as William Siborne, who was highly critical of the conduct of the Dutch troops at Quatre Bras while lavishing effusive praise on the British and Germans,¹⁶ Sir Charles Oman¹⁷ and General Mercer.¹⁸ It has been argued

that Siborne's characterization of the performance of the Dutch-Belgian's troops was an attempt to distract attention from the incompetent performance of the staff officers of the British 3rd Division involved in the reinforcement of the Dutch-Belgian defenders at Quatre-Bras.¹⁹ Similarly, Oman's description of the action that is the subject of the above quote does not take into account the fact that the cavalry under van Merlen were fired upon by British infantrymen as they were riding back to their lines to regroup after a clash with the French cavalry.

Any objective examination of the early stages of Quatre Bras should serve as a sharp rebuke to any effort to disparage the performance of the Dutch-Belgian troops given their critical role in holding up the much superior French forces until Wellington's reinforcements could come into play. Perhaps the most telling comment on the performance of these troops was made by Napoleon himself who wrote to the Count de Montholon on St. Helena

To sum up, I had banked on a victory. Defeating the enemy was the key to my whole campaign. Everything depended on

¹⁶ Siborne, 147-48, 163, 181, and 194.

¹⁷ Sir Charles Oman, *The Hundred Days, 1815* in *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. IX, *Napoleon* (1906), 632. Oman wrote, in reference to the Dutch-Belgians at Waterloo that they "...were the weak point in the line; horse and foot had behaved feebly at Quatre-Bras and did not redeem their reputation at Waterloo."

¹⁸ Captain Mercer wrote: "The road was covered with soldiers, many of them wounded, but also many apparently untouched. The numbers thus leaving the field appeared extraordinary. Many of

the wounded had six, eight, ten, and even more, attendants. When questioned about the battle, and why they left it, the answer was invariably, "Monsieur, tout est perdu! les Anglais sont abimés, en déroute, abimés, tous, tous, tous!" and then, nothing abashed, these fellows would resume their hurried route. My countrymen will rejoice to learn that amongst this dastardly crew not one Briton appeared. Whether they were of Nassau or Belgians, I know not; they were one or the other—I think the latter" (Mercer, 250).

¹⁹ Mercer, 230-46.

a great victory that would throw the enemy back behind the Rhine, and without the heroic decision of the Prince of Orange, who with a handful of men dared to take up a position at Quatre-Bras, I would have caught the British army by surprise. On that day, the Prince showed that he had a sharp insight into and a clear

understanding of warfare. He deserves all the credit for this campaign. Without him the British army would have been destroyed before it could even have struck a blow.²⁰

²⁰ Charles Tristan de Montholon, *Recits de la captivite de l'Empereur Napoleon Sante-Helene*, vol. 2 (Paris: Paulin, 1847), 182-84.

Army Recruitment in the Kingdom of Hungary during the Napoleonic War: Reform Efforts and Failures

by Balázs Lázár

Introduction

As late as 1807, in an era of mass armies of Napoleonic Europe, a member of the in-session Hungarian Diet declared that any compulsory military service in the Kingdom of Hungary “contradicts the country’s constitution, inconsistent with the national character, and runs counter to the public and the external security of the nation.”¹ As we will see, by the time the declaration was made, it had long been nothing more than a legal fiction. According to this standpoint, the only legitimate way to bring the Hungarian regiments of the K.-K. Army up to strength was by direct recruiting by the regiments themselves; the costs were to be borne by the Treasury. However, in an era of a new warfare and mass armies this fiction was becoming ever more difficult to maintain. (For a brief period from 1802 to 1807, the Hungarian elite had no other alternative but to accept the need for a military draft and a systematic replacement of men available for military service.)

It is widely known that the Habsburg Monarchy was a composite state. This Central and East European empire, a transient ensemble of disparate crowns (including that of St. Stephen) and

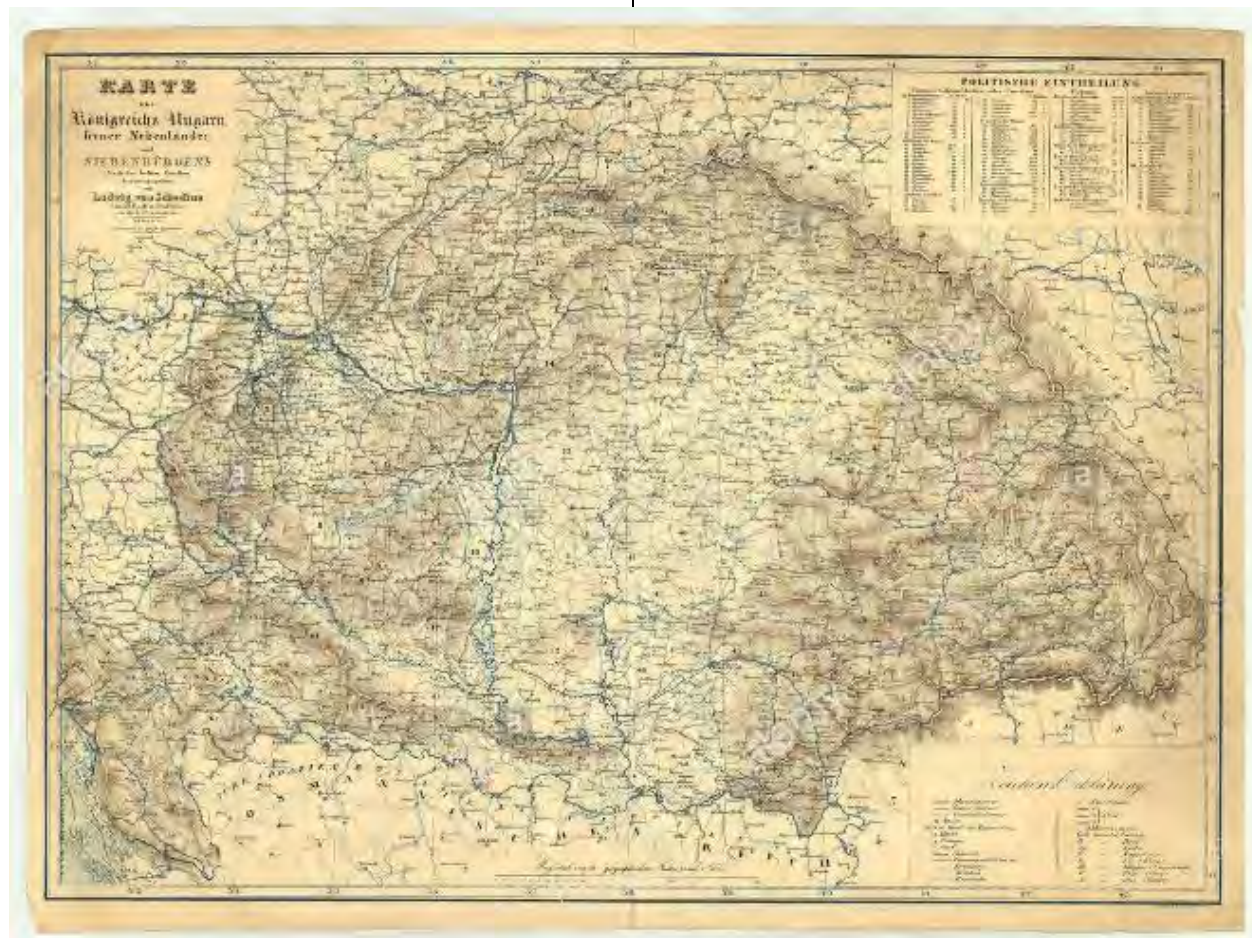
provinces, acquired by the Habsburg dynasty through treaties, well-placed inter-dynastic marriages or simply by sheer luck, emerged gradually. However, as early as the 16th century, the need for joint efforts against the Ottoman pressure impelled this loose collection of territories towards unity. The most determined opponent of the evolving Habsburg absolutism was the Hungarian nobility, which had stubbornly defended its ancient rights and privileges (including its freedom of worship, as many nobles had turned Protestant) since the Bocskai uprising (1604-1606).

The 1711 Treaty of Szatmár, which ended the Rákóczi uprising, compelled Vienna to compromise with the Hungarian elite, thereby securing the immunity of the Hungarian constitution and preserving the kingdom’s independence within the Monarchy. Yet, the 1715 Diet recognized the right of the sovereign to raise and keep a permanent standing army, by recruiting soldiers both within and outside Hungarian territory, the expenses being borne by the country. At the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, Hungarian units, that is to say four hussar and three foot regiments (*hajdú*), made up a relatively small proportion of the regular army, but at the same time the amount of the

¹ János Poór, *Adók, katonák, országgyűlések. 1796–1811/12* [Subsidies, Soldiers, Diets] (Budapest: Universitas Kiadó, 2003), 152.

contribution (war tax) to be paid by the kingdom was more than its share in proportion to its component part of the army.

of peace, and the demilitarization process was well underway. The former Rákóczi army, largely dependent on irregular soldiers, and the remnants of the frontier military either melted into the rural society



The Kingdom of Hungary

The protracted Turkish war caused a serious fall in the population of Hungary, terribly weakened by the conflict, by the early 1700s. As a large proportion of the population belonged to the warrior class, the so-called “Estate of warriors” (*vitézlő rend*), the society was highly militarized; however, from 1711 onwards began a period

or (especially the officers) elevated to the nobility. Large groups of foreigners, preferably Catholic German peasants were induced to settle in the reconquered areas. With the preservation and further development of the Military Border in Croatia, Slavonia and Banat, military ethos survived among the Croatian and Serbian population.² The Military Border, built

² Banat was reconquered by the Peace of Passarowitz (1719) but was not united with the Kingdom of Hungary. It was governed by the

Court Chamber and the Aulic War Council in Vienna. Transylvania was also governed separate as Grand Duchy. The regiments (after 1802 three

around a Croatian core, was expanded eastwards during the 18th century and Border Regiments were organized along the Turkish frontier in Slavonia, Banat and finally in Transylvania. In these militarized territories all capable men had service obligation. The Military Border was under direct control of the Aulic War Council in Vienna. Although this band of land, stretching all along the Hungarian border, originally belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary, Vienna parried all efforts by the Estates to reincorporate these regions into civil administration. Especially the once-warlike Hungarian nobles were reproached later by 19th-century historians both for their neglect of military service and for the erosion of martial ethos among them, claiming that from a nation of warriors, they turned to a nation of jurists.³

On the other hand, in the period 1741 to 1757, the Hungarian component part of the regular *kaiserlich-königlich* army was expanded from eight hussar and three foot regiments (“*hajdú*”) to 10 infantry and 12 hussar regiments. The 1741 Diet in Pozsony (Pressburg) was a key milestone in the development process: it was at that session that the gallant Hungarian Estates, in defense of their threatened queen Maria Theresa, a young mother then, approved a levy of 21,000 soldiers, organized in six “Hungarian National Regiments” to be raised, and a noble insurrection was decreed. Although the article on the

insurrection made clear that “the Estates should never be obliged to replace deficiencies in these regiments neither during the insurrection nor after its dissolution, and provide recruits,” this is exactly what happened during the coming decades. On several occasions since 1744, when the war losses became significant, the queen had asked the counties and other municipalities of the kingdom for recruits to fill up the Hungarian regiments. These “Hungarian National Regiments” were soon absorbed into the regular army. Theoretically, this aid was considered as a voluntary war subsidy (*subsidium*) and it would have been voted through by the Diet, but there were long periods when the sovereign preferred not to convoke the assembly. In the period 1765 to 1790 Maria Theresa and Joseph II governed the kingdom by royal decrees. In 1771 Maria Theresa requested that 6,000 recruits be raised—although there was peace at the time—without the slightest intention of convening the overdue Diet; however, these tactics proved successful for Vienna. Although the counties grumbled and made political demands (to no avail) in exchange for their support, the Hungarian regiments were brought up to strength within months with recruits raised by the Estates.

Given that military affairs were under his direct control, co-regent and Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II found it completely unacceptable to depend upon the

line-infantry and two hussar regiments) recruited from Transylvania were considered as Hungarian regiments, but in this small and remote land the nobility and the privileged Estates (the Hungarian

nobles, the Saxons and the Seklers) were not strong enough to withstand the pressure of absolutism.

³ Henrik Marczali, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 130.

benevolence of the Estates in such major issues. Moreover, in the western part of the Monarchy a radical reform of the military system took place. Having followed the Prussian muster, the emperor and his friend and advisor, Marshal Lacy took the first step toward a selective compulsory military system in the Austrian and Bohemian parts of the Monarchy, i.e. the Hereditary Lands. In March 1770, after some hesitation and consultation, empress Maria Theresa ordered that the population of these lands and even the draught animals fit for military purposes be counted. However, for the time being, Hungary, Lombardy, the Austrian Netherlands, Tyrol, Anterior Austria and the Military Border were not incorporated in the new military system. In the Austro-Bohemian provinces the population was counted and classified according their suitability for military service not only physically but rather from a social point of view, the purpose being to ensure that only the expandable elements of the society were drafted into the Army. The exemptions were numerous; nobles, clerics, civil servants, town burghers, craftsmen, merchants and house-owning peasants were counted but declared exempt. The military system came fully effect only in 1781, after the conscription was introduced into the Hereditary Provinces.⁴ In order to reduce expenses, and alleviate the burden of the lifelong military service, a furlough system was introduced. In 1782 approximately one-

fifth of the total strength of the army was away on furlough.⁵

Besides these efforts, recruitment for the K.-K. Army in the Holy Roman Empire was also improved and until the dissolution of the Reich in 1806 it was one of the pillars of the Austrian military. After the impatient and resolute Joseph II ascended the throne, conscription was implemented in the traditional “outlanders” of the Monarchy, Tyrol and Hungary, by force. Neglecting the strong opposition from the Hungarian counties (the bastions of the Hungarian nobility), the conscription of the population and draught animals was carried out in 1784 with military assistance. As is well-known, Josephinism ultimately failed. By 1789/90, The forcible introduction of the conscription, the heavy demands of the Turkish war (1788–1791), together with other measures by Joseph brought the kingdom to the very brink of revolution. After the death of Joseph II on 20 February 1790, most of the documents of the 1784 conscription were burned in the courtyard of the county headquarters. The fiasco of Joseph’s efforts warned his successors. Both Leopold II and Francis I were well aware that taking radical steps against Hungarian privileges and system might cause more damage than benefit. Moreover, during the exhausting French wars, all available resources, support and, most of all, an atmosphere of internal political calm were badly needed by the

⁴ Michael Hochedlinger, *Austrian Wars of Emergence* (London: Longman, 2003), 293-94.

⁵ Arthur Mark Boerke, “Conscription in the Habsburg Empire to 1815” in Donald Stoker,

Frederick C. Schneid and Harold D. Blanton ed., *Conscription in the Napoleonic Era: A Revolution in Military Affairs?* (Routledge, 2009), 72.

dynasty. As a result, between 1790 and 1812 Diets were convoked triennially in Pressburg (and once in Buda) and the sovereign had no other choice but to seek compromise with the elite. The failure of the forcible reforms highlighted that in the Kingdom of Hungary military recruitment (and taxation) proved very difficult to implement without the support of the counties, ruled by the local nobility.

The (More or Less) Legitimate Methods of Recruitment

By the time of the French Wars two methods of recruitment were in practice in the Kingdom of Hungary. Direct recruitment to the army or “regiment recruitment” was considered by the Estates as a legitimate and normal way to raise troops. The method through which recruits were drafted by civil authorities (*Rekrutenstellung*, *Katonaállítás*), on the other hand, was regarded as an exceptional effort and subsidy for the king. In the course of the long French wars, however this exceptional way of obtaining recruits became the norm.

There was an additional “hidden” method to fill up the ranks of the regular army, the so-called insurrection or feudal levy. This obsolete institution was called out four times during the French Wars (1797, 1800, 1805, 1809). The insurrection was maintained for political rather than military reasons; it served primarily to preserve the nobility’s tax-exempt status. In theory, all noblemen were obliged to go out to war personally when a “general

insurrection” was announced, but many of them tried to avoid service by hiring a substitute from the rural population or by paying a discharged soldier for the same purpose. After the insurrection was disbanded, these non-noble substitutes were often transferred to the regular army either by persuasion or sometimes by force. For example, a regiment in the Jászkun District, raised during the 1800 insurrection only for the duration of war, was transformed into a regular regiment (the 12th Palatine Hussars) after the dissolution of the levy, obliging the hussars to remain in service for an indefinite period. A mutiny broke out but was suppressed by the authorities. Furthermore, during the whole period, the methods of the recruitment process were rather vague in detail. The military and the civil authorities were more concerned about recruiting the required numbers than they were about the recruitment methods themselves.

In peacetime (it was quite rare in the period under consideration) each regiment had to raise troops directly through “regiment recruitment.” By the mid-Eighteenth Century, the regiments were assigned fixed recruiting districts (usually three to six counties, depending on their population) from where they could draw new recruits. Recruitment parties went from village to village, especially during fairs, and, often with the help of free wine, gypsy music and dance, tried to persuade young people to enlist for service. The role of the music *verbunkos* (it begins slowly than continues faster) was very important and it came to

be viewed as the typical Hungarian national music and dance.⁶

Recruiting for the infantry among Hungarians was extremely difficult. In 1771, a recruiting officer complained that, despite their best efforts, his party proved unsuccessful during the yearly market in Pressburg, where, at the same time, the recruiters from a hussar regiment obtained seven good men. As a result, cavalry recruiting was forbidden where and when infantry recruiting was in progress. Although the regiment recruiting system provided a pool of volunteer soldiers for the army, Vienna was often dissatisfied with the quality of the Hungarian recruits. Joseph II criticised the system sharply: “The recruits are composed mainly of beggars, partly of foreigners and partly of the dregs of the nation who have nothing either to hope or fear.”⁷ According to the emperor, the desertion rate of the Hungarian regiments was twice as high as those in the Hereditary Provinces.

The main attraction was the bounty (*Handgeld*), paid for the recruit on his first enlistment which, by 1809, amounted to as much as 45 florins for a tall and able-bodied young man. However, the Estates and villages took regiment recruiting as a golden opportunity to get rid of their worst people, vagabonds and trouble-makers, who were taken to soldier by force. Accordingly, for many, the “regiment

recruitment” or “free recruitment” was a kind of penalty, a compulsory military service. Anyway, by the end of the Napoleonic wars, recruiting parties usually met with resistance in the villages. The time of music and dance came to an end.

Until 1811, the artillery and the technical branches did not draw recruits from Hungary. In fact, there were indeed a few Hungarian artillerymen, recruited from the class of burghers (especially from German-speaking citizens of Hungarian towns). This is hardly surprising, since anyone, who enlisted to serve in the artillery, was expected to have a good command of both spoken and written German. At the end of 1811, however, the Aulic War Council officially permitted recruiting for the artillery and the belonging branches in the Kingdom of Hungary. Volunteers for the artillery were to meet a much stricter standard than those enlisted in the infantry. The artillery looked for picked volunteers with good profession and offered higher salary and a prospect of a good carrier.⁸

The majority of the recruits, however, were enlisted by civil authorities and handed over to the army. Regardless of whether or not the Diet enacted legislation to allow raising troops, drafts were held no less than eight times between 1791 and 1814, not to mention the permanent conscription system between 1802 and 1807 (see below).

⁶ Derived from the German Werbung: “recruiting”

⁷ Derek Beales, *Joseph II. Against the World*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 488.

⁸ István Berkó, “Az első tüzértoborzás Magyarországon” [The first artillery recruitment in Hungary] *Magyar Katonai Közlöny [Hungarian Military Review]* 18 (1930): 1033-34

During such a process, regiment recruiting must be ceased, at least in theory, but in fact, the counties often complained that the army recruiters continued recruitment as if in peacetime. Whenever the Diet opted to provide the king with recruits (or other subsidies), a committee was to be set up under the presidency of the Palatine (*nádor*). During the Napoleonic Wars the Palatine was a member of the ruling House of Habsburg. Archduke Joseph, brother of Francis, took his responsibility as Palatine seriously, and having to defend the Hungarian interests in Vienna while at the same time protecting the aims of the dynasty against the Hungarian Estates sometimes put him in an extremely difficult position. As Palatine, he was the president of the Royal Lieutenancy (*Statthalterei*), the chief executive organ of the kingdom. The committee within the Lieutenancy had to make a just repartition between the counties and municipalities. Since the Estates successfully repelled the effort of the Josephinism to introduce the conscription in Hungary, the basis of the repartition was the number of the so-called palatine porta. The more populous a county the more “porta” it had, but this system, rooted in the 16th century, were rather obsolete. Therefore, by 1804 it was the Estates that were to carry out the conscription but only to survey the non-noble population.

During that, the ruler could rely on cosmopolitan and loyal Hungarian

aristocrats and high priests, who traditionally filled the position of the Major Bailiff (*Főispán, Obergespan*) at the head of the counties. But their role in the recruitment and military affairs was not so important as that of the aristocrats in the Hereditary Lands, especially the Bohemian great lords. Maria Theresa’s letter to Joseph II in 1778, during the war of the Bavarian succession reads: “[in Hungary] the lords don’t have the right to enlist people as in other lands; everything has to go through the counties and the magistrates. I would not advice any lord to try it; a riot would break out first, and we have no military men we can put in charge....”⁹ They could exert pressure on their counties. However, with growing self-awareness, the middle nobility gradually became the dominant element in Hungarian political life in the period under consideration. In exchange for the recruits and their help they demanded, for example, better opportunities for career advancement for the Hungarian officers (usually their sons and nephews) in the Army.

The pledge of raising 50,000 recruits, voted by the 1796/97 Diet was unprecedented by size. Bonaparte’s military success and the distressing proximity of the French forces to the Hungarian border by spring 1796 had made its effect. The army and especially its Hungarian regiments suffered huge losses during the operations around Mantua. To facilitate conscription, Article

⁹ Derek Beales, *Joseph II. In the shadow of Maria Theresa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 484.

2 of Act 1796 provided that males could be recruited for a fixed term of service, i.e. only for the duration of the war. The conscription was carried out relentlessly by the counties with such effectiveness that not only did they manage to replace all the losses, but also, Vienna was able to organize a fourth battalion in each Hungarian regiment. Moreover, in 1798 an additional four regiments were raised from these battalions.¹⁰ It also became possible, that the missing numbers of the almost destroyed Border (Grenz) regiments were replaced by Hungarian recruits. The Aulic War Council could transfer 8,000 men from this pool to these Border units.¹¹ However, despite the abovementioned Act, under which they were to be released when the war of the first coalition was over, and despite the insistence of the counties, soldiers were not discharged from the army. The bulk of these men, drafted in 1796/97, were still serving as late as 1802. On 10 March 1798, after the peace of Campo-Formido, at the expiration of their service, the Palatine, Archduke Joseph pointed out to Emperor Francis that, due to the depleted numbers and poor performance of the Hungarian regiments, it would be desirable to restore the "earlier order and discipline" with utmost rigor. The Palatine believed that the counties would surely not claim "the troublemakers from the county

prison" back. Those who might be needed at home, should be released gradually, in small groups.¹² It was Archduke Charles, who made it possible for the persons concerned to be discharged from the army in 1802.

It happened often enough, however, that there was no time to convene the Diet or the ruler opted to govern the kingdom by royal orders. From 1812, on advice from Count Joseph Wallis (father of catastrophic fiscal policy and currency depreciation), Francis tried to rule as an absolutist monarch. The Diet disbanded on May 1812 without any results. But Francis finally shied away from suspending the Hungarian constitution. His son in law and ally, emperor Napoleon cautioned him not to provoke a rebellion in Hungary. Yet, in November 1812, the ruler demanded recruits, horses, grain and fodder from the counties, without any political consent from the Diet. He thus sought to return to the policies of Maria Theresa and Joseph.¹³ In the "absolutistic" way, the recruitment was just a process within the framework of the administration where the counties had only an executive role. At the start of the procedure, the Aulic War Council reported the missing numbers of the Hungarian Regiments. The king issued orders to the Hungarian Royal Chancellery (resided in Vienna) to inform the Counties

¹⁰ Róbert Hermann, ed., *Illustrated Military History of Hungary* (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 2014), 122.

¹¹ The military however tried to sort recruits by their ethnicity, and transfer Serb, Rumanian and Croatian recruits to their respective ethnic "Grenz" Regiment.

¹² Sándor Domanovszky, *József nádor élete és iratai* [The life and documents of Palatine Joseph], vol.1 (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1925), 201-02.

¹³ István Soós, *A Habsburg kormányzat és a magyar rendek 1812 és 1825 között*. [The Habsburg government and the Hungarian Estates between 1812 and 1825] *Történelmi Szemle*, 49 (2007): 96.

and municipalities of the Kingdom about the recruiting. The Chancellery often tried to “bargain” over numbers, conditions and schedules with the President of the War Council, but a single word from the king could put an end to such negotiations, and the Chancellor had no other choice but to submit. Afterwards the Chancellery directed the Lieutenancy in Buda (Ofen) to forward the ruler’s intention to the counties. Practical details—assembly areas, transportation of recruits and other minor technicalities—were to be agreed upon by the Lieutenancy and its military counterpart, the General Commando (in Buda).

Sooner or later, the counties submitted to the order and rounded up the necessary recruits, but nevertheless they strongly objected to it in the Lieutenancy, stating that, giving such “subsidies” without the consent of the Diet is illegal and violates the constitution of the Kingdom; however, they had full autonomy in the methods of recruiting. These methods had some common elements. Having informed on the number of recruits expected to be obtained, the county usually convoked an extraordinary assembly and a commission was appointed, composed of the local nobility, tasked with imposing this quota on the villages. Finally, the village mayors or the bailiffs of the Estates selected the persons for enlistment. It was the undesirable elements of their communities that they wanted to get rid of in the first

place. Vagabonds, lazy-bonds, drunkards and petty criminals were the first to be taken to soldier. But often there were not sufficient numbers, so the sons of the poorest peasants soon followed. Regarding the latter, recruits with no family responsibilities were preferred, in order to avoid later social problems. According to contemporary accounts, the method of recruitment resembled more a system of kidnapping:

Recruitment in the villages had become a disgusting mix of deception, exploitation and violence. The landlord or his bailiff with the vicar, the county officer [*szolgabíró*] and the village mayor were involved in all of this. The county officer set the date on which the draft was to be carried out. The mayor had made all the preparations secretly and that night the lads broke into the designated houses. The victims were taken from the arms of their parents or wives. There was terrible noise, yelling and crying, sometimes the victim offered resistance and a bloody fight broke out. At the end he was bound and taken.¹⁴

Self-mutilation was also common. In order to avoid military service, potential recruits pulled out their teeth (so that they wouldn’t be able to bite the cartridge) or chopped their fingers. Whenever the case of self-mutilation was suspected, the offence

¹⁴ Ignác Acsády, *A magyar jobbágyság története* [History of the Hungarian Serfdom] (Budapest: Politzer Könyvkiadó, 1906), 416-17.

was punishable with three-months imprisonment in the county jail. Afterwards the offender was drafted into the transport service of the army, where there was no need to handle a musket. He was sentenced to lifelong service without any hope of release and furlough. What's more, in order to replace him, his community had to draft a fit young man.¹⁵

To reduce the risk of arbitrariness and unfairness, a draft lottery was held in some counties. The sources suggest that draft lottery was a common practice in the course of the mass conscriptions in 1813/1814. The pool of the potential recruits was based on the registration of birth taken over by the local priest. There were different ways of conducting the draft lottery. Sometimes small sticks of different sizes were used and the one who drew the smallest had to go to the recruiting officer. In some counties potential recruits threw dice to decide who should be drafted for service. The most sophisticated method was when numbered cards were drawn. Those with the lowest numbers were drafted first, but if someone was rejected by the officer or the army surgeon for failing to meet minimum standards, the man with the following number were called up for service.

To reduce the costs, draftees were to be handed over to the military as soon as possible. The recruits, who did not meet the requirements of the army were flatly

refused. There were always many complaints about the receiving officers for being too selective and military surgeons were also criticized for being corruptible by the counties. The minimum height requirement for musketeers was 5 feet 3 inches. The civil authorities tried to avoid this requirement by stating that as the recruits were young, there was a hope that they would reach higher mature body height. However, sometimes there was an aspiration on the side of the military to obtain soldiers who were not only "able" but also "smart." During the recruitment in 1778, the Hungarian chancellor complained about the pickiness of the military stating that on one occasion an otherwise suitable recruit was refused by the officer because he had a "strange facial expression." On the other hand, the army was convinced that the counties tried to get rid of the "scum of the population" by means of a draft, saying "they will be shot to death anyway."¹⁶

The social status of the recruits

The exemptions from the draft were similar to those in the Hereditary Provinces; the nobility and clergy were exempt. The counties, however, tried, with more or less success, to expand the scope of exempts by including the very numerous lesser nobility and the members of the noble communities (its members had prerogatives not as persons but as a community).¹⁷ Employees of the counties, officials and servants of the

¹⁵ István Berkó, "Sorozás másfél évszázad előtt." [Conscription in the previous century] *Magyar Katonai Szemle* [Hungarian Military Review] 9 (1939): 219.

¹⁶ Berkó, "Sorozás," 225.

¹⁷ György Balogh, *Újoncállítás Heves megyében a francia háborúktól 1847-ig* [Recruitment in the county of Heves from the French wars to 1847] (Eger: Heves Megyei Levéltár, 1983), 23.

royal Estates, mine-officials, professional miners and saltpetre workers were exempt from conscription, just like the teachers and students, the sons of the vicars, the merchantmen and practically anyone who had a profession and secure means of subsistence.¹⁸ As a result, the burden of the drafts weighed on the rural population, especially on the poorest serfs, the so-called “*misera plebs contribuens*.” From 1802 (by Article 2/1802), there were no legal impediments in the way of conscripting the Jewish population of the kingdom. Strangers, travelling without passes or other documents were also perfect targets during a draft.

According to a local monography, the County of Heves and Külső-Szolnok raised 2,569 recruits for the army in the period 1794 to 1800.¹⁹ This number was large, representing a not insignificant proportion of the entire population, which amounted to 198,000 (data from 1819). However, due to the numerous exemptions, it was almost exclusively the rural population, living in serfdom, that carried the burden of the conscription system. The number of male serfs in the county during the French wars can be estimated at about 20,000. This means that in the period under consideration, almost every tenth serf was concerned.

Only 484 out of the 2,569 recruits possessed land allotment (usually only a half or a quarter or even smaller proportion of the plot). The expanded demand for manpower

in 1797 led to the county’s inability to spare the wealthier serfs or the family men. Even so, sons of wealthier families could hire substitutes. Money was paid to the substitute’s family of or deposited until his discharge. Terms and conditions were usually laid down by contract. Between 1794 and 1800 only 160 men volunteered from such a populous county. 719 recruits had small properties, a house or a small vineyard, some kettle or cash. 41 made a living as craftsmen. 1,012 recruits were completely without means so almost 40% of the drafted belonged to the poorest layer of the society. Most recruits were peasants, only 10 percent had a profession. 467 men out of the 2,569 draftees had families. It is no wonder that the county tried to spare them from being drafted. With no welfare system whatsoever, depriving a family of its breadwinner meant that its members would likely become beggars or criminals.²⁰ It is curious to note, that in the period 1794 to 1800 only three convicts were transferred to the army from the county jail and three noblemen were also drafted maybe as a punishment.

The short-lived reform of Archduke Charles

In 1791 a court committee was appointed to reform—or replace—the military system introduced by Joseph II and Maria Theresa. At the conclusion of its work in 1796, the committee raised a number of objections to the military system of the previous century in general, and to the

¹⁸ Berkó, “Sorozás,” 216-17.

¹⁹ Balogh, 27.

²⁰ Balogh, 26-32.

recruiting methods in particular, but was unable to propose a better one.²¹

After the military disasters of the second coalition, Archduke Charles was appointed minister of the armed forces and the navy. His opinion on the lifelong service is well-known: It “creates an army which at the outbreak of war is already superannuated, consisting of decrepit soldiers who either will be invalided out after a few months campaigning, or who are disaffected and ready to desert or even to enlist with the enemy when captured.”²² In order to introduce the new system, which fixed the period of military service at 10 years for the infantry and 14 years for the cavalry, Charles had to overcome protests and fears of the Austrian military leaders. Releasing trained soldiers from service made no sense to many officers. He was also warned that discharged soldiers might contribute expert leadership for popular revolt. On 4 May 1802, the new service law was introduced in the German regiments of the army. As regards the Hungarian regiments, however, Emperor Francis was not in the position to introduce the new law by a simple imperial order. It was obvious, that the system of fixed-term military service could only function properly if it was connected to a systematic conscription system; in order to maintain personnel strength in the army, discharged soldiers were to be replaced by

draftees obtained by regular annual drafts. Charles felt that the time had come to impose a systematic conscription on Hungarian subjects. In his royal proposition put forward before the Parliament in spring 1802, Francis demanded that Hungarian regiments be filled up annually and that the contribution of the kingdom be increased to 1,200,000 florins. Recruiting by regimental parties should be discontinued entirely, just like in the Hereditary Provinces. As usual, the Diet countered with a long list of grievances suffered from Vienna.²³ The Hungarians were most aggrieved at the high custom duty imposed on their grain export.²⁴

The crucial issues for the Diet to discuss were not at all simple. They had to decide whether the replacement of personnel in the Hungarian regiments was a permanent obligation, similar to the regular war tax or it was only a temporary subsidy which could be voted only by the Diet. Was the king entitled to ask for such subsidy in peacetime? During this debate, Vienna could bring up one precedent for the latter: in peacetime, at the 1790/1791 Diet the Estates voted the immediate raising of 6,000 men to strengthen the army. Finally, the Estates and the ruler made compromise. It was the fruit of long and bitter negotiations, mediated by the Palatine, Archduke Joseph. The

²¹ Hochedlinger, 295

²² Gunther E. Rothenberg, *Archduke Charles and the Austrian Army 1792–1814* (Chalford: Spellmount Ltd., 2007), 93–94.

²³ Rothenberg, 93.

²⁴ From 1754 Viennese commercial politics established an internal customs barrier between the

Hereditary Lands and Hungary and imposed high export taxes (especially on agrarian products and raw materials), thereby restricting Hungarian exports traded outside the Monarchy. It was the main demand of the Hungarian politics to reduce these burdens imposed on the Hungarian economy.

Hungarians acknowledged the regular conscription system and offered to raise 64,000 men annually to bring the Hungarian regiments up to strength. So, from 1802 the Kingdom of Hungary was obliged to raise 6,034 recruits in peacetime and an additional 12,000 in case of general mobilization, without the consent of the Diet or any negotiations.²⁵ At the same time, the ruler was compelled to transfer one of the new infantry regiments (the 62nd) to Transylvania, therefore the burden of bringing it up to strength weighed on the Transylvanian Estates.

The Diet, however, left a loophole, having reserved the right to discuss the question again at the next assembly. The issue of the recruitment was discussed in 1807. As a delegate said, emphasising the opinion of the Diet, “In fulfilling the obligations taken in 1802, we moved away from the old free recruitment [system] but the country has never been so weakly defended.”²⁶ The reason for the negative opinion on the “capitulation system” (i.e. the fixed service time and the annual replacement) was its unpopularity, and that the frequent desertions consequently undermined public safety due to the deserters, who usually joined the robber bands.²⁷ “It will be the new dawn of the happiness of the country when the compulsory military service is over”—the journal of the Diet reads.²⁸ The resentment against the regulated

conscription, however, clearly reflected political rather than other concerns. Between 1802 and 1807 the Estates were deprived of this weapon against the ruler in the political struggle, but this could be regained because of the precarious situation of Vienna. The king was compelled to sanction the article on the abolishment of the capitulation system. But the problem was becoming acute: “I do not entertain the hope that I will always be able to bring the Hungarian regiments up to full strength only with volunteers,” as Archduke Charles put it.²⁹

Reverting to the old system

Both the army and the politics tried to make the service in the military more attractive. The 1807 Diet pledged 200,000 florins/year to raise the bounty (Article 1807 I (7) §). This amount could only be used for that purpose. Under Article 1807 I (11) §, the recruit’s family and property were placed under the protection of the civil authorities, and after being discharged from the military service he was exempt from local taxes and other burdens. On 6th January 1809 a new recruitment instruction was released by the Aulic War Council for the Kingdom of Hungary.³⁰ In the introduction of that document, the military reluctantly admitted its defeat

²⁵ Rothenberg, 93.

²⁶ Poór, 153.

²⁷ In the 19th century they were called „betyár” in Hungarian. Many of them were deserters or discharged soldiers.

²⁸ Poór, 155.

²⁹ David Hollins, *Austrian Grenadiers and Infantry* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1998), 60.

³⁰ Werb Instruction für das Königreich Ungarn. Österreichisches Statsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv (hereinafter KA), Wiener Hofkriegsrat, Hübler Normalien Sammlung. Band, 33.

The conscription, which nowadays exists almost everywhere in Europe is obviously most suitable for our military system and facilitates fast mobilization; His Majesty decided however, at the request of the Hungarian Estates, [who] state that previous recruitments did not always operated fairly ... to fulfil the wish of the Estates and restore the former system of raising recruits.³¹

In exchange, however, the king, as the instruction stated, expected the landlords, the counties and the church to cooperate with the military in the permanent recruitment.

The instruction reorganized the regimental recruitment districts. In every such district, a permanent recruiting staff was established under command of a captain. It was composed of two lieutenants and 80 NCO and privates.³² According to the regulation, moving parties were to be sent from this staff to travel from village to village within the district throughout the year to “hunt down” potential soldiers. Vagabonds, pressed into military service, were also expected from the civil authorities. Because of frequent corruption, staff personnel were replaced every four years. Violence and fraud on the part of the recruiting parties were strictly forbidden; the offenders were threatened with demotion.³³

The amount of the bounty depended on the body height of the recruit. 45 florins were paid for a man 5 feet 6 inches in height and over (“first class”), 35 florins for one 5 feet 4 inches (“second class”), 30 florins for a recruit 5 feet 3 inches, and 25 florins for a man 5 feet, 2 inches tall (“fourth class”). For the “work-shy people” and “vagabonds” handed over to the military, three florins “*Handgeld*” were to be paid. Those who possessed the qualities to become NCOs, were to receive increased bounty (5 florins).³⁴

As regards the service time, although one could volunteer for six years, he had to commit himself to at least 12 years’ service to receive a full bounty. A recruit drafted by the counties also had to serve 12 years and “vagabonds” handed over by the civil authorities were consigned to life-long service. According to the instruction, however, it was preferable for a soldier to complete a minimum of 20 years’ service in the Hungarian Regiments. As a result, anyone, who might be discharged from service, was to be persuaded by his superiors to extend his period of service.³⁵ It is interesting to note that it was recommended for the recruiter-officer to raise the “national military spirit” among the Hungarian people. They also had to emphasize that, according to “countless examples” the prospect for advancement in the army is open for anyone, rewards can be obtained, and there is nothing to prevent anyone, even the last private soldier from

³¹ KA Hübner, 17-18.

³² KA Hübner, 19-20.

³³ KA Hübner, 21.

³⁴ They must have met the basic requirement of being able to read and write.

³⁵ KA Hübner, 23-24.

reaching probably the highest ranks. These words remind us the famous Napoleonic sentence about the marshal baton in the private's knapsack. The instruction also attempted to canalize the elite of the society into the army. Young nobles, burghers, sons of priests and students, otherwise exempt from service, were entitled to join the army as cadets and could even choose the branch in which they wanted to serve provided that "he is not infamous for his excessive behaviour and irresponsibility"³⁶

In reality, at the height of the Napoleonic Wars, very few recruits arrived at the Hungarian Regiments by their own will. This is also supported by a random muster-roll of the Hungarian Infantry Regiment Esterházy (No. 32), which was taken on 25 September 1811 in the town of Pest. The counties of Pest and Heves, Külső-Szolnok and the cities of Pest and Buda were included in the regimental district. From the troops (180 men) of the 7th Fusilier Company, 50 were "*Kapitulanten*" with fixed service time. 130 men were drafted for lifelong service. 29 men out of the *Kapitulanten* were obliged to serve 10 years, therefore they were all drafted into the army between 1802 and 1807, when the temporary rules of Archduke Charles were in force. So, among the soldiers of an average company of 180 men in the Hungarian infantry, only 21 men can be called a volunteer, who had joined the army

under a contract.³⁷ The majority had no other choice but to enlist or become an outlawed deserter.

Summary

From the Kingdom of Hungary an unprecedented mass of recruits was drafted during the period of Napoleonic Wars. But compared with the total population, these numbers were even higher in the Hereditary Lands of the Habsburgs. In view of available data, in 1809, at the height of Austria's war effort, the Kingdom of Hungary, with an estimated population of 9 million (including Transylvania and Croatia-Slavonia but excluding the Military Border) contributed a force of 95 000 men to those efforts, that is to say, it bore a lower burden as compared with that of the Hereditary Lands of the Habsburg.³⁸ As a comparison, the lands of the Vencel-crown (Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian-Silesia), with a population of 4.5 million, were obliged to provide recruits for a contingent which consisted of 23 line-infantry, 11 cavalry and three artillery regiments with a total strength of 140 000 men. Theoretically every 32nd Bohemian subject of emperor Francis served in the army. While the Kingdom of Hungary had to enlist its every 94th citizen for the regular army. On the other hand, during the insurrection of 1809, another contingent of 35-40,000 men had to call out for temporary service, but the new institution

³⁶ KA Hübner. 23.

³⁷ KA Musterlisten, IR 32.

³⁸ Calculating with 15 infantry and 11 hussar regiments. A Hungarian infantry regiment on war

footing consisted of 5,065 men, while a hussar regiment had a strength of 1,481 men.

of the Landwehr in the Hereditary Provinces also placed a heavy burden on the population.

Because of the conscription-system of the Enlightened Absolutism the army could tap the manpower of the Austrian-Bohemian Lands in a direct way. The Hungarian Estates, however, preserved rights to recruit for the army during the French Wars. In theory, the Estates preferred recruitment to the compulsory service, but the pressure of the endless wars forced the counties to raise troops through

drafting, which also caused social unrest, mass desertion and other problems. According to some sources, the lack of available workforce—as a consequence of mass conscriptions—resulted in serious problems in some regions at harvest time in 1814.³⁹ The real cause of the dispute between Vienna and the Hungarian nobility, therefore, was not the method of the recruiting but the ability of the Estates to demand political concessions for the blood of their serfs.

³⁹ The County Pest for example had to draft 2,176 recruits from a pool of 8,768 (non-exempt men aged between 17 and 40) Horváth, Mihály,

Magyarország Története [History of Hungary], vol. 8 (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1873), 472.

Appendix

*Numbers of recruits imposed on the Kingdom of Hungary during the French Wars*⁴⁰

Year	Number of Recruits	Conditions	Constitutionality
1791	6,000	Lifelong service	By law
1792	5,000	Lifelong service	By concursus of the dignities of the kingdom
1796	50,000	Until the duration of war	By law
1802	12,000	Capitulation for 10 or 12 years (The system of Archduke Charles)	By law
1803	6,000		
1804	6,000		
1805	12,000		
1806	6,000		
1807	12,000	Lifelong service	By law
1808	20,000	Lifelong service	By law
1813	14,000	Lifelong service	Without Diet, by royal order
1814 (suspended)	60,000	Lifelong service	Without Diet, by royal order

⁴⁰ Excluding Transylvania.

Hungarian Generals of the French Wars: A Study of Military Merit and Social Mobility

by István Nagy-Luttenberger

During the long period of war from 1787, the beginning of the war against the Turks (1787-1791) to the end of the French Wars in 1815 the military elite of the Habsburg Monarchy consisted of 1,243 persons of which 875 served as active generals.¹ At this moment 214 persons of the active generals can be considered as Hungarians that means coming from the lands of St. Stephen's Crown (Hungarian Kingdom, Croatian Kingdom, Grand Duchy of Transylvania, Military Border).² This number corresponds to almost 25 percent of the group, making up a remarkable proportion.

Lacking the modern national identity, the contemporary description of "Hungarian" does not mean pure Hungarian nationality but as a political identity it was bound to the Hungarian Kingdom and her St. Stephen's Crown. The contemporary term of Hungary consisted of the practicably twin kingdom of Croatia and Hungary (including Slavonia with mixed status between the "twins" and Banat, incorporated into the Hungarian Kingdom in 1772) but in a broader meaning it united the Grand Duchy of Transylvania and the Military Border as integral parts of the old

Hungarian Kingdom. That lands theoretically embraced the lands of St. Stephen's Crown, the most important political tradition dated from the time of state founder St. Stephan I. The privileged (and theoretically all the) inhabitants of that lands formed the political nation of Hungary. According to the contemporary thoughts in my research, I use the term Hungarian as the members of the political nation regardless the nationality. Among the generals we can find representatives of almost all nations of the Carpathian Basin: Germans, Slovaks, Croatians, Serbs, Romanians and naturally Hungarians (Magyars). The definition of "Hungarian" is interpreted in the research as:

- born in the territories of the Hungarian Kingdom, Croatian Kingdom, *Temeswarer Banat* (until 1772), Grand Duchy of Transylvania and the Military Border
- born outside of the above-mentioned lands but considered himself as Hungarian or a member of the political nation of Hungary
- descendant of a known Hungarian family

¹ About the war, see Oskar Criste, *Kriege unter Joseph II* (Wien, 1904). For the military events of the wars see Adolf von Hosetzky, *Kriegsgeschichtliche Übersicht der wichtigsten Feldzüge in Europa seit 1792* (Wien, 1905); and

Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Napoleonic Wars* (London, 1999).

² For the institution of the military border, see Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Military Border in Croatia. A Study of an Imperial Institution* (Chicago-London 1966).

Among the generals there are a few well known Hungarians (f. e. Alvinczy, Kray, Davidovich, Sztáray, Gyulai) but it is far lesser-known that some familiar names were also hiding Hungarian generals (f. e. Zach, Melas, Zechenter).

The essential aim of the study is to determine the role of the Hungarians among the military leaders of the Empire, to compare their military career and effort and their social background to representatives of other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy using comparative methods. Concerning the Hungarian generals, the goal is to perform deeper analysis of the internal composition in consideration of the society.

The basic sources of the research are the official records of the military administration kept by the Aulic War Council, called *Stabsbücher* (Staff Records).³ It was a register of service and payment of the persons of the Imperial-Royal Army⁴ serving outside of the military units. It is divided into several parts such as generals (serving and non-serving), General Staff, Engineer Corps, officers in special duties (i.e. place officers) administrative personals etc. The *Stabsbücher* contains all the military serving generals exclusive the

Noble Guards of the Court. As the official records of service, all the decisions by the ruler or by the Aulic War Council were accurately recorded in the *Stabsbücher*. The received payment amounts are showing also that the general was in peace or even in peace duty. Other important sources are the *Pensionsprotokolle* (Pension Records).⁵ The change of the personal registry in 1820 resulted in these very useful protocols regarding the generals in pension living in 1820. Although the protocols started in 1820 but these contain the full service data besides the personal information. The important source of the family status and the relationship between the different generations is the *Heiratskautionen*.⁶ These protocols contain data about the caution money (or the fact of the exemption) of every marriage regarding the officers of the army.

The most important primary sources for the military service before the rank of general are the *Musterlisten und Standestabellen* (Muster Rolls and Strength Reports from the middle of the 18th century up to 1820).⁷ The collection of more than 12,000 boxes of files is a great possibility to find extensive details of the soldiers of the army. Not only the muster rolls but the transfer files between units of

³ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Versorgungsunterlagen, *Stabsbücher*.

⁴ The official designation of the army of the Habsburg Monarchy was "Imperial until 1745, between 1745 and 1889 "Imperial-Royal" after 1889 "Imperial and Royal). Alphons Freiherr von Wrede, *Geschichte der k. und k. Wehrmacht*, vol. 1 (Wien, 1898), 16. For the basic military organizational matters of the Habsburg Monarchy, see the whole series (volumes 1-4).

⁵ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Versorgungsunterlagen, *Pensionsprotokolle der Offiziere, Beamten, Parteien, Witwen und Waisen, Jüngere Reihe*; mainly the book *Generale I*.

⁶ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Versorgungsunterlagen, *Heiratskautionen*.

⁷ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Personalunterlagen, *Musterlisten und Standestabellen*.

the army are very useful. The monthly strength reports contain the personal changes of the units and are useful to fill the missing data of the military career. Whereas the collection is huge, it is far from being full. There are gaps in the files especially before 1800. In some cases, other sources are needed because the lack of the files. The *Vormerkprotokolle* (Records of the Promotions) was the register of the date of the rank.⁸ Not only the date of the actual promotion but the unit are also noted, and this data is very useful addition to the muster rolls, which is not always the most accurate but sometimes the only available data. Additionally, many other archival files were used such as the *Alte Feldakten* (Old Field Files), *Wiener Hofkriegsrat Hauptreihe* (main sequence of the Aulic War Council in Vienna), Ternions (Personal Files of Military Individuals) and others.⁹

Of course, the secondary sources, hundreds of books and journal articles are also to be processed. The most important books are the official publications (*Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*, *Schematismus*, *Staff Studies*) and the regimental histories. In the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire great emphasis was placed on the military history of the Imperial-Royal army to strengthen the esprit de corps of the whole army and the units too. Every regiment let its history to be researched and published and the “face of the regiment”

was shaped according to the heroes of the past. The authors of the old regimental histories could use the regimental files, which were lost during the time after.

The term of composite state can be used for the Hungarian Kingdom itself. Nonetheless, the official relationship between the Hungarian (and Croatian) Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Transylvania once again ceased in 1791 as the United Chancellery was newly divided but the unofficial relationships and the deep personal interdigitation has still held a strong togetherness. In the military matters that phenomenon can be observed as the *General Commando* in Buda performed a coordination of the other four General Commandos (Agram/Zagreb, Peterwardein, Temeschwar, Hermannstadt) of the Carpathian Basin.¹⁰

If the Hungarian Kingdom was itself a composite state, the Habsburg Monarchy¹¹ can be described as a morefold composite state. Several group of lands (Inner Austria: Styria, Carinthia, Krain, Austrian Littoral, Lower Austria: Upper and Lower Austria, Bohemia: Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Italian possessions, Austrian Netherlands) had historical tradition of togetherness and the government followed that tradition as the governing offices acted by that groups. The military organization was only slightly affected by the group of

⁸ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Zentralstellen, Wiener Hofkriegsrat, Sonderreihen, Bestellungen und Vormerkprotokolle, Buch 12 to 16.

⁹ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Feldakten, Alte Feldakten.

¹⁰ Administrative territorial military command.

¹¹ For a modern analysis from the viewpoint of the new military history, see Michael Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence, War, State and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1683-1797* (London, 2003).

lands. The Hungarian infantry regiments had their kind of own different uniforms and the recruiting system remained divided as the conscription system was introduced in 1771/1781, but only in the Bohemian, Austrian groups and in Galicia. The unification of the military system was much more advanced than the monetary or the administrative issues.

The composition of the generals of the Imperial-Royal Army was also affected by the morefold composite state of the Habsburg Monarchy. The ruler of the Monarchy was not only the ruler of the kingdoms, duchies or other territories of the Monarchy but also the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, a “more than nothing but less than something” state. The Empire had an own constitution, but the lands of the Empire were almost fully independent from each other or from the Emperor. Prussia as the biggest opposition of the Habsburg Monarchy had great influence in the Empire, but the bigger states (such as Bavaria or Saxony) and the middle-sized lands (such as Baden) acted as independent powers in the international politics. In the military matters, however, the Imperial-Royal Army played an important role in the Empire. Lesser states or landlords looked to the emperor as the protector against aggressive bigger neighbors and let the Emperor recruit in their lands and often themselves undertook military service in the Army of the Emperor and whole military dynasties developed such as Schwarzenberg, Hohenzollern, Hohenlohe, Oranien, Württemberg, Anhalt, Nassau, Sachsen. The Italian and Austrian Dutch

(from Austrian Netherlands) elements also gladly served the Emperor as the opportunity for elevation but even the pure military service had great prestige.

In the Imperial-Royal army four grades of the general's rank were in use. The lowest rank was the *Generalmajor* usually commanding a brigade (or middle-sized forts), therefore occasionally called *Brigadier*. On the tactical side of the fighting method of the army the brigade commanders had crucial role because the direct tactical controls were not possible above this level. The second rank was the *Feldmarschall Lieutenant*. The standard command of this rank was a division (earlier it was named as column) consisting of one to three brigades. On the battlefield the divisions (and columns) acted as large tactical units and elements of the operation and battle planning. The older or not physically fit *Feldmarschall Lieutenants* often commanded the larger forts of the Monarchy or even smaller *Generalcommandos*. The next grade was the *General der Kavallerie* (for the cavalry commanders) and *Feldzeugmeister* (for other commanders). During wartime these generals commanded a corps or even an independent army. The largest armies were often commanded by that type of generals. As administrative commands the largest and most reputed *Generalcommandos* or important branches such as the *Genie Corps* or even the *Hofkriegsrat* was led by a *General der Kavallerie* or a *Feldzeugmeister*. The top of the generals' rank was the *Feldmarschall*. In the Era of the French Wars a *Feldmarschall* rarely commanded an

army. Usually old or rather honorary than able generals wore this rank. Hadik, Clerfayt, Archduke Charles and Schwarzenberg commanded armies in the field wearing this rank the others served in administrative (sometimes in honorary) commands. "Above" the top of the authorized ranks, a new designation appeared as Archduke Charles appointed to *Generalissimus*.¹² It was not a regular rank rather than a denomination of a supreme commander of the military matters of the whole Habsburg Monarchy. After his resigning in 1809 the designation of *Generalissimus* disappeared.

The military elite of the Habsburg Monarchy consisted of three major parts: first, naturally from the territories of the Monarchy itself, second, from the Holy Roman Empire, third, from abroad. The French element was particularly high among the generals mostly from the western side of France. The husband of Maria Theresia, *Franz* of Lorraine attracted French nobles from Lorraine and Alsace to serve him as the Holy Roman Emperor. Dozens of these officers reached the rank of generals in the final third of the 18th century. The other source of the officers and generals were the mercenary families. In the European warfare from the 15th century on the mercenaries played increasingly important role until the French Revolution. Perhaps the most known mercenary warlord was Feldmarschall Lacy whose father had

served the Tsar, but the son has chosen the Imperial-Royal army.

The era of the French Wars brought a lesser known effect on the military matters, the transformation of the military elites of the states. That impact can be noticed in every major armies of Europe. The phenomenon of mercenary warlords almost totally faded out and only slightly remained in being as hiring experts mostly by less developed armies. The other important change that the high-born aristocracy lost ground and the role of the ability became much more important. That phenomenon was not only bound to the French Revolution because Count Hadik was a member of a pure noble and not even wealthy family, but he was able to reach the highest rank and position of the Imperial-Royal Army well before the French Revolution just through his personal abilities.

The main beneficiaries of the two tendencies were the officers born inside the Monarchy. As the warlords from the Holy Roman Empire and the mercenaries faded out, their places were occupied by the able indigenous officers. Naturally, that process was particularly slow, and it was far from finished by 1815. The evolution of the transformation of the military elite developed from below beginning from the officers ranks up to the generals. The multiple crisis of high field commands let some pure noble born generals to command great field armies such as Melas, Kray, Alvinczy, Frimont or Mack but in the case

¹² About Archduke Charles see Gunther E. Rothenberg, *Napoleon's Great Adversaries: The*

Archduke Charles and the Austrian Army, 1792-1814 (Chalford, 2007).

of the administrative commands that process remained quite slow. That dichotomy can be observed especially in the commander of most reputed Viennese General Commando, where until 1830 only born aristocrats were put in command and between 1774 and 1820 for 35 years landlords from the Holy Roman Empire have been commanding it.

Therefore, in my research I examined the basic personal data (name, born, death), the family and social background and mobility, the military education, the whole military career and the military merit focusing on the military branch service, the command positions and the Military Maria Theresia Order. The statistic and geographical works under Joseph II and the published contemporary statistical descriptions give excellent chance to conduct comparative studies.

The generals were in the focus of certain researches of historians or enthusiasts several times before but in contrast to the case of the generals of France,¹³ Prussia,¹⁴ Russia¹⁵ and some lesser German states,¹⁶ the results were neither full nor based on primary sources or even never finished or

published. Therefore, the academic interest is well-founded.

The first systematic research of the generals of the Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was conducted in the Kriegsarchiv before the First World War: the so-called Generalsbücher (book of generals) are available as manuscript in the Kriegsarchiv.¹⁷ The books are collections of the promotion date, name and the last position before the promotion to general and sometimes the death date. The main problem of the books is that neither the name nor the last position is not fully researched, and the other data contain pretty much inaccuracy or even erratum. For example, according to the contemporary data Jacob Robert Graf Nugent von Westmeath died exactly ten years earlier than mentioned in the Generalsbuch. The genealogy was not in the focus of the research and sometimes the data of the family members are intermingled. The other problem that neither the author(s) nor the sources of the research are known.

More than a decade ago the Kriegsarchiv launched a wide scale research of the generals of the Habsburg Monarchy.¹⁸ The

¹³ Georges Six, *Dictionnaire biographique des généraux et amiraux français de la Révolution et de l'Empire: 1792-1814* (Paris, 1934).

¹⁴ Kurt von Priesdorff, *Soldatisches Führertum* (Hamburg, 1937-1942).

¹⁵ Alexander Mikaberidze, *The Russian Officer Corps of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars 1792-1815* (New York, 2005).

¹⁶ Tobias Friedrich Kroeger, *Zwischen eigenstaatlicher Souveränität und napoleonischem Imperialismus: Das bayerische Offizierskorps 1799-1815* (München, 2013); and Uta Lerche,

“Frühneuzeitlicher Staat und militärische Führung. Die pfälzbayerische Generalität unter Karl Theodor und Max IV. (I.) Joseph 1778-1815,” doctoral dissertation, Regensburg, 2013.

¹⁷ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Behelf; AB 339-3-39; Leesaalbehelf 1/1 (until 1815) and 1/2 (from 1815).

¹⁸ Link as follows:
http://www.oesta.gv.at/site/cob_18844/currentpage_0/6647/default.aspx (access on 27. 08. 2018).

ambitious project covered more than 4000 generals from the time between 1618 and 1815 an intended to publish a biographical lexicon. The project aimed at the widest scale collection of data from the personal and military service data to the portraits and the archival legacy. It would have been the most exhaustive biographical research of the French Wars Era, but, unfortunately, the project was never finished. Michael Hochedlinger laid down the basic methods, aims and sources of the project in a very valuable study¹⁹ but only a list of names published by Antonio Schmidt-Brentano as the starting point of the research.²⁰ His lists cover the full timeline of the Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The main merit of the list are the genealogical results. Extensive researches of the mainly old aristocratic families benefited in a great detail and accurate identification of high number of generals. The list proved to be quite accurate but not in every aspect as some inaccuracy of its main sources, the Generalsbücher remained uncorrected. The other imperfection is the lack of the list of the used sources. It is clear that the Stabsbücher were not used and only a

restricted range of primary sources were processed.

Far the best research on the Imperial-Royal generals came from Leopold Kudrna with biographical essays by Digby Smith published on The Napoleon Series in 2008.²¹ It covers the years between 1792 and 1815 and contains 1,152 persons. The individual biographies contain the personal and family data, the military service (promotions, command and office posts, field service), the social background and the orders (decorations and honorary appointments) and the sources of each general. The personal records are full of valuable data but far from fully researched as only a restricted scale of primary sources were used. This fantastic database is a great mine of the contemporary *Schematismus* data and hundreds of mainly secondary sources. The authors had no intention to complete the research as they explained, their “biographical dictionary is designed to provide researchers a beginning point for further studies.”

The Hungarian researchers focused only marginally on our Era. The generals of the

¹⁹ Michael Hochedlinger, *Des Kaisers Generale. Bibliographische und quellenkundliche Anmerkungen zur Erforschung militärischer Eliten in der frühneuzeitlichen Habsburgermonarchie*. <http://www.oesta.gv.at/DocView.axd?CobId=18384> (access on 31. 08. 2018.); see also: Michael Hochedlinger, Quellen zum kaiserlichen bzw. k. k. Kriegswesen, in *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16–18. Jahrhundert)*. Josef Pauser, Martin Scheutz, and Thomas Winkelbauer, eds., (Wien, 2004), 162-81.

²⁰ Schmidt-Brantano, Antonio, *Die k. k. bzw. k. u. k. Generalität 1816-1918*. http://www.oesta.gv.at/Docs/2007/6/5/K_k_%20bz

w_%20k_u_k_%20Generale%201816-1918.pdf (access on 31. 08. 2018); and Antonio Schmidt-Brantano, *Kaiserliche und k.k. Generale (1618-1815)*.

http://www.oesta.gv.at/Docs/2006/11/20/Kaiserliche%20bzw%20k_%20k_%20Generale%201618-1815%20_Liste.pdf (access on 31. 08. 2018).

²¹ Leopold Kudrna (with biographical essays by Digby Smith), *Biographical Dictionary of all Austrian Generals during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars 1792-1815*. http://napoleon-series.org/research/biographies/Austria/AustrianGenerals/c_AustrianGeneralsIntro.html (access on 31. 08. 2108).

two Freedom Fights of Rákóczi²² and in 1848-49²³ and of the First World War,²⁴ or the officers of the dualism²⁵ are researched and published or the research is still in progress. The first important steps were also taken regarding the 18th century Hungarian generals.²⁶ Besides there is still living in the eyes of the Hungarian society an unjust image about the disregard of the Hungarian officers and generals within the Imperial-Royal army. Fortunately, in recent times the interest is seemingly growing.²⁷

The basic hypothesis: The Hungarian generals, consisted a quarter of the generals of the army. This rate matches the scale of the number of inhabitants of each part of the Monarchy (naturally except the generals born in foreign countries). The great majority of the generals were born as noble and as Roman Catholic. The elevation of the social status, the social mobility (from own effort or facilitated by family members) is quite significant. Their military effort matches their ratio. Some of them reached and became incorporated

into the highest military elite of the Monarchy.

As it was mentioned above the group wearing the rank of a general consisted of 1243 persons, but 368 generals never served even one day as general and only wore the title. They can be divided into different groups. Most of them were so-called “*titulár*” or “*ad honores*” generals pensioned as colonel with the honorary title of *Generalmajor*. Some French emigrants, mostly old generals received the rank of an Imperial-Royal general as a basis of a kind of civil list pension. The most interesting group is the Italian generals’ who passed over to Imperial-Royal service in 1814 as each of them had been fighting against Austria for two decades before.

The 875 active serving generals form the basis of my research. In the case of 868 generals the birth is clear but the provenance of only 7 of them is still somewhat unclear. There are 214 generals with origin from the lands of St. Stephen’s Crown. To simplify the terminology, I call

²² Kálmán Mészáros, *II. Rákóczi Ferenc tábornokai és brigadérosai. A kuruc katonai felső vezetés létrejötte és hierarchiája, 1703–1711* (Budapest, 2006); and Gusztáv Heckenast, *Ki kicsoda a Rákóczi-szabadságharcban? Életrajzi adattár* (Budapest, 2005).

²³ Gábor, Bona *Tábornokok és törzstisztek az 1848/49. évi szabadságharcban* (Miskolc, 2015).

²⁴ Tibor, Balla *A Nagy Háború osztrák–magyar tábornokai. Tábornagyok, vezérezredek, gyalogsági és lovassági tábornokok, tábornagyok* (Budapest, 2010); and Gábor Kiss, *Tábornokok a Magyar Királyi Honvédségben 1768-1814*. H. n. (Budapest, 2016).

²⁵ István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848-1918* (New York, 1990).

²⁶ József Zachar, *Habsburg-uralom, állandó hadsereg és magyarság 1683–1792* (Budapest, 2004).

²⁷ Balázs Lázár, *Krajovai és topolyai báró Kray Pál tábornagy katonai pályája* (Budapest, 2013); Attila Réfi, *A császári-királyi huszárság törzstiszti kara a francia forradalmi és a napóleoni háborúk korában (1792–1815)* (Budapest, 2014); Attila Réfi, *A császári-királyi ulánuszerek törzstisztei a francia háborúk idején (1792-1815)*, *Életrajzi lexikon* (Pápa, 2016); Attila Réfi, *Császári-királyi karabélyos és vértés törzstisztek a francia háborúk idején (1792-1815)*, *Életrajzi lexikon*. I-II. Kötet (Pápa, 2015-2018); István, Nagy-L, *A császári-királyi hadsereg 1765-1815, Szervezettörténet és létszámviszonyok* (Pápa, 2013).

them Hungarian but not as nationality rather as members of the political nation of Hungary.

From the 875 serving generals of the French Wars, according to the latest results 321 persons came from outside of the Habsburg monarchy, which means roughly third (37 percent) of all the generals.²⁸ 150 of them had their origin in the Holy Roman Empire, 58 in Italy, and 51 in France as the three main source of the military elite from abroad but almost all European lands are represented such as Spain, Russia, Sweden, Swiss, Ireland and much more.

At the beginning point of the research, the start of the 1788 military year (1 November 1787) 52 (38 percent) of the 138 generals were foreigner in the Habsburg Monarchy and from the 86 indigenous generals, and 23 (17 percent of total and 27 percent of indigenous) can be considered to be Hungarian. The remaining 737 generals were promoted during the times of the French Wars and 269 of them (36 percent) were foreigner, which is only a slight decrease, but the 191 Hungarian generals promoted (26 percent) is a remarkable increase. The decrease of the foreigners was not too spectacular, but it must be noticed

that among the officers' great number of foreigners served early in the examined period and served a potential source of recruiting generals.

Looking at the origin of the generals compared to the inhabitants of the lands, the dominance of the Hungarian Kingdom as origin is clear and the number of persons who came from the South Slav territories seems lower than expected. The totally militarized southern Border gave significant number of warriors to the army but the military elite of the Monarchy changed slowly. The officers of the Grenzer units regularized during the middle third of the 18th century reached the rank of a general by the last one and a half decade of the 18th century in larger quantity.

The identity of the Hungarian Political Nation was still intact by the end of the 18th century but the nationalism slowly started to impact on the national minorities of the Habsburg Monarchy. It is far from my topic to give details of this phenomenon, but it is important to point out the first signs of a new type of nationalism in the Carpathian Basin mostly among the Croatsians, Serbs, Rumanians and Slovaks.

The Origins of the Hungarian Generals based on the Traditional Lands of St. Stephen's Crown	
<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of Generals</i>
Hungarian Kingdom	121
Croatian Kingdom	26
Transylvania	25
Temeswarer Banat	4

²⁸ The borders were calculated according to the date of the birth and to the beginning of the military service.

Slavonia	23
Outside of the land	15

One of the hardest tasks of my research is to determine the nationality of the individuals. The table shows an attempt to resolve the question of the nationality:

Question of Nationality				
	Number	Indigenous in Hungary (174 men)	Hungarian (216 men)	Total (875 men)
Hungarian	92	53%	43%	11%
Croatian	41	24%	19%	5%
German	27	15%	13%	3%
Serb	14	8%	7%	2%
Indigenous total	174	100%	81%	20%
German	21		10%	2%
Czech, Moravian	9		4%	1%
French	4		2%	<1%
Italian	4		2%	<1%
Spanish	2		1%	<1%
Foreigners total	40		19%	5%
			100%	25%

Even the Hungarian names and clear Hungarian origins could hide minorities. For example, General Máriássy was a descendant of an old Hungarian family, but he corresponded with his mother in Slovak language (even though she was a descendant of a Croatian family: Stanchich). The other direction is also frequent. General Wartensleben had origin in the Holy Roman Empire, but his mother was Klára Teleki Wartensleben and spoke Hungarian as mother tongue (thus his national identity also changed to Hungarian).

It is even harder to separate the different German groups. The German minority was

the 4th (fourth) largest in Hungary, but its role in the Hungarian society, economy, science and even in culture was much more important. The traditional German citizens of the royal cities (civitas) and noble-owned towns (oppidum) and the so-called Transylvanian Saxons played a significant role in the army too. Generals Hillinger, Kulnek, and the Scharlach brothers are the archetype of this group of solid Hungarian identity, and General Melas was a Saxon with Evangelical preachers in his family. The new immigrants of the Eighteenth Century make up the second group. The mass of the German settlers is well known, but the head-workers and craftsmen played also a crucial role. Generals Zach and

Zechenter were their most prominent representatives.

The most complex group, compounded the sons of officers and officials, had wide variants of identity. Not only Germans but Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, Moravians and Czech were also members of this party, represented by Generals Tige, Volkmann, Mohr, and the two Bechards (father and son). We can observe various ways of identity of these so-called *Tornister-Kinder*. Mohr served mostly as hussar developed some Hungarian identity but Tige earned

the official citizenship as so-called *indigenatus*. Most of them became loyal subject of the ruler as they have lost their original national identity and became so-called military families.

Other group is consisted of foreign aristocrat families who received huge lands and manors for their service during the 17th and 18th century. Some descendants of these families served the Emperor as soldiers: as Klebelsberg and the three Mittrowskys.

Troops of the Imperial-Royal Army Recruiting from Hungary in April 1792 ²⁹				
	present		ready for duty	
	number	ratio	number	ratio
Line Infantry Regiments	29,265	13%	26,278	13%
Garnisons Battailon	528	<1%	489	<1%
Hussar Regiments	15,604	7%	14,196	7%
Hungary and Transylvania	45,397	20%	40,963	20%
Grenzer Regiments	43,370	19%	40,914	20%
Lands of St. Stephen's Crown	88,767	38%	81,877	39%
<i>Imperial-Royal Army total</i>	230,654	100%	209,032	100%

Inhabitants of the Lands of St. Stephen's Crown (1804, hundred men) ³⁰		
<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Hungarian	3,950	41%
Slovak	790	8%
Romanian	1,970	21%
Croatian and Serb	1,480	15%
German	890	9%
Ruthen	280	3%
Other	223	2%
Total	9,583	100%

²⁹ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Feldakten, Alte Feldakten, Karton 3717, Haupt Stand und Dienst Tabelle, April 1792.

³⁰ Tamás Faragó, *Bevezetés a történeti demográfia*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2011).

The comparative study of the nationality of the generals and the number of the nationalities of Hungary and the Imperial-Royal Army carries an important lesson. Only the Hungarian nationality approaches the ratio of the inhabitants and the ranks. The greatest difference can be observed in the case of the South Slav elements. The South Slavs composed of one

third of the Hungarian generals which is a remarkably low rate. This shows that the manpower of the Military Border was used up efficiently but the officers have just begun to reach the general's rank. It cannot be registered even one Romanian, Ruthen or other national minority among the generals.

Ratio of the Inhabitants, Soldiers and Generals				
	Inhabitants	Hungarian Generals	Approximate Ratio of the Imperial-Royal Army	Ratio from all the generals
Hungarian, Slovak	49%	53%	11%	11%
German	9%	16%	2%	3%
Croatian and Serb	15%	32%	19%	6%
Romanian	21%	0%	5%	0%
others	5%	0%	2%	0%
	100%	100%	39%	20%

The origin of that inequality lies in the high number of generals who came from outside of the Habsburg Monarchy. The great number of French and German elements are the legacy of the eighteenth-century practice and politics when nobles or even aristocrats of lesser German states served in the army of the Emperor who welcomed the loyal subjects and trusted them highly.

The internal composition of the Hungarian generals according to the ranks strengthens the impression of the transformation of the general's overall composition. From the 23 generals serving at the beginning point of the research there were 15 Hungarians and 8 foreigners. The highest ranked general, Feldmarschall Hadik was a born

Hungarian also as nationality. The seven *Feldmarschall Lieutenants* shows an entirely other picture. Four of them were foreigners (one German, one German/French, one Spaniard, one Moravian) but the other three had Hungarian nationality. From the 14 *Generalmajors* eight were Hungarians, one Croatian, one Serb, one German, and three foreigners (one, German, one Italian, one Moravian). The later promotions of these 23 generals were: three *Feldmarschall Lieutenant* promoted to *General der Kavallerie* (one Hungarian and three foreigners), one to *Feldzeugmeister* (foreigners), one *Generalmajor* to *Feldmarschall* (Alvinczy, Hungarian), one to *Feldzeugmeister* (foreigner), seven to *Feldmarschall Lieutenant* (all natives). The

majority of foreigners in higher rank is a remarkable fact. The foreigners reached higher rank in general.

The remaining 191 generals were promoted during the examined time. Looking at the highest serving rank until 1815, four of them elevated to *General der Kavallerie* and six to *Feldzeugmeister* (all natives), 55 to *Feldmarschall Lieutenant* (45 natives and 10 foreigners), 126 to *Generalmajor* (104 natives and 22 foreigners). There is a sharp contrast to the group of above as none of the foreigners in Hungary are in the group elevated to the highest ranks and not even one fifth of the generals were foreigners. That is the clearest sign of the fading out of the mercenary warlords.

The history of a corps cannot be cut into separated parts, most of the generals who served during the examined period started their career before it or served after it. They reached the top rank of their career not in every occasion during the French Wars Era. That is the cause that investigating the highest rank of the mentioned generals, higher ranks can be observed. On the top of the pyramid there are two *Feldmarschalls*. Just under them are 15 *General der Kavalleries* (4 foreigners, 6 Hungarians, 3 Germans and 1 Croatians and 1 Transylvanian Saxon) and 15 *Feldzeugmeister* (2 foreigners, 6 Hungarians, 4 Serbs, 1 Croatians, 1 German and 1 Transylvanian Saxon). In the middle stay 71 *Feldmarschall Lieutenants* (12 foreigners, 34 Hungarians, 13 Croatian, 6

German, 5 Serbs and 1 Transylvanian Saxon) and in the bottom the 111 *Generalmajors* (22 foreigners, 44 Hungarians, 26 Croatian, 9 German, 5 Serbs and 5 Transylvanian Saxons). If we compare the ratios to the 23 generals who served at the beginning of the period, the tendency of the slow evaporation of the foreigners, the quick emergence of the Hungarian and slow strengthening of the South Slav elements can be observed.

The most important persons of the military elite regarding the performance on the field and the efficiency in combat are the generals who led the army in campaigns and on the field of battle because not all the generals conducted field service. A not negligible part of them served only in off-field duty commanding fortresses of the homeland or troops in the hinterland and rear areas during wartime. Usually the older or not physically fit enough generals kept away from the exertions of a campaign. Of course, sometimes the out-of-favor generals were removed from field commands and were put to a “forgotten” edge of the Monarchy in an obscure duty. Perhaps one of the most important and most blameful example is the dismissal of General Mayer in 1809 who elaborated a good plan against the scattered forces of Napoleon, and he was removed in the eve of the war against Napoleon by the adversaries of Archduke Charles in the court and he was placed to Brod to command that small fortress.

Career Characteristics of Hungarian Generals						
	highest rank earned	highest rank until 1815	highest rank in service	highest rank in field	rank in 1787	promotions during the period
FM	2	2	2	1	1	1
FZM/GdK	30	15	12	9		15
FML	71	65	57	44	8	57
GM	111	132	143	122	14	118
Total	214	214	214	176	23	191

From the 214 serving Hungarian generals 38 never took a field command as general. From the 174 field serving generals the highest ranked was Hadik who led the main army in 1788 as *Feldmarschall*. Eight *Feldzeugmeister* (natives: Alvinczy, Ignaz Gyulai, Kray, Sztáray, Simbschen, Davidovich, Duka; foreigners: Joseph Anton Mittrowsky) and one *General der Kavallerie* (Melas, a Transylvanian Saxon) commanded corps' and field armies. The greatest task was given to *Feldzeugmeister* Kray who commanded the main army in the Danube in 1800 but *Feldzeugmeister* Alvinczy played crucial role in the 1796 and 1797 in the Italian Campaign. As *Feldmarschall Lieutenant* 44 generals and all the above mentioned and later promoted generals commanded divisions or sometimes corps of a field army. It is important to highlight general Kray again who in 1799 as *Feldmarschall Lieutenant* took over the interim command of the army in Italy as the oldest *Feldmarschall Lieutenant* just before the great French attack started. He was able to maneuver his troops to tackle the French attack and to repel the enemy. The French army retreated in disorder when Suvorov took command and invaded North Italy, but the

victory led to the conquest of important territories was earned by *Feldmarschall Lieutenant* Kray. Besides the 122 generals whose top rank was *Generalmajor*, 40 of *Feldmarschall Lieutenants* and 7 of *Feldzeugmeisters* and one *General der Kavallerie* served on the field as *Generalmajor* as well.

The next important, as it could be called myth-buster topic of the analysis is the military arm and branch background of the generals. The common trope identifies the Hungarian soldiers as hussars. The Hungarian light cavalry traditions and the world-wide success of the Hussar branch overshadowed the fact that even from the lands of the St. Stephen's Crown, exclusive the grenzers, the two third of the enlisted soldiers were infantryman. Inclusive the grenzers the ratio of the hussars balanced between 15 and 20 percent during the French Wars' Era. The national composition of the Hungarian generals and the mentioned ratio of troops adumbrates that the trope once again covers a false stereotype.

By the end of the Seventeenth Century, the military leaders of the Habsburg Monarchy decided to integrate the Hungarian soldiers

into the Imperial army. The process started in 1688 with the foundation the first hussar regiments and also the Hungarian infantry soon appeared as regular units. During the first third of the Eighteenth Century, the number of Hussars remained dominant, but during the Austrian War of Succession, the known pledge of the Hungarian Diet six new regular infantry regiments were formed. After a successful debut of the greater masses of Hungarian infantry in the middle of the Eighteenth Century, the large number of infantry parallel to the need of growing the number of the army, they became integral part of the Imperial-Royal army. The other component of the growing number of infantry was the regularization of the Military Border units. The growing number of inhabitants and the weakening of the Turkish threat allowed the forming of regular units of the army from the irregular masses of soldiers and let them take part in the wars of the European battlefields.

The about 40 regiments from the lands of St. Stephen's Crown needed hundreds of officers. The need of good officers was so high that high number of foreign officers were employed in these regiments. The education of Hungarian officers was on purpose of the military leaders of the

Monarchy. As Emperor-King Franz II stated: "It's better for them to civilize in German regiments"³¹ and a royal council resolved that sons of Hungarian officers are to be recruited to the military academy.³² By the end of the Eighteenth Century, high ranked staff officers and promising other officers were ready not only in the hussar regiments but also in the infantry to be promoted to generals. Some of them had high educational background in the Engineer Academy and others were excellent troop officers to lead brigades and divisions. In the last Turkish War between 1788 and 1791 the Hungarian troops did their bit in great number. The raiding fighting method of the Turks needed a lot of light troops and able brave officers with local geographical knowledge. The grenzers raised twice a number of soldiers as usual and the promotions followed these circumstances. After the Turkish War the long French Wars claimed a lot of generals because the generals of the times of Maria Theresia and Joseph II got older and even more unable to cope with the requirements of the French changes of warfare. The change of generation was quite spectacular during the War of the 2nd Coalition, as the army commanders and almost all the corps commanders were new.

³¹ Elemér Mályusz, *Sándor Lipót főherceg nádor iratai 1790–1795* (Budapest, 1926), 545.

³² *Diarium Comitiorum Regni Hungariae ... Anni 1792* (Buda, 1792), 101.

The Military Branch Background of the Generals from the Lands of St. Stephen's Crown ³³						
	Hungarian	German ³⁴	South Slav ³⁵	native	foreigner	total
Line infantry	29	13	2	44	19	63
Grenzers	7	3	40	50	5	55
Hussar	34	4	4	42	4	46
Technical, engineer	8		1	9	4	13
Cuirassier	4	1		5	4	9
Dragoon	2	3	1	6		6
Chevauxleger	2	1		3	1	4
Ulan	1			1		1
General staff		2	5	7		7
Artillery	1		1	2	1	3
Insurrection ³⁶	2		1	3		3
Noble Garde	1			1		1
Other	1			1	2	3
	92	27	55	174	40	214

The data shows us completely different facts than the trope. The importance of the hussar branch is clear, but the ratio is far from dominant. Among the natives of the lands of St. Stephen's Crown and even among the Hungarian nationalities the ratio of hussar generals was below 40 percent. Among the Hungarian nationalities the ratio of the cavalry background is somewhat higher than the number of cavalry troops but the parity between the cavalry and other branches and arms of the army shows the change of the Hungarian military culture. In the case of the South Slavs the dominance of the grenzers is clear but the relative high

number of the staff background is noticeable. It was a result of the meritocracy in the military academies introduced by Maria Theresia as the recruits of the academies were taken from the sons of able officers. The Germans of Hungary and Transylvania served in the infantry in great number and some of them were well educated militarily. The dominance of the infantry is also clear among the foreigners, but the high military education and the high prestige heavy cavalry was also popular.

We need to take a short look into the religious matters. As predicted, the clear majority, little more than three quarter of

³³ Some generals served in different arms or branches, but only the longest area of service of each general is included.

³⁴ Including Transylvanian Saxons.

³⁵ Including Croatians and Serbs.

³⁶ For the Hungarian insurrection see the most recent analysis, see László Tamás, "Kövesd

példákat vitéz eleidnek..." *A magyar nemesi felkelés a francia háborúk időszakában, különös tekintettel Székesfehérvár és Fejér vármegye szerepére* (Székesfehérvár, 2014).

the generals were Roman Catholic significantly overrepresenting the ratio of the Roman Catholic inhabitants. The ratio of the Evangelical generals roughly matches the ratio of Evangelical inhabitants but the ratio of the Reformed and the Orthodox generals remained exceptionally low. It can be declared that the Roman Catholics predominated at the Reformed and Orthodox faith's expense. The cause is different in the case of the two above mentioned faiths. The Hungarian Reformed nobility had a kick against

serving the Roman Catholic ruler in the age of the Carolina Resolution, the decree that hampered the Protestants to bear an office of the state or even a county. That phenomenon affected the Hungarian Reformed nobility so deeply that after the repeal of the decree in 1781, they remained passive in point of the military service. In the case of the Orthodox faith, their nobility was low in number and most of the Orthodox generals came from the ranks of the Military Border growing slowly in numbers.

Comparison of the Religion of the Generals to the Inhabitants of the Lands of St. Stephen's Crown			
	inhabitants	generals	
	percent	number	percent
Roman Catholic:	42%	164 men	76%
Evangelic:	8%	20 men	9%
Reformed:	16%	12 men	6%
Orthodox:	24%	14 men	7%
Greek Catholic	9%		
Unitarian	<1%	1 man	<1%
Jewish	1%		
Unknown:		3 men	1%
	100%	214 men	100%

The dominance of Roman Catholics did not mean that the possibility of reaching high military ranks exclusively belonged to them. From the two *Feldmarschalls* one, Alvinczy was Reformed coming from the typical Transylvanian Reformed poor nobility. Among the 30 *Feldzeugmeister*s and *General der Kavalleries* 20 were Roman Catholics, which is a lower ratio than among all the generals. Of the remaining 10 generals, five were Evangelical, four were Orthodox, and one was Reformed. Of the 71

Feldmarschall Lieutenants, 56 were Roman Catholics (matching the overall ratio). The 5 Orthodox, 4 Reformed, and the 4 Evangelicals are somewhat underrepresented in this group. The faith of two *Feldmarschall Lieutenants* are unknown. Looking at the *Generalmajors*, of the 111 generals, 87 were Roman Catholics, 11 were Evangelicals, 6 were Reformed, 5 were Orthodox, 1 was unitarian, and 1 was unknown. Analyzing the results of the research it can be stated that religious

consideration did not obstructed the military emergence. Although the military matters of the Habsburg Monarchy have been not so deeply influenced by the religious difficulties during the last centuries, by the end of the Eighteenth Century, the religion of the individual did not play any role in the military career.

Perhaps the most interesting topic can be considered the social status and the social mobility of the generals.³⁷ The common trope is in the case of the generals that the

highest military direction remained reserved to the “*Hoch- und Wohlgeborne*” high aristocracy and the officers were recruited from the middle class. Analyzing the social composition of the generals, these statements are more than misleading. The leading corps of the army appears to have been much more open than expected. Only 23 percent of the generals was born as aristocrats, almost two third as noble and even 14 percent came from below the nobility.

Social Mobility Chart ³⁸					
Status	As Born	Percentage	Remained	At Death	Percentage
Prince	2	1%	2	2	1%
Count	21	10%	21	28	13%
Baron	27	13%	27 (4 to count)	95	44%
Aristocratic	50	23%		125	57%
Noble	133	62%	73 (2 to count) (58 to baron)	89	43%
Burgher	9	4%	5 to baron 4 to noble		
Grenzer	22	10%	1 to count 9 to baron 12 to noble		
Non-Noble	31	14%			

Because of the military merit and somewhat according to other reasons (for

example elevation of father by office service) the social status of the generals

³⁷ For the social mobility see Karl Friedrich von Frank zu Döfering, *Alt-Österreichisches Adels-Lexikon*. Vol. 1 (Wien, 1928); Karl Friedrich von Frank, *Standeserhebungen und Gnadenakte für das Deutsche Reich [i. e. für das Heilige Römische Reich] und die Österreichischen Erblande bis 1806, sowie kaiserlich österreichische bis 1823, mit einigen Nachträgen zum "Alt-Österreichischen Adels-Lexikon" 1823-1918*, vols 1-5 (Schloss Senftenegg, 1967-7); Peter Frank-Döfering (s. a. r.), *Adels-*

Lexikon des österreichischen Kaisertums 1804-1918 (Wien, 1989); and Libri Regii (Official register of the Royal Chancellery) <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/libriregii/> (access on 31. 08. 2018).

³⁸ The elevation in the Holy Roman Empire, in the Hereditary Lands (Austria, Bohemia etc.), in the Hungarian Kingdom and in the Grand Duchy of Transylvania are combined and the higher title is included.

elevated in case of 121 persons and 95 of them remained as born. The basic issue that every general who was born below the level of nobility earned at least nobility. One half of the non-noble born generals elevated to plain nobility but the others directly into the aristocracy as barons and one, general Karaiczay, to count. The mobility among the noble-born generals was still significantly high, 44 percent, as 58 of them received the title of a baron and two of them the title of count.

Among the aristocrat-born, mobility was rare. Only four barons emerged to count but each of them because of military merit. In the case of the born counts and princes no elevation can be registered. It shows that the upper bound of the military award was the title of count. Further elevation was almost impossible. In the Hungarian system of aristocratic ranks, the Prince were only the children of the rulers. Each Hungarian Prince, for example the Esterházy's received their rank in the Holy Roman Empire. The most important cause of the high mobility rate was the Military Maria Theresia Order. Each member of the Order was allowed to request the title of "freiherr" or baron. When the applicant was not noble, first he had to request the nobility and then the title of baron. In some occasions the member missed the opportunity, so the mobility could have been slightly higher.

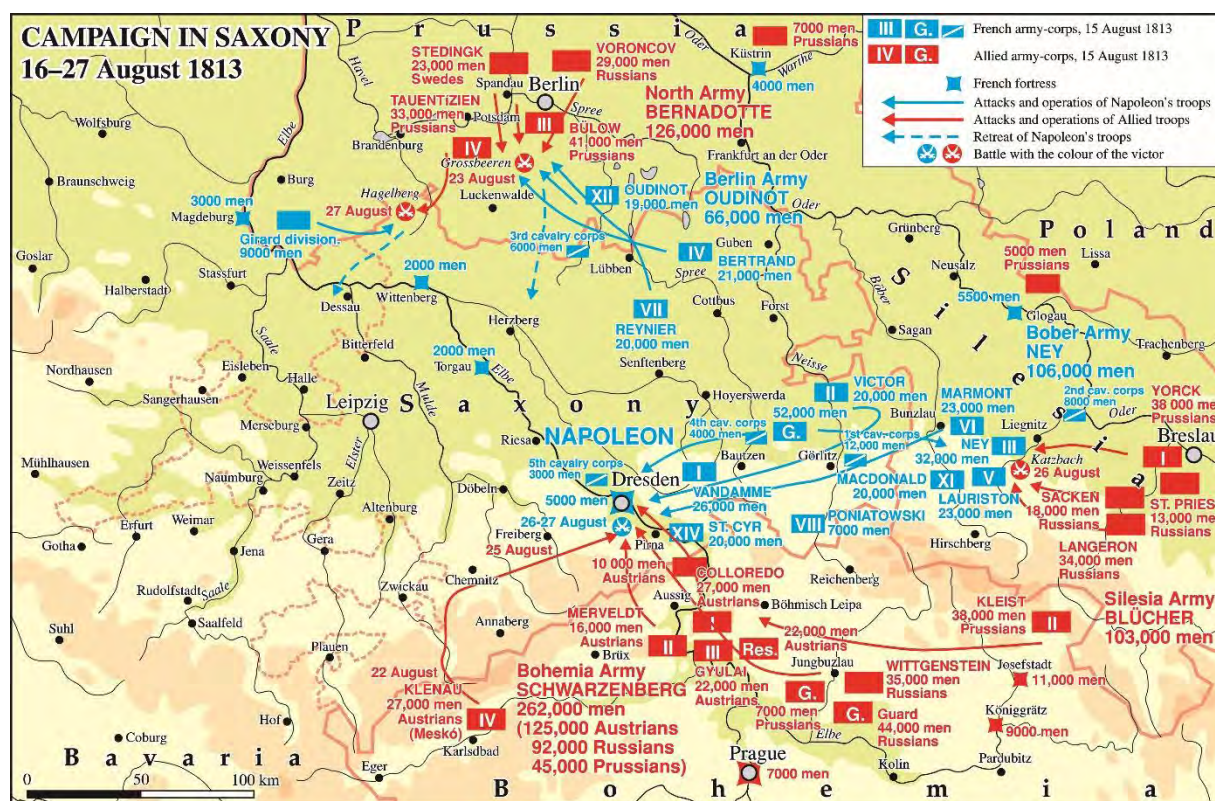
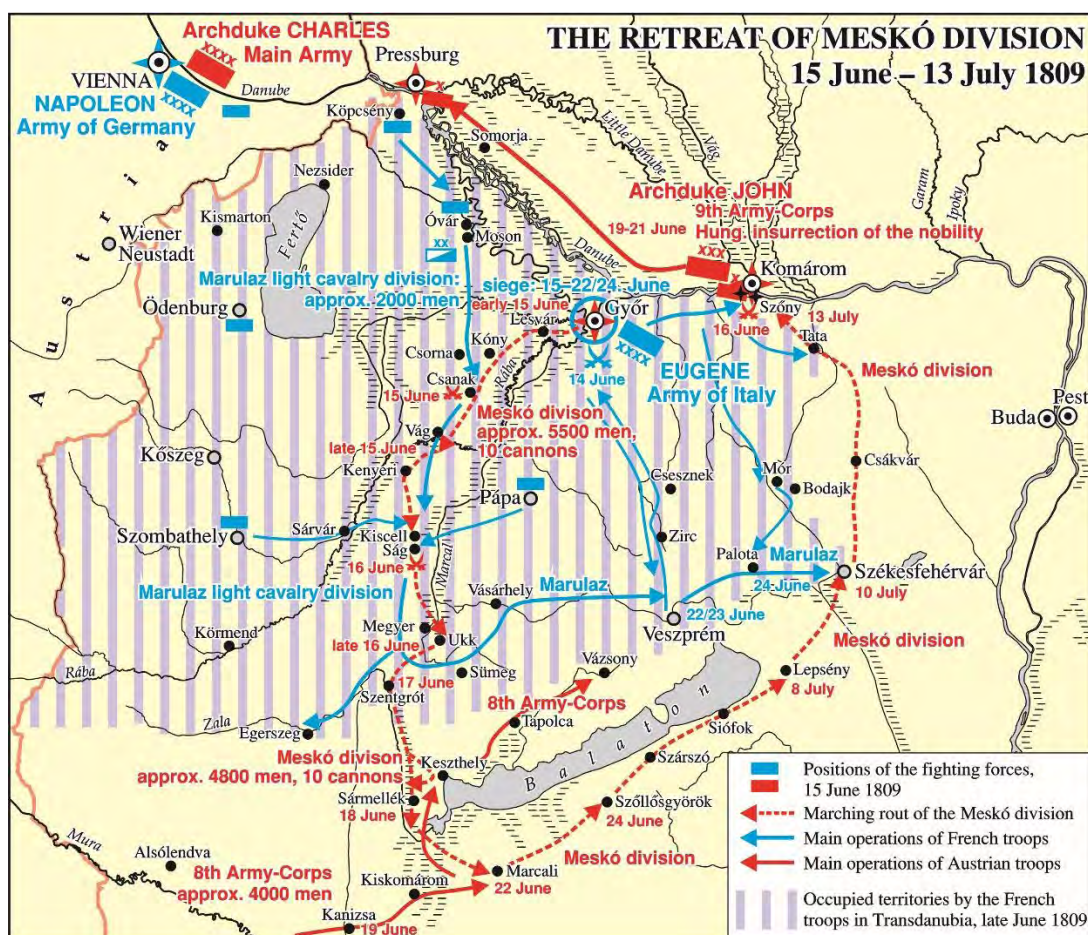
The origin of the social mobility can be observed not from the general himself but from the family. In that case most of the elevation also came from military merit and only some from administrative service. The highest elevation from the later mentioned cause was General Pejachevich, whose father received the title of count. As the final judge of the social mobility topic, it can be emphasized that the misleading picture of the generals recruited from the aristocracy was not the origin but rather the outcome of the military merit and achievement.

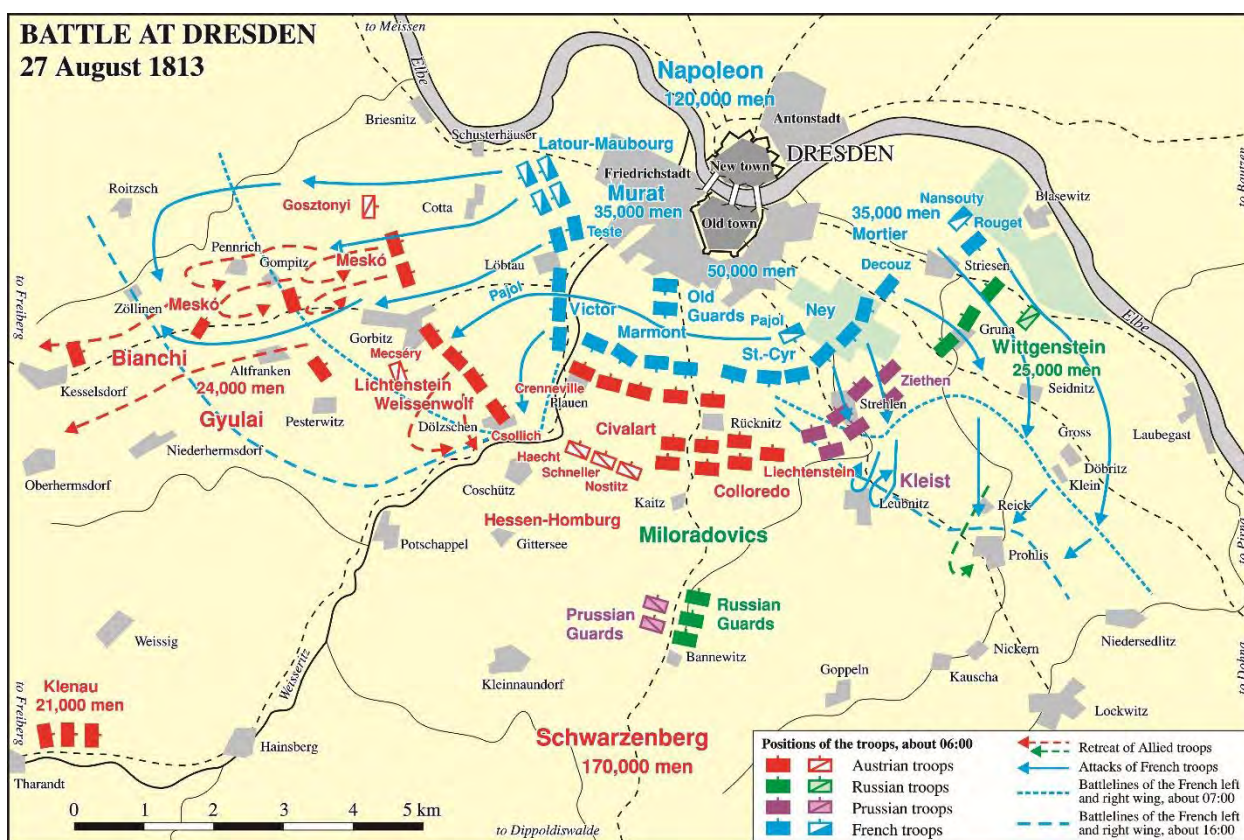
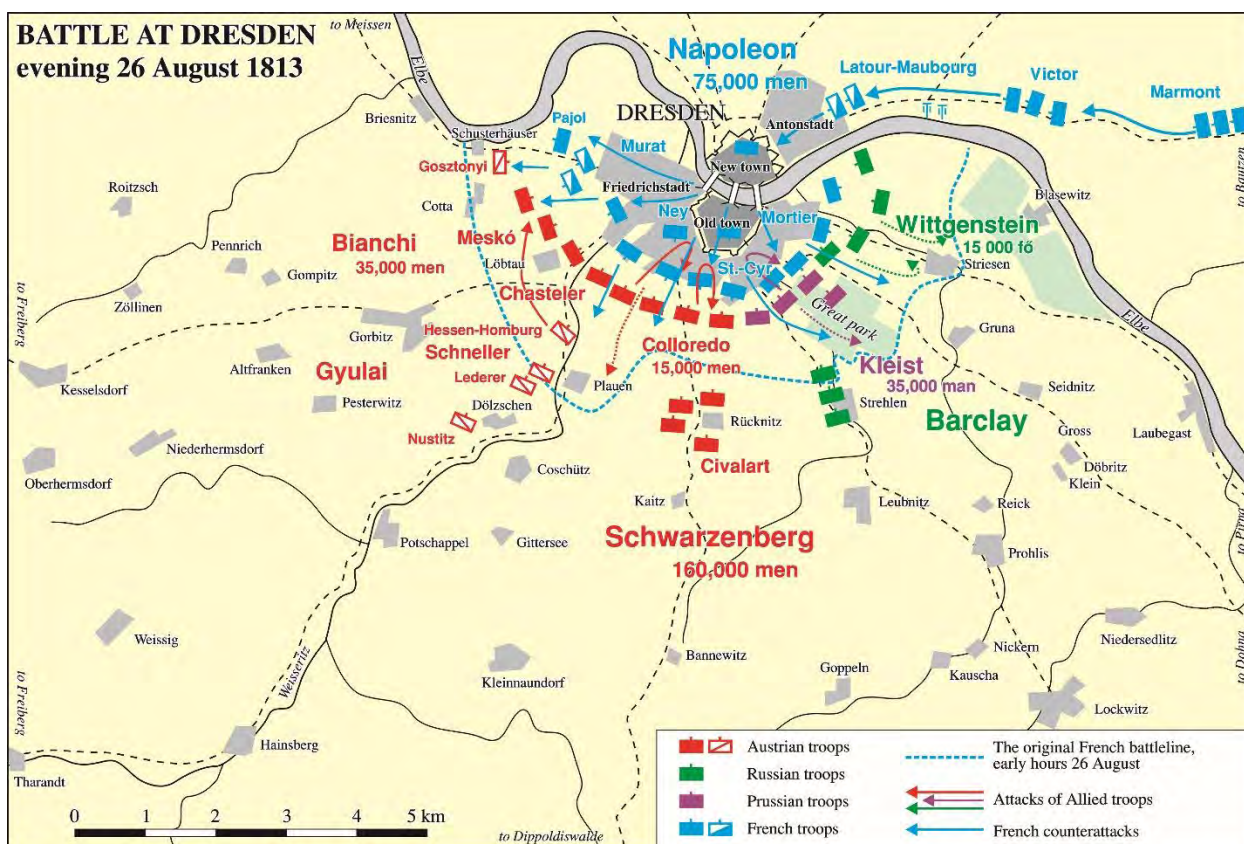
As mentioned above, the origin of the high elevation rate was the Military Maria Theresia Order.³⁹ In the case of the 216 generals, we can register 105 grants of the Order for 87 generals, 2 Grand Crosses, 18 Commander's Crosses, and 85 Knight's Crosses. General Alvinczy received all three crosses; 16 generals received two; and 70 generals received one cross. Feldmarschall Andreas Hadik the elder received the Grand Cross, and General Melas, the Commander's Cross. The other 68 generals received the Knight's Cross alone. The ratio is particularly high, 40 percent of the generals received the most reputed medal of the contemporary Europe. This statistic speaks for itself as the measure of the military merit of the Hungarian generals. It could have been interesting to compare to other groups of the generals but that is an important task for the future.

³⁹ For the Military Maria Theresia Order, see Jaromir Hirtenfeld, *Der Militär-Maria-Theresien-Orden und seine Mitglieder*, vol. 1 (Wien, 1857).

The research of the Hungarian generals of the Imperial-Royal Army based on primary sources can be productive in two different regions. First and foremost, in military meaning covering the military career, achievement and the policy of the recruiting of generals by the highest political and military leaders of the Habsburg Monarchy. On the other hand, the internal composition of the generals, the social and religious background are important regarding the social history and the history of the elites not only from the viewpoint of Hungary and the successor states but from the entire Habsburg Monarchy as a morefold composite state and in wider viewpoint from the history of Central Europe.

The preliminary researches proved to be considerably inaccurate not principally in the detailed data but in separating the serving and non-serving generals, determining the real generals from the title wearing French emigrants and pensioned colonels and the old inactive pensioned generals and even the persons who left the Imperial-Royal army long before the beginning of the long wartime in 1787. The results of the research describe the real social and military attributes of the generals of the army and the military elite of the Habsburg Monarchy. The tropes relating the Hungarian soldiers and generals proved to be false and misleading underlining the never fading importance of the primer sources even if in case though the topic seems to be well researched, known or popular.





Württemberg Light Troops: Their Tactical Deployment in the 1809 Campaign Against Austria¹

by David Wright

*Jäger and Light Infantry*²

The light troops were élite infantry that usually formed the vanguard of the Württemberg forces and often formed a *de facto* Light Division when combined with a brigade of light cavalry and two horse artillery batteries. The first light unit in the Württemberg army was a Jäger company, which was formed on 6th October 1799 and attached to Grenadier-Bataillon von Zobel. In January 1800, the Jäger Company became an independent company. On 11 March 1800, a second company was raised, and the unit was now called the Fussjägerkorps. A third company was raised on 14 May 1800 and a fourth on 9 May 1801 (to form the Fussjägerbataillon).

The battalion was now organized with: 1 Commandeur (commander), 1 Adjutant, 1 Auditor und Regimentsquartiermeister (legal Official and regimental quartermaster), 1 Bataillonsarzt (battalion physician), 1 Stabshornist (bugle-major), 8 Hornisten (buglers), 1 Profoss (provost), 1 Büchsenmacher (gunsmith), 4 Hauptleute (captains), 8 Lieutenante (lieutenants), 4 Oberjäger (senior NCOs), 40 Premierjäger (junior NCOs), 4 Zimmerleute (pioneers)

and 688 Jäger (including Krankenführer (medical orderlies) and Offiziersbedienten (officers' servants)).

On 23 August, a fifth company was raised. On 12 September 1805, two companies of the Fussjägerbataillon and the 5th Company of the Leibgrenadierbataillon were used to form the 2. Fussjägerbataillon. The 1. and 2. Fussjägerbataillone now consisted of 3 companies each, but the 1. Fussjägerbataillon received a fourth company on 6 November 1805 and the 2. Fussjägerbataillon on 9 November 1805. The Fussjäger fought in pairs, one firing, while the other covered him. The front rank was armed with a Büchse (rifle whose stock came up to half the barrel length) and a Hirschfänger (sword bayonet), which could be fixed on the rifle. The second rank was armed with a rifled carbine (gezogene Karabiner) with fixed bayonet and a sabre like the line infantry. The Büchse was made in Suhl, Thuringia. NCOs had a Stutzen (rifle whose stock was the full barrel length) of Austrian manufacture and a Hirschfänger that could not be fixed, due to the stock.³

¹ See David Wright, *The Württemberg Army in the Campaign of 1809* (Newthorpe: Partizan Press, 2013).

² Leo Jgnaz von Stadlinger, *Geschichte des Württembergischen Kriegswesen von der frühesten bis*

zur neuesten Zeit (Stuttgart: Guttenberg, 1856), 482, 642-43, and 669-70.

³ Udo Vollmer, *Die Bewaffnung der Armeen des Königreichs Württemberg und des Großherzogtums Baden* (Schwäbisch Hall: Journal-Verlag Schwend, 1981), 32-33.

Two light infantry battalions were formed on 12 September 1805: the 1. leichtes Infanterie-Bataillon von Neubronn from the 5th Companies of the infantry battalions Prinz Paul, Herzog Wilhelm and Kurprinz and the 2. leichtes Infanterie-Bataillon von Scheler from the 5th Companies of battalions von Lilienberg, von Romig and von Seckendorf. According to von Stadlinger, a leichte Infanterie-Bataillon had the same organization and rank names as a Fussjägerbataillon. It does seem unlikely, however, that the ranks Oberjäger, Premierjäger and Jäger would be used; Feldwebel, Corporal and Gemeine or Soldat seem much more likely. Stadlinger's illustrations show the light infantry to be armed with a carbine or short musket, reaching from the ground to halfway up the chest (the line infantry musket reached from the ground to the shoulder). The short musket had a longer bayonet, so that its overall length including the bayonet was the same as the line infantry musket.

*Light Cavalry*⁴

In September 1798, Württemberg had a single cavalry regiment of six companies: two companies of Garde du Corps, one company of Leibjäger and three companies of Chevaulegers, with a total strength of 313 men. In 1801, the Garde troops were separated, leaving a single line regiment of Chevaulegers, called the Reiter Regiment. In 1802, this was increased to five

squadrons and retitled the Chevaulegers-Regiment. In October 1805, the Leib-Schwadron was removed and used to form the Leib-Chevaulegers-Regiment. In December 1805, Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd Prinz Paul was formed with three squadrons, increased to four in February 1807. In 1806, Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König was formed. In July 1809, a fifth regiment was formed from the depot companies of the other four regiments and named Dragoner-Regiment Kronprinz. The 1st squadron of each regiment was named the Leib Escadron (*leib* means body, in the sense of the King's person), the 2nd was the Commandeur Escadron (commander's squadron) and the other two were named after their commanders. With internal promotion, squadrons could be commanded by a Rittmeister or Major; the first two squadrons by Stabs-Rittmeister (staff, or junior captains). The Chevaulegers regiments were armed with a rifled carbine (gezogene Karabiner; it had a fixing for a bayonet), two pistols and a long, slightly curved sabre with an iron basket hilt. No mention is made of the Jäger-zu-Pferd, but presumably they were armed identically. The Dragoner had a musket and sabre.

In 1809, the theoretical organization of a Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd was: 1 Commandeur, 1 Major, 1 Adjutant (commander's aide), 1 Regiments Quartiermeister, 1 Auditor, 1 Oberarzt (senior physician), 1 Kurschmidt (horse

⁴ Stadlinger, 627-30; Richard Starklof, *Geschichte des Königlich Württembergischen Zweiten Reiter-Regiments* (Darmstadt: Eduard Zernin, 1862), 91-92; and Hermann Nübling, *Geschichte des*

Grenadier-Regiments König Karl (5. Württembergischen) Nr. 123 (Berlin, Eisenschmidt, 1911), 81-82.

doctor), 1 Stabshornist (staff trumpeter), 1 Profoss, 1 Fahnensattler (saddler), 1 Büchsenmacher (gunsmith), 2 Escadronchefs (squadron leaders), 2 Stabsrittmeister, 4 Premierlieutenant (first lieutenants), 8 Secondlieutenant (second lieutenants), 4 Wachtmeister (senior NCOs), 4 Quartiermeister, 4 Chirurgen (surgeons), 8 Hornisten (buglers), 40 Unteroffiziere (junior NCOs), 4 Fahnenschmiede (farriers), 4 Krankenführer, 444 Jäger (troopers), 3 Trainsoldaten (drivers), 2 Reserve-Trainsoldaten (reserve drivers), 30 obligate Offiziersdiener, a total of 574 men. There was also a 4-horse Stabswagen (staff wagon) and a 3-horse Munitionswagen (munitions wagon).

*Horse Artillery*⁵

In 1799, the Württemberg artillery was very small, consisting of 5 officers and 99 NCOs and men. A single 3-pdr battery took

part in the campaign that year. On 20 August 1801, a reitende Batterie (horse artillery battery) was formed, with two 3-pdr and two 6-pdr cannons. On 20 September 1807, a second reitende-Batterie was formed from the Depot-Compagnie and attached to the Maison du Roi. In 1809, the artillery had two reitende Batterien, each with six guns (four 6-pdr, two 7-pdr howitzers). Each gun had its own ammunition wagon, each battery a workshop wagon (Handwerkswagen). The guns each had a team of six horses.

The organization was: 1 Hauptmann, 1 Oberlieutenant, 1 Unterlieutenant, 1 Sergeant, 1 Quartiermeister, 1 Unterarzt, 1 Krankenführer (medical orderly), 2 Wagenmeister, 2 Trompeter, 7 Corporale, 1 Sattler (saddler), 1 Wagner (wagonmaster), 1 Schmied (smith), 12 Oberkanoniere (senior artillerymen), 72 Kanoniere, 4 Offiziersdiener, and 45 Trainsoldaten (3 per gun, 3 per munitions wagon, and 2 for the workshop wagon), a total of 154 men.

⁵ Stadlinger, 620-21; and Karl Gessler, Ulysses Tognarelli, and Theodor Strobel, *Geschichte des 2. Württembergischen Feldartillerie-Regiments*

Prinzregent Luitpold von Bayern (Stuttgart: Selbst-Verlag, 1892), 99-100.

State of the light troops on 15 April 1809⁶

Unit	Commander	Men	Horses	Guns	Wagons
3. Infanterie-Brigade	Generalmajor August v. Hügel				
Fussjäger-Bataillon König	Major Ludwig v. Stockmayer	704	7		2
Fussjäger-Bataillon von Neuffer	Oberst Karl v. Neuffer	695	7		2
1. leichte Infanterie-Bataillon von Wolff	Oberst Adolf v. Wolff	674	7		2
2. leichte Infanterie-Bataillon von Brüsselle	Oberst Felix v. Brüsselle	689	7		2
1. Kavallerie-Brigade	Generalmajor Friedrich v. Röder				
Chevaulegers-Regiment Herzog Heinrich	Oberst Karl v. Jett	545	564		2
Leib-Chevaulegers-Regiment	Oberst Ludwig v. Walsleben	565	564		2
2. Kavallerie-Brigade	Generalmajor Christian v. Stettner				
Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd Herzog Louis	Oberst Eberhard v. Waldburg-Würzach	549	564		2
Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König	Oberst Ludwig v. Breuning	555	564		2
Reitende-Artillerie	Oberstlieutenant Karl v. Kerner				
Reitende-Batterie Maison du Roi	Hauptmann Friedrich v. Brand	115	124	4 6-pdr, 2 7-pdr how	7
2. Reitende-Batterie	Hauptmann Ferdinand v. Bartruff	114	123	4 6-pdr, 2 7-pdr how	7

⁶ Charles Gaspard Louis Saski, *Campagne de 1809 en Allemagne et en Autriche* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1899-1902), II: 378-79.

Württemberg to Abensberg, 11-20 April 1809

The troops left Württemberg on 11 April and moved to the Donauwörth area. Napoleon moved from Donauwörth to Ingolstadt (54 km) by coach, escorted by Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd Herzog Louis.⁷ The journey was so fast and without rests that 3 horses died and 66 were too exhausted to continue. The 66 horses and their riders had to be left at Ingolstadt under Premierlieutenant von Schütz, later joined by Secondlieutenant von Mengen with 30 men, who had been sent on patrol on the 19 April. Von Schütz's command, now two officers, six NCOs, one trumpeter and 89 Jägers, did not rejoin the regiment until the 26 April, missing the battles of Abensberg and Eggmühl.⁸ The 1. Reitende-Batterie Maison du Roi, escorted by the Leib-Chevaulegers, advanced from Abensberg to the right of the road to Regensburg and was ordered by Maréchal de l'Empire Jean-Baptiste Bessières to open fire on Austrian infantry, supported by a battery. The 2. Reitende-Batterie was detached to the right of Neustadt to bombard an enemy battery and afterwards to support the Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König and Bavarian infantry.⁹

The Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd Herzog Louis, together with a half horse battery,

was acting as escort for Napoleon and had to follow his movements constantly, sometimes having to halt for a long time on the road while he inspected positions, took messages or greeted regiments, sometimes setting off at a sharp pace to keep up with the hurrying Commander-in-Chief. The day was broken by a serious storm, so that the jäger were wet through when they came to Vohburg, where the Emperor took his night quarters. The regiment received orders to remain there also and to "billet in a military fashion." The whole town was, however, full of French, so that billets were difficult to find, the weather was still atrocious and a bivouac on the Market Place was not inviting. On informing that they were the Emperor's escort, many stables and sheds were vacated, and a place was found for the Louisjägers. There was also a lack of forage and the horses, in movement for 12 hours, had not been fed since early morning. Long rows of forage wagons were in the area, each guarded by a French cuirassier. The jägers worked on these; while one, who could speak broken French, set up a conversation with the cuirassier and tried to distract his attention, the others crept under the wagon, cut the oat sacks and let the contents run into a few food bags. The trick succeeded.¹⁰

⁷ This is also confirmed in Oberleutnant von Neubronner, *Geschichte des Dragoner-Regiments König (2 Württembergisches) Nr 26* (Stuttgart: Regimental, no date) 13. However, in k.u.k. Kriegsarchiv, *Kriege unter der Regierung des Kaisers Franz. Krieg 1809* (Wien: Seidler and Sohn, 1907-10), I: 411, it states that Napoleon was escorted by *Herzog Louis* from Donauwörth to Neuburg and by the *Leib-Chevaulegers* from Neuburg to Ingolstadt. Gessler, Tognarelli and Strobel, agree with Krieg,

while Julian Schmahl and Gottfried Speman, *Geschichte des 2. Württembergischen Feldartillerie-Regiment Nr. 29 Prinzregent von Bayern* (Ludwigsburg: Selbstverlag, 1901), 52, state that Napoleon was escorted by both regiments, but give no details.

⁸ Starklof, *zweiten Reiterregiments*, 98.

⁹ From Oberst von Schnadows battle report, quoted in Gessler, Tognarelli and Strobel, 102.

¹⁰ Starklof, *zweiten Reiterregiments*, 99-100.

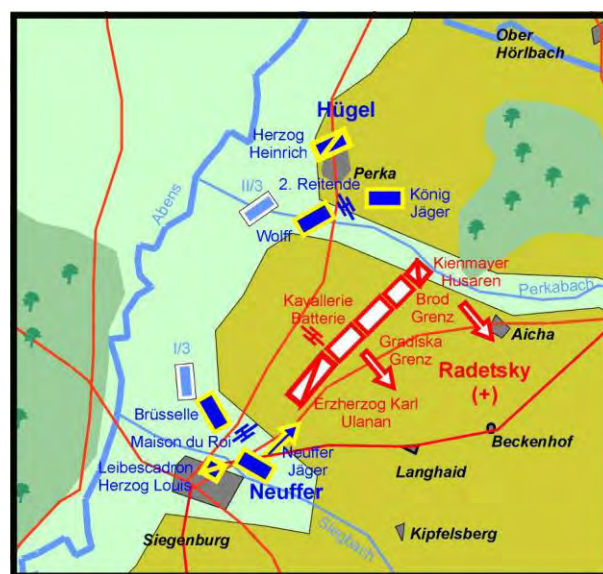
Battle of Abensberg, 20 April 1809

The area between Abensberg and Siegenburg was held by the Austrian 5. Armeekorps, under Feldmarschalllieutenant Erzherzog Ludwig, which, together with the brigade of Generalmajor Thierry from the 3. Armeekorps, were ranged on the hills to the east of the Abens river, between the towns of Abensberg and Siegenburg.¹¹ Napoleon's plan was to attack these positions in front and flank. The Bavarian 1. Division, under Generallieutenant Kronprinz Ludwig, would attack east from Abensberg, with the 3. Division, under Generallieutenant Graf von Deroy, following behind. The 2. Division, under Generallieutenant von Wrede would attack east from Biburg, supported by the Württembergers. When the attack stalled, the light troops were sent in.

Generalmajor von Hügel's 3. (leichte) Infanterie-Brigade was split into two, with the Fussjäger-Bataillon König and the 1. leichte Infanterie-Bataillon von Wolff by Abensberg with von Hügel and the Fussjäger-Bataillon von Neuffer and the 2. leichte Infanterie-Bataillon von Brüsselle opposite Siegenburg, with the Reitende-Batterie Maison du Roi and the Leib-Escadron of the Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd Herzog Louis, under the command of Oberst von Neuffer. The commander of the Württemberg Corps, Général de Division Vandamme had under command

Generalmajor von Hügel's brigade, the rest of Herzog Louis, Chevaulegers-Regiment Herzog Heinrich, the Leib-Chevaulegers-Regiment and the 2. Reitende-Batterie. The rest of the Württemberg troops would remain in reserve, the Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König having replaced Herzog Louis as Napoleon's escort (Map 1).¹²

Generalmajor von Hügel led his force up the Sallingbergerbach and may have reached Sallingberg itself with at least his



Map 1. Battle of Abensberg

skirmishers. He was soon called back and sent down the Abens to support von Wrede's troops around Perka. The von Wolff battalion, led by von Hügel himself as Oberst Adolf von Wolff had been wounded at the beginning of the battle, attacked the center of Radetzky's line, while the König battalion assaulted the right flank. Radetzky, given the task of protecting the retreat of Reuss-Greiz, retreated towards Langhaid and

¹¹ *Krieg 1809, I*: 428-32.

¹² *Krieg 1809, I*: 455 states that Herzog Louis continued as Napoleon's escort, but Starklof,

zweiten Reiterregiments, 98 says that Herzog Louis had been replaced by König.

Kipfelsberg, putting up a spirited rearguard action at Langhaid, which was only broken when Major von Stockmayer led two companies of König around the Austrian left flank through defiles that ran down to the plains. Oberjäger Seitz, leading a strengthened Zug (platoon), expelled a superior enemy force from a small wood by Beckerhof, while defending his force against cavalry threatening his right flank. At Kipfelsberg, the battalions of von Neuffer and von Brüsselle joined in the action, hastening Radetzky's retreat.

As darkness approached, von Stockmayer continued pressing the Austrians. Wounded in the ankle and with an injured thigh from where his horse had fallen crossing the Morgenrottal, he had himself bound to the saddle. Finally, the Württembergers came upon two battalions of grenadiers of the 2. Reservekorps. Under fire, von Stockmayer's horse was shot and the Major was only saved from capture by the actions of his servant, who brought up his spare mount, untied him and helped him onto the replacement.¹³ During this action, the Brigade-Adjutant, Premierlieutenant von Mengershausen was killed.

The horse artillery distinguished itself. They received Vandamme's admiration for the calmness of their crews, even under infantry fire and the Generaladjutant,

Generalmajor von Theobald, reported to König Friedrich that

in the battle of Abensberg, they had operated with great composure under the small-arms fire of the enemy. The 2. Reitende-Batterie supported the advance on each side of Perka, led by Oberst von Kerner and near Siegenburg rescued a Bavarian battalion that was suddenly charged by enemy cavalry. They were brought forward at the gallop and broke up the attack with well-delivered fire. Oberst von Schnadows led up the Reitende-Batterie Maison du Roi at a strong pace against an enemy 12-pdr battery.¹⁴

Landshut, 21 April 1809

On his own initiative, Vandamme had the Württemberg troops awake and moving by 1 am, before he had received any orders. The Württemberg cavalry led the pursuit.¹⁵ At Landshut, the Zwischenbrück Insel was stormed by Fussjäger-Bataillon von Neuffer and the 2. leichte Infanterie-Bataillon von Brüsselle, together with the Bavarian 7. Infanterie-Regiment Löwenstein and the French 13^{ème} Légère and 17^{ème} Ligne. The Austrians set fire to the Spitalbrücke, but, due to the rain, the wet timbers did not burn sufficiently and the grenadiers of the 3. Bataillon 17^{ème} Ligne stormed the bridge under the leadership of Général de Division Mouton. These were followed by the

¹³ Heinz Kraft, *Die Württemberger in den Napoleonischen Kriegen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1952), 149-50; Nübling, 90-91; and Karl Muff, and Hauptmann Wencher, *Geschichte des Grenadier-Regiments König Karl (5 Württembergisches) Nr 123* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1889), 18-19.

¹⁴ Schmal and Speman, 53; Strach von Weissenbach, *Geschichte des Königlich Württembergischen Artillerie* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1882), 191-92; and Gessler, Tognarelli and Strobel, 103.

¹⁵ Nübling, 91.

companies of von Starkloff from von Neuffer and von Müller from von Brüsselle, as well as a squadron of the Bavarian 3. Chevaulegers, both battalions of the Löwenstein regiment, the I / Prinz Karl and two battalions of the 13^{ème} Legère.¹⁶

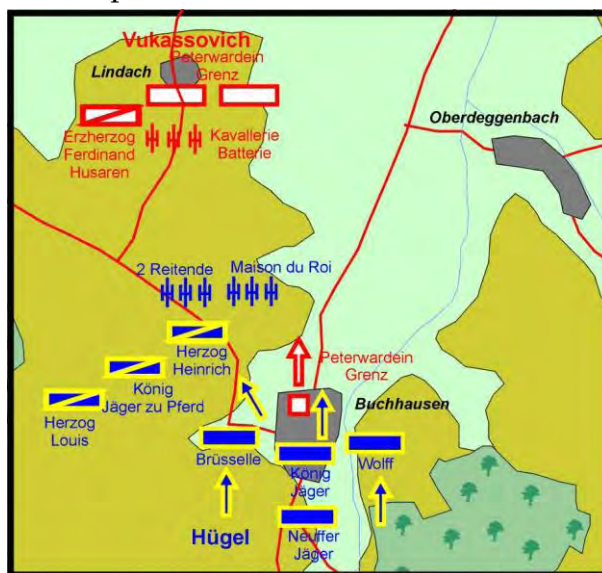
Battle of Eggmühl, 22 April 1809

When Napoleon realized that the bulk of the Austrians was facing Maréchal Davout at Eggmühl, Maréchal Lannes was given a Provisional Corps. The vanguard, under Vandamme, consisted of von Hügel's Light Brigade, Generallieutenant von Wöllwarth-Lauterburg's cavalry division (except the Leib-Chevaulegers, which remained at Essenbach with the task of patrolling the Isar) and the two horse batteries. Hügel's Brigade had only just got into their bivouacs at Landshut, when they were ordered to act as support to Saint Sulpice's Cuirassiers and drive away weak enemy infantry from the Essenbach area. When Napoleon realized the true position of the Austrian army, these orders were changed, and they were sent as the advance troops of the Landshut column towards Eggmühl.

Under the leadership of Général de Brigade Clément de la Roncière, the leichte Brigade, with the Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd Herzog Louis, reached the village of Ergoldsbach at 4 am. In the village, they found an outpost of 40 Erzherzog Ferdinand Husaren with an officer, blissfully sleeping, having neglected to post sentries, Fussjäger-

Bataillon König crept up on the unsuspecting hussars and succeeded in capturing them, with a two-horse munition wagon.¹⁷ The exhausted troops were then able to rest for three hours until the rest of the advance caught up and the advance continued.

At 2 pm, the Württembergers came upon the outposts of the main Austrian forces in



Map 2. Capture of Buchhausen

the village of Buchhausen, 3.5 km south of Eggmühl. A small detachment of the Peterwardein Grenz was in the village itself, while the remainder of the two-battalion regiment, depleted after the travails of the previous two days, was on the hill between Lindach and the Eggmühl road. They were supported by four squadrons of the Husaren-Regiment Erzherzog Ferdinand Nr. 3 and a Kavalleriegeschütz-Batterie (cavalry battery). The commander was Feldmarschalllieutenant Vukassovich. Fussjäger-Bataillon König, followed by Fussjäger-Bataillon von Neuffer, swept

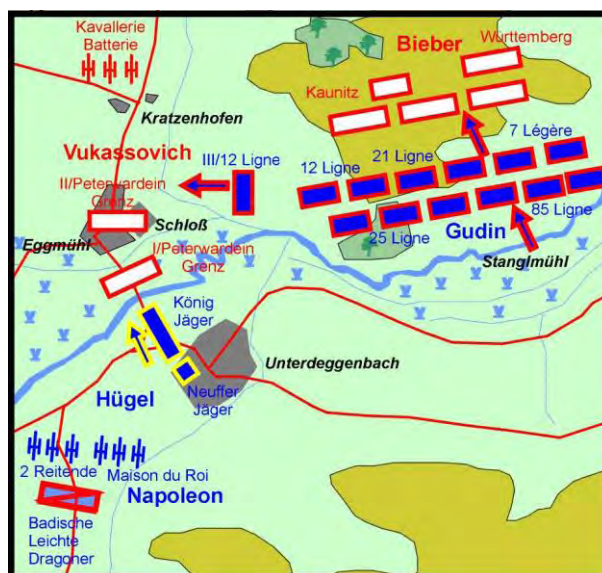
¹⁶ Nübling, 92; and *Krieg 1809, I*: 482.

¹⁷ *Krieg 1809, I*: 549; Nübling, 93-94; Starkloff, *zweiten Reiterregiments*, 103-04.

into the village, while the two light infantry battalions cleared the hills on either side (Map 2). The outnumbered grenzer retreated to the main body. The cavalry regiments Herzog Heinrich, König and Herzog Louis and the two horse batteries moved through the villages onto the hill to the west. Here an artillery duel occurred, until Vukassovich pulled his troops back to the main body to the north of Eggmühl. Two of the battery positions were assigned by Napoleon himself and the artillery were at one time in the skirmish lines.¹⁸

The cavalry received casualties from the Austrian artillery. Generallieutenant von Wöllwarth reported: "The horse artillery formed two batteries, behind which sat the cavalry at some one hundred paces, in echelon with wide intervals. Our batteries gave rise to a very strong enemy fire, which lasted for half an hour in the first position; the cavalry, in one and the same position, were exposed for just as long to this very heavy fire, which here and there carried off a man or horse."¹⁹ All the same, the order and calm of the men was never in the least interrupted, but this fire was rather received with a coolness which exceeded all my expectations."²⁰ At about 2 pm, the advance continued to the hills overlooking the valley of the Grosse Laaber and the village of Eggmühl itself.

The village was garrisoned by the Peterwardein Grenz, with the 1st battalion guarding the bridge over the Grosse Laaber and the 2nd battalion in the village and its Schloss, which was surrounded by a wall and ditch. The cavalry battery had moved to the hamlet of Kratzenhofen, 400 meters to the north of Eggmühl. The Grosse Laaber was not particularly wide, but it was impassable to artillery and difficult for



Map 3. Capture of Eggmühl

cavalry and infantry. The adjoining fields were water-meadows and very wet from the rains of the past few days. The stone Laaber Bridge was thus crucial to the further advance of the allied army.

Major von Stockmayer's Fussjäger-Bataillon König and Hauptmann von Schneidemantel's company from Fussjäger-Bataillon von Neuffer were given the order to take the bridge (Map 3). Twice,

¹⁸ Gessler, Tognarelli and Strobel, 104.

¹⁹ Herzog Louis lost two men dead (Jäger Hamm and Schips of the Leibescadron) and six wounded, as well as ten dead and two wounded horses. Starklof, *zweiten Reiterregiments*, 106.

²⁰ Theodor Griesinger, *Geschichte des Ulanen-Regiments König Karl (1 Württembergisches) Nr 19*, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlag-Anstalt 1883), 68.

under the fire of the Peterwardein Grenz and the cavalry battery at Kratzenhofen, they were repulsed, but the two Württemberg horse batteries, escorted by the Baden Leichte Dragoner, arrived at the gallop and, even moving into the skirmish line,²¹ provided the support that enabled the Fussjäger to storm the bridge and sweep into the village. In doing so, the adjutant of von Neuffer, Premierlieutenant von Reinhardt was decapitated by a cannon ball. Nübling describes the next action as follows:

Major von Stockmayer had Stabshornist Kaiser, who stood next to him, blow the Jäger storm call and over ditch and wall they went. Oberjäger Seiz, Premier Schäfer and Jäger Mahn broke in the door to the Schloss and pressed in as the first. Up the stairs, in the corridors and rooms it became hand-to-hand with the bravely defending grenzers, during which Jäger Seitter snatched the Grenz battalion standard from the standard bearer. The rest of the grenzers, 300 men strong, surrendered, as they saw no other way out.²²

Major von Stockmayer sent Seitter to present the standard to Napoleon, who awarded him the Légion d'Honneur and 20 gold Napoleons. The capture of Eggmühl was aided by the 3. Bataillon 12^{ème} Ligne,

which approached the Schloss from the east.

The exhausted jägers of von Hügel's Brigade, having shot away all their ammunition, collapsed in the village for a well-earned rest. Their performance was extraordinary: After having fought a serious battle on 20 April, they marched 80 km (50 miles) in 38 hours, of which they were moving for 26 hours with only 12 hours rest, in poor weather, on bad roads, being involved in skirmishes at Landshut, Ergolsbach and Buchhausen, then stormed a bridge and village defended by superior numbers in the face of artillery fire.²³ The Königjäger lost seven men dead, an officer and 24 men wounded and six men missing; von Neuffer lost an officer dead, 8 men wounded and four men missing.

Chevaulegers-Regiment Herzog Heinrich was ordered by Napoleon to go to Maréchal Davout. It successfully attacked enemy cavalry and took 60 infantry prisoners. In the evening, together with a French hussar squadron, it attacked Austrian cuirassiers, taking more prisoners and cutting down around 40. Some chevaulegers were apparently killed and wounded, although this does not appear on the casualty report. Oberstlieutenant von Brockfeld was captured after his horse was wounded.²⁴

Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König, and two squadrons of Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd

²¹ Gessler, Tognarelli and Strobel, 104.

²² Nübling, 96.

²³ Guillaume Bonnal, *L'Esprit de la Guerre Moderne. La Manoeuvre de Landshut*, (Paris: Chapelot, 1905), 354.

²⁴ Reports of Generallieutenant August von Wöllwarth-Lauterburg and Generalmajor Friedrich von Röder in Griesinger, 68-69.

Herzog Louis, together with two Bavarian regiments, ten regiments of French heavy cavalry and a French chasseur regiment, took part in the cavalry attack on the Bettelberg, charging three times until the Austrian defense was broken.²⁵ In the evening, the two regiments took part in the engagement at Alt-Eglofsheim with the same allies.

At 9 pm, Generallieutenant von Wöllwarth received the order from the Emperor to advance with the six squadrons at his disposal (Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König and two squadrons of Herzog Louis, the Commandeur-Escadron and Escadron Ressler) towards the Regensburg-Straubing road to capture the Austrian baggage retiring in this direction.

They set off in the evening and for the second night in succession were to have no rest. The enemy baggage, however, had too great a lead and, despite the hard ride, could not be caught. The Württembergers did collide with a squadron of the Dragoner-Regiment Riesch Nr. 6, which had been sent towards Straubing to destroy the Danube bridge in case of emergency and with enemy infantry, both in the region of Geisling and Pfatter, three to four hours from Alteglofsheim, close to the Danube.

News of the enemy cavalry was received on route and Secondlieutenant von Adelsheim, who led the point, was told that in the indicated direction, he would have to pass two villages (Moosham and St Gilgen) and

when he came in the vicinity of the third (Geisling), he should approach this with great care. If he could not find the way back, he was to burn St Gilgen as a signal.

Von Adelsheim took the right direction and, after leaving the first two villages behind him, arrived before Geisling at 11 am. There were neither enemy vedettes nor other obstacles and many lights shone out from the village. Unteroffizier Heinemann of Ressler's squadron got down and crept up to the nearest house, out from which a light shone, established that enemy dragoons were inside and returned to the squadron with this information. The village was surrounded as quietly as possible and then, on a given signal, fallen on from three sides with terrifying cries.

The Austrian dragoons, from the Riesch regiment, who had quartered themselves carelessly and were scattered around the houses, were completely surprised and, after an attempt at resistance, were all captured, together with horses. Hornist Horlacher was one of the first on the village street and tore through, constantly blaring out fanfares. The regiment captured 27 horses, which were fairly distributed amongst the squadrons according to their needs: Leib-Escadron six, Commandeur-Escadron six, Escadron-Münchingen eight and Escadron-Ressler seven. Every officer who needed one was provided with horses before the distribution. At the same time, in Pfatter, half an hour from Geisling, 160

²⁵ *Krieg 1809, I*: 557-59; Karl von Stutterheim, *La Guerre de l'An 1809 Entre L'Autriche et La France*, (Vienna: Strauss, 1811), I: 250-56; General

Graf Friedrich Wilhelm von Bismarck, *Ideen-Taktik der Reuterei*, (Karlsruhe: Müller, 1829), 207-08.

infantry were captured, mainly by Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König.²⁶ In the evening, the Leib-Chevaulegers, who had bivouacked at Altdorf on the left bank of the Isar, were sent eastward along the Isar with two squadrons of Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König to follow the broken Austrian units. Casualties for the Württembergers during the battles of the 22nd were 15 dead, 99 wounded and two prisoners.²⁷

Eggmühl to the Inn, 23-30 April

On the 23 and 24 April, the Württembergers finally had some rest. The Leib-Chevaulegers came under fire for a short time during the capture of Regensburg on the 23 April and then were given the honor of carrying ten captured Austrian standards into the city. To the anger of Generallieutenant von Neubronn, the Chevaulegers-Regiment Herzog Heinrich remained in the Emperor's Headquarters, the Leib-Chevaulegers were attached to the IV Corps d'Armée of Maréchal Masséna and Vandamme removed von Hügel's Brigade from the Infantry Division, placing it under his direct orders.²⁸

On the 27 April, the advance towards the Inn resumed. On the 29 April, the two

Jäger zu-Pferd regiments, Herzog Louis and König were sent via Marlth to Simbach, across the Inn from Braunau. The leader of the vanguard, Lieutenant Hayd, reached Simbach at midnight with 30 men. At daybreak, Hayd, with five jägers, left their horses behind and crossed the Inn on a small boat. Ascertaining that the town of Braunau was free of the enemy, he called across his remaining jägers and, after forcing the Magistrate to hand over the keys, locked the town gates. Leaving 18 jägers to occupy the gates and secure his retreat, Hayd, who discovered 300-400 Austrians south of the town, marched with 12 jägers on foot in the direction of Ranshofen. Not far from Ranshofen, they took an Austrian hospital by surprise as well as three officers and 314 men as prisoners.²⁹ As a reward, Friedrich raised Hayn to the Freiherrnstand (hereditary nobility) as Hayd von Haydenschwert.

From the Inn to Linz, 1-5 May 1809

From 26-30 May, the Württemberg troops had been forced to constantly bivouac. The rain fell in torrents and the fields were drenched into swamps. In spite of these conditions and blockages caused by the trains and cuirassiers, the troops marched 160 km (100 miles) in the five days.³⁰

²⁶ Starklof, *zweiten Reiterregiments*, 107-09.

²⁷ Karl Spiess and Hans Ritter, *Geschichte des Dragoner-Regiments Königin Olga (1. Württ.) Nr. 25*, (Ludwigsburg: Selbst-Verlag), 1913-39; Richard Starklof, *Geschichte des Württembergischen vierten Reiterregiments Königin Olga*, (Stuttgart: Aue, 1867), 38; and *Krieg 1809, I: Appendix XXX*, 707. This seems to conflict with the account in Starklof, *zweiten Reiterregiments* given above, where all four squadrons of König were together. Perhaps there is confusion with the two other squadrons of Herzog

Louis (Leib and Münchingen), which were separated earlier?

²⁸ Pierre Emmanuel Albert Baron Du Casse, *Le général Vandamme et sa correspondance*, (Paris: Didier, 1870), 276.

²⁹ Kraft, 167.

³⁰ Ferdinand Fromm, *Geschichte des Infanterie-Regiments König Wilhelm I (6. Württ.) No 124*, (Ravensburg: Ulrich, 1910), 39.

Rations were miserable as, due to the French system of “living off the land” rather than using their reserve magazines, the local inhabitants had fled with all their supplies.³¹

On 1 May, the cavalry managed the ride over the Inn, which was not very deep at Schärding, in columns of four. In the course of the whole remaining campaign, the Württemberg cavalry division consisted of only the two Jäger-zu-Pferd regiments, as the two Chevaulegers regiments formed new brigades in conjunction with other Confederation of the Rhine and French troops. The VIII Corps crossed the Inn at Braunau, early on 2 May. Vandamme, with the Light Brigade, the two horse batteries and the Jäger-zu-Pferd regiments Herzog Louis and König moved forward to Riedau. On 4 May, Vandamme was ordered forward to Enns and at 10 am, Berthier sent him orders to occupy Linz, to establish a bridgehead and to organize a magazine there.

The Capture of Linz-Urfahr, 5 May 1809

At Linz the Danube is 250 m wide and connected by a bridge to the town of Urfahr which was garrisoned by Generalmajor Richter with 10 companies (1,500 men) of the 3. and 4. Prachiner Landwehr battalions plus replacement troops from the line infantry regiments Deutschmeister, Jordis, Klebek and Lindenau, a squadron of Vincent Chevaulegers and a few men from the Hessen-Homburg Husaren. Vandamme, finding the bridge destroyed



Map 4. Capture of Urfahr

and that all boats had disappeared, sent a summons, demanding that Richter evacuate the town and hand over all boats and transport vehicles on the left bank.³² Naturally, the summons was ignored. At 4:30 am, Vandamme had all his drummers and trumpeters sound their instruments, then lined up his Corps along the Danube from Linz to St. Margareten. The artillery was deployed opposite Urfahr, on the riverbank and the castle heights.

During a bombardment from the 20 Württemberg guns, which set 31 houses ablaze, Secondlieutenant Nestel, from Hauptmann von Scheidomantel's company of the 2. Fussjäger-Bataillon, found a small boat, in which he managed to ferry across 20 jäger. Reaching the half-burnt bridge, he called across the river for help. As luck would have it, two Ulm shipmasters, Martin and Johann Molfenter, were in Ulm

³¹ Nübling, 98.

³² *Krieg 1809*, IV: 182.

on business and they volunteered to ferry the Württembergers across.³³

The companies of von Scheidemantel and Hauptmann von Seeger from the 2. Fussjäger-Bataillon under its commander Oberst von Neuffer crossed the Danube 1km (1100 yards) upstream from Linz on two large barges, hidden from Urfahr by the hill of Spatzenhof. Hauptmann von Scheidemantel knew the area from 1805, when the Württembergers garrisoned the town. He sent two Züge (platoons) against the Austrian flank along the river, while two more went around the Spatzenhof. One Zug from von Seeger's company under Premierlieutenant Landenberger went around the rear of the town while the rest of the company, under Oberst von Neuffer, followed von Scheidemantel. Attacking with fixed bayonets, the two companies overthrew the brigade facing them, capturing Generalmajor Richter, 14 officers and 165 other ranks, as well as a large amount of money and stores (Map 4).³⁴

Protecting the Bridgehead, 6-16 May 1809

Over the next ten days, Vandamme dispatched a number of reconnaissance patrols along the roads leading from Bohemia into the Urfahr bridgehead, each usually consisting of a mixture of Fussjäger and Jäger-zu-Pferd, sometimes with horse artillery attached. By 14 May, the main danger threatened to be from the north, in that Feldzeugmeister Kolowrat, advancing from Budweis, had already reached Kaplitz, while his vanguard under Feldmarschalllieutenant Somariva pushed forward to Unterhaid, 20 km (12 miles) north of Freistadt. Vandamme received reports of these movements, whereupon he ordered the advance guard to draw nearer to the Urfahr-Linz position.

On 15 May, the following positions were taken up by the Advance Guard (under Generallieutenant von Wöllwarth)

Village	Infantry	Cavalry
Hellmonsödt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Fussjäger-Battalion von Neuffer Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd Herzog Louis Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König 	(2 squadrons)
Weitersdorf	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2. leichte Bataillon von Brüsselle Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König Generalmajor von Hügel 	(1 squadron)
Gallneukirchen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fussjäger-Battalion König 	
Mauthausen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> leichte Bataillon von Wolff Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König 	(1 squadron)

³³ Muff and Wencher, 20; Nübling, 99.

³⁴ 419 300 Francs in gold bars; biscuit, flour, grain and salt; military cloth, cotton, tobacco and

(especially welcome) 2,600 pairs of shoes (*Krieg 1809*, IV: 185).

Somariva's column had seven battalions, one and a half squadrons and two batteries (one of four 3-pdrs, one of four 6-pdrs). The column should have reached its march goal as inconspicuously as possible, but the right flank guard, under Oberstlieutenant von Suden of the 5. Jäger Bataillon collided with the Württembergers at Leonfelden. As the Württemberg light infantry and the cavalry pulled back into the bridgehead, a reconnaissance detachment of 72 men of the 2. Fussjäger-Bataillon under Hauptmann Starkloff and 80 commanded cavalymen of the Jäger-zu-Pferd regiment Herzog Louis under Stabsrittmeister von Werder were pushed forward to Leonfelden.

Leaving Hellmonsödt at 2 am, the detachment reached Leonsfelden at 5am. The northern boundary was occupied by Fussjäger while the Jäger zu Pferd took position in front of the town. Patrols, each consisting of nine cavalry troops and nine infantrymen were sent onto the roads to Rosenberg and Haslach. About an hour north of Leonfelden, the first collided with the vanguard of the Austrian column, numbering 30 cavalry troopers and 300 infantrymen. On this report, Rittmeister Werder went with his 62 men to meet the patrol. Only two and a half kilometers forward of Leonfelden, he met the Austrians, which he estimated at 1,000 ulans, 600 Tyroler-Jäger, 4,000 infantry and six batteries.

Now pressed by the jägers and ulans, who had arrived in the meantime, Werder pulled

back to Leonfelden, where the fire from the Fussjäger entrenched in the gardens halted the pursuers for a moment. Soon, however, the Jäger and Landwehr went over to the attack, which forced the Württemberg jäger to evacuate the town and retreat back into the woods lying to the southwest. Werder covered the retreat. They managed to conduct a fighting retreat without sustaining many casualties.³⁵ While the cavalry covered the retreat of the Fussjäger, they noticed a jäger sitting behind a house, happily contemplating a large container of milk. At this moment some Austrian Ulanen arrived. The jäger whipped his gun up to his hip, shot the first ulan off his horse and the rest made a hasty retreat, allowing the Württembergers to retire in safety.

The Austrians pushed behind, until by Zwettl the Württembergers found support from Wagner's squadron of the Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König and a small detachment under Secondlieutenant Mengen of the Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd Herzog Louis. During the retreat from Leonfelden, the ulans put in five attacks, but in view of the small losses and Werder's assertions that he had "turned away" the attacks, it seems they did not actually come to blows. Because of the capture of Leonfelden, the patrol sent to Haslach under Unteroffizier Weiss was cut off, but they finally cut through to Zwettl, with the loss of a badly wounded Louisjäger and five Fussjäger, who fell into Austrian hands. The most important result of this

³⁵ *Krieg 1809*, IV: 213-14; Starkloff, *zweiten Reiterregiments*, 124-27.

insignificant fight, which apparently cost the Württembergers three wounded, one dead and one wounded horse and five prisoners was that Vandamme began to harbor concerns and requested the support of Bernadotte's Corps for the 17 May.

Battle of Linz-Urfahr, 17 May 1809

By the morning of 17 May, Generalmajor von Hügel's Brigade was astride the two northern roads. One company from Jäger-Bataillon von Neuffer was in front of Katzbach with the Leibeskadron of the Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd Herzog Louis. The rest of Herzog Louis, with 3 squadrons of the Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König was behind Katzbach with the Fussjäger-Bataillon König. The two light battalions von Wolff and von Brusselle were at the entrance to the Haselgraben, with a small detachment in the village and church of St. Magdalena.³⁶ Von Seeger's company of von Neuffer and a squadron of the Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König were at Wildberg in the Haselgraben. Hauptmann von Bartruff's 2. Reitende-Batterie was by Dornach and Hauptmann von Brand's Reitende-Batterie Maison du Roi was in Urfahr. Generalmajor von Hügel's battalions had only 3 companies, the fourth one from each being detached with

Capitaine Delau to Steyr, 20 kilometers south of Enns, with 50 men from each of the two cavalry regiments³⁷.

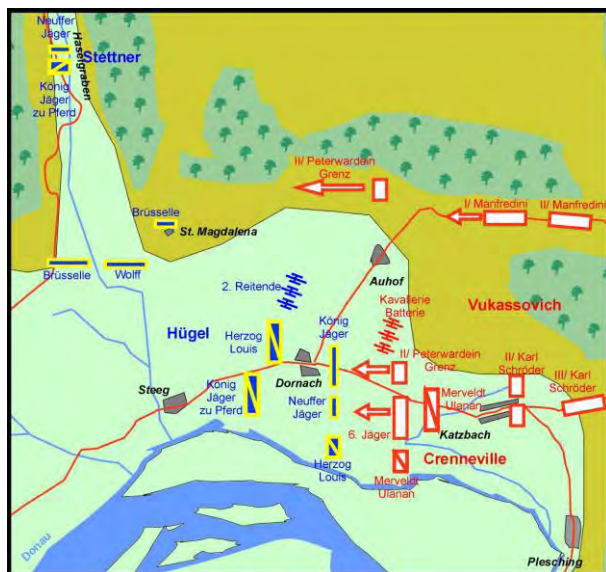
The main Austrian attack, under Feldmarschalllieutenant Freiherr von Vukassovich, came from the eastern, Gallneukirchen, road. The vanguard, under Generalmajor Graf Crenneville, consisted of 4 squadrons of the Merveldt-Ulanen, 4 squadrons of the Hessen-Homburg-Husaren, the 6. Jägerbataillon, the 1st Battalion of Grenz-Infanterie-Regiment Peterwardein Nr. 9 and a 6-pdr horse artillery battery. The main body consisted of 3 battalions of Infanterie-Regiment Manfredini, 3 battalions of Infanterie-Regiment Karl Schröder, 2 battalions of Infanterie-Regiment Württemberg, a position battery of 6 guns and two brigade batteries, a total of 5,929 infantry, 834 cavalry and 24-28 guns.³⁸

³⁶ Nübling, 102-3, says that the advanced post consisted of 80 Königsjäger under Unterlieutenants von Imthurn and Scheler, while companies von Starkloff and von Hehl of von Neuffer were at the entrance to the Haselgraben with the two light infantry battalions. As named members of both von Starkloff and von Hehl's companies became casualties, this seems likely to be true.

³⁷ The actual number of men detached is a little uncertain. *Krieg 1809*, IV: 215, says two companies of the two Jäger battalions and 50 cavalry

troopers, yet the order of battle on page 746 says one company of each of the four light battalions and 100 cavalry troopers. Nübling, (102-03), says that 80 of the von Neuffer Jäger and 24 Louisjäger were detached to Steyr followed by von Gaisberg's company of the Königsjäger and a company of the light infantry. He gives dispositions at Linz (103-04) for each of the four companies of von Neuffer.

³⁸ *Krieg 1809*, IV: 236.



Map 5. Battle of Linz-Urfahr, afternoon
Facing Crenneville, who had arrived at the foot of the hills at 2 pm, the company of von Neuffer in advanced posts fell back into Katzbach. Part of the 6. Jägerbataillon quickly pushed into the village, capturing the quartermasters of the Saxon Husaren-Regiment, who were there obviously setting up billets. The attackers were themselves thrown back by the Königsjäger, but they in turn were forced back when the rest of the 6. Jägerbataillon and the battalion of the Peterwardein Grenz joined in the assault (Map 5).

The Württemberg Jäger, supported by the cavalry, retired slowly to Dornach, while the Austrians prepared their attack. The 6. Jägerbataillon and three companies of the Peterwardein Grenz prepared to assault the village, while the other 3 Grenz companies advanced over the hills north of Auhof against St. Magdalena. The II/Karl Schröder left two companies to garrison

Katzbach, while the other four developed north of the road, their third ranks extending the skirmish line of the light infantry. Half a squadron of the Merveldt Ulanen protected the left flank of the Jäger, while the rest advanced behind their infantry. The cavalry battery moved north of the road and exchanged fire with von Bartruff's 2. Reitende-Batterie by Dornach.

The advance of the Austrian infantry, 13 companies strong, forced the four Württemberg companies back to Steeg, which they defended stubbornly. The two Jäger zu Pferd regiments fell back behind the village, Herzog Louis to the left and König to the right. At the same time the three companies of the Peterwardein Grenz advancing over the hills to the north threw the weak light infantry detachment out of St. Magdalena.

Vandamme and his staff reacted by sending the rest of the Württemberg troops, with two Saxon cavalry regiments, against the Austrians. Kolowrat ordered the attack to cease, sacrificing Crenneville's advance guard.³⁹ The Jäger advanced once more on the left flank. At the same time the light infantry moved against St Magdalena. Oberst von Wolff sent Kechler's company round the Austrian right flank; the other two companies of the battalion climbed, sometimes in single file, up the steep slopes against the churchyard and village, both

³⁹ The Württemberg Generaladjutant, Generallieutenant Graf von Theobald states in his report to his King that Vandamme panicked and

left the conduct of the battle to Oberst von Kerner, his Chief of Staff (Kraft, 177). Bernadotte's Saxons started arriving in Linz at about 1pm.

surrounded by walls and hedges.⁴⁰ Von Brüsselle's battalion, followed by the von Neuffer Jäger company from the Haselgraben, moved on their left. Von Bartruff's 2. Reitende-Batterie supported the attack.

As the Württemberg assault line moved east, the Jäger wheeled south to take the Austrians in flank. At this the Merveldt Ulanen moved forward to threaten the left flank of the Jäger. The Leibeskadron of Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd Herzog Louis was ordered to attack the Merveldt Ulanen, with Münchingen's squadron in support. The Württemberg cavalry caught the ulans in front and flank. The Merveldt Ulanen broke and fled back to the hills around Katzbach, pursued by the Württembergers. The half of III/Manfredini, advancing to reinforce the advance guard from the hill to the north of Katzbach, was broken in the pursuit and their second Oberst captured. Katzbach was quickly torn from its defenders, but further advance was prevented by accurate fire from the battery on the hill to the north.⁴¹ This battery was now cut off, but its commander bravely decided to fight on to cover the retreat of the others. His only support was half of the 3rd Battalion of

Infanterie-Regiment Manfredini and the stragglers of Crenneville's advance guard in the adjacent woods.

Generallieutenant von Wöllwarth gave Major Graf Waldburg-Wurzach, the commander of Herzog Louis, the command to attack the battery. As the two squadrons already in action had not yet reformed, there remained only von Rasser's squadron and the Commandeur-Eskadron. Von Rasser's squadron rode straight at the battery, while the Commandeur-Eskadron, under Stabsrittmeister von Seebach, took the track to the right, by which the battery had ascended. At the same time, Bernadotte gave Generalmajor Gutschmidt the order to attack the battery from the north with the Saxon Husarenregiment and the Prinz Albrecht Chevaulegers and von Milkau's squadron of the Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd König rode for the escort through the woods.⁴²

At the foot of the hill, von Rasser's squadron hit a ditch, which both Major von Rasser and Secondlieutenant von Kunsberg crashed into. The leadership of the squadron fell on Secondlieutenant von Adelsheim, who led the squadron up the steep slope until they charged into the

⁴⁰ Kraft, 175.

⁴¹ Starklof, *zweiten Reiterregiments*, 30-31. Württemberg sources place this battery on the Pfennig Berg. *Krieg 1809*, 253 considers this impossible as Katzbach is either out of range or in dead ground from viable gun positions on this mountain and the cavalry charge would have met Austrian units, none of which reported it, and would have had to pass through an almost impenetrable wood. The position they favor did have a battery on it, could affect the attacks on both Katzbach and Auhof and had all the features described.

It is, incidentally, also the position shown (incorrectly) by Oskar Schuster and F.A. Franke *Geschichte der Sächsischen Armee* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1885), II sketch 18, table VIII as the Pfennig Berg.

⁴² Starklof, *zweiten Reiterregiments*, 135-37; Neubronner, 17-20; Moritz Exner, *Die Antheilnahme der Königlich Sächsischen Armee am Feldzuge gegen Österreich* (Dresden: Baensch, 1894), 31; and Kraft, 176.

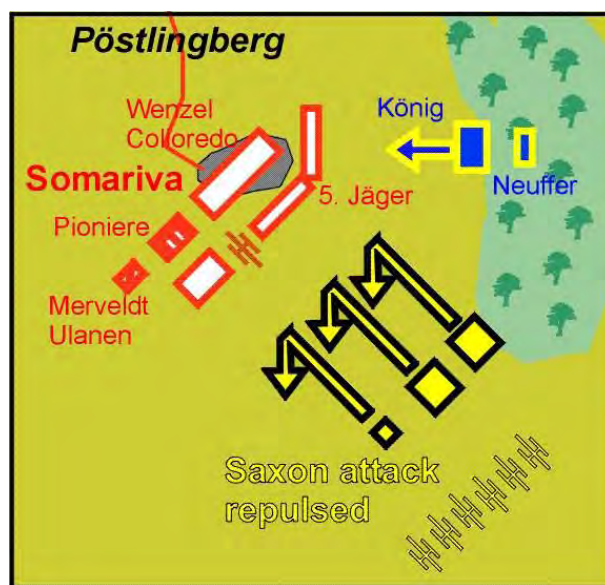
battery. A fierce struggle arose over the guns with the battery escort, during which Adelsheim was badly wounded.⁴³ Help arrived in the form of the Commandeur-Eskadron, followed by von Milkau, the Saxons and 30 grenadiers from Infanterie-Regiment von Phull, who drove the Austrians into the woods.⁴⁴ All six of the battery's guns were captured.

During the melee, the commander of Manfredini was recognized and captured by Unteroffizier Weiss of Jäger-Regiment zu Pferd Herzog Louis. In 1805, Weiss was in Austrian service and harshly punished by the same officer for a minor misdemeanor.⁴⁵ The Oberst's orderly loyally followed him into captivity with his spare horses. With the capture of the battery, the pace of the Württemberg advance increased. The Austrians retired in good order and a series of skillful rearguard actions prevented serious losses. The Württembergers stopped at the foot of the hills, apart from a few sent in pursuit of the retreating troops.

At the seeming moment of victory, Vandamme and Bernadotte were shocked to hear the thunder of cannon from their rear. Somariva's column had arrived on the Pöstlingberg in time to see Kolowrat's column in retreat. Realizing that an attack alone was out of the question, he sent three battalions back into the valley to cover any

retreat up the Haselgraben, while the rest of his troops, one and a half battalions of Infanterie-Regiment Wenzel Colloredo, the 5. Jägerbataillon, a platoon of Merveldt Ulanen and 40 Pionieres, he set up on both sides of the church on the Pöstlingberg and stationed his guns so as to fire on the only two visible guns in the Urfahr entrenchments.

Bernadotte sent two and a half battalions against the Austrians; they attacked twice, but were repulsed each time. As night fell, the fighting died down and the battle seemed to be over. Vandamme, however, gave Generalmajor von Hügel the order to take the Pöstlingberg (Map 6). Hügel had only the three-company-strong Jäger-Bataillon König and von Seeger's company of von Neuffer available. These were very



Map 6. Battle of Linz-Urfahr, evening

⁴³ Adelsheim was in so deep a coma that he was thought to be dead. Only a slight movement of his hand while being placed in his coffin prevented him being buried alive. He made a full recovery. Starklof, 141.

⁴⁴ According to the regimental history it was the "Tirailleurs" of the regiment, not the grenadiers.

See Albert Pfister, *Geschichte des württ. Infanterieregiments (Grenadierregiment Königin Olga) Nr. 119* (Stuttgart: Kirn, 1875), 17.

⁴⁵ Weiss was born in a part of Austria that was transferred to Württemberg after the Treaty of Pressburg in 1805. See Starklof, *zweiten Reiterregiments*, 31.

tired, having fought continuously since 2 pm and had shot away all their ammunition. With fixed bayonets they climbed the hill in pitch darkness, surprising an Austrian sentry post without firing a shot. Almost at the top, they met a half Jäger company, but managed to convince them that they were Austrians. Six paces from the enemy their bluff was called, and a salvo hit them, but in the darkness, they created enough confusion to start the precipitate retreat of the Austrians and captured around 800 men, although of these only nine officers and 375 men did not escape in the dark.⁴⁶

This was the last major engagement of the Württembergers and, apart from odd skirmishes, they had little to do beyond securing the Danube west of Vienna and marching to Graz.

Aspern -Essling, 21-22 May 1809

The only Württemberg unit to take part in the battle of Aspern-Essling was the Chevaulegers-Regiment Herzog Heinrich, which had been attached to Imperial Headquarters, but had been ordered to leave four chevaulegers as security at every post station between Ried and Wien. This left the regiment with a total strength of 160 men. Nevertheless, around daybreak on

the 21 May 1809, they were ordered over the pontoon bridge at Ebersdorf to form the vanguard of the right flank of the Grande Armée.⁴⁷

As Erzherzog Karl prepared his attack against the French bridgehead, Herzog Heinrich was moved over behind Essling and attached to the Piré's Brigade, in Lasalle's Division. When the Austrian forces neared the French lines, Maréchal Bessières was ordered to charge the Austrians. After a melee in which Cuirasser Général de Division Espagne was killed and Bessières nearly captured, the situation was rescued by the intervention of Lasalle's Division, including the Herzog Heinrich Chevaulegers. Generallieutenant von Wöllwarth reported:

In the Battle of Ebersdorf, on the far side of the Donau, the regiment Herzog Heinrich made more than eight shocks during the day, always with success against enemy cavalry, until in the evening they received the order to retire. During this, the regiment noticed another enemy detachment to the side. The uninterrupted hard fatigues of the day at once forgotten, they asked the commanding French General for permission to make another attack on this detachment.⁴⁸ It was granted, and the enemy overthrown for the

⁴⁶ Some Saxon sources state that the Pöstlingberg was captured by the third attack (Exner, 32), but in view of the account in *Krieg 1809*, including Somariva's own report, the comments of Vandamme and Bernadotte and the fact that decorations were only given to the cavalry, makes this unlikely (IV: 259-61). Perhaps the retirement of the Austrian outposts and the troops sent by Somariva to the Haselgraben were

interpreted as a general retreat. Franz Kurz, *Geschichte der Landwehre in Oesterreich ob der Enns*, (Linz: Haslinger, 1811) and Franz Xaver Pritz, *Geschichte des Landes ob der Enns von der ältesten bis zur neuesten Zeit*, (Linz: Haslinger, 1847) also mention the capture of a gun, but *Krieg 1809* and Württemberg sources do not confirm this.

⁴⁷ Griesinger, 70.

⁴⁸ Lasalle.

ninth time by this brave regiment. The French General was astounded by this stroke of bravery, commenting that not even a French regiment, which after such a hard day had received the order to retire, would have done this.⁴⁹

In the second attack, against infantry, Major von Wiederhold was killed and in the last, against hussars supported by infantry, Oberst von Jett was wounded by a musket ball in the right arm.⁵⁰ Herzog Heinrich was also in action on the afternoon of the 22 May, as two men were killed by cannon fire and two by sabre blows, one of which was also wounded by a lance thrust. This implies that at some time they came up against the Schwarzenberg Ulanen, which was the only lance-armed unit in the vicinity.⁵¹

Summary

The Württemberg light troops were highly thought of by the French, being entrusted with acting as a vanguard on several occasions. They were extremely adaptable, being capable of acting as whole units, as individual companies, squadrons or guns or as combinations of different units and arms and were able to march long distances in a short time, then fight a battle immediately afterwards. Individual officers were able to show initiative, as they were appointed on ability, rather than social status.⁵² Of the Fussäger, König generally acted as a

complete unit and led the assaults, while Neuffer was often used as individual companies or as support.

A variety of tactics were used to conform to the situation.

- 1) Attack on front and flank of enemy rearguard (infantry, cavalry and artillery) - Abensberg.
- 2) Capture of an enemy hussar outpost by stealth (infantry) - Ergoldsbach.
- 3) Frontal attack and double envelopment of enemy held village (infantry, cavalry and artillery) - Buchhausen.
- 4) Assault of enemy held bridge and village (infantry and artillery) - Eggmühl
- 5) Capture of an enemy dragoon outpost by stealth (cavalry) – Geisling
- 6) Initiative and bluff by a small unit to capture a large town (cavalry) - Braunau.
- 7) Assault river crossing and flank and rear attack on superior force (infantry) - Urfahr.
- 8) Patrols to identify enemy movements and intentions (infantry, cavalry and artillery) - Linz-Urfahr.
- 9) Fighting retreat to hold up enemy vanguard, then switch to attack (infantry, cavalry and artillery) - Linz-Urfahr.

⁴⁹ Griesinger, 70; *Krieg 1809*, IV: 489-94.

⁵⁰ *Krieg 1809*, IV: 494.

⁵¹ *Krieg 1809*, IV: 617.

⁵² Paul Sauer, *Die Neuorganisation des württembergischen Heerwesens unter Herzog, Kurfürst*

und König Friedrich (1797-1816), in *Zeitschrift für württembergischen Landesgeschichte*, Year XXVI, (1967): 407-08.

- 10) Capture of enemy battery by front and flank attack (cavalry) - Linz-Urfahr
- 11) Uphill night attack with the bayonet to capture strategic hill (infantry) - Linz-Urfahr.

The Occupation of Bratislava in 1809

by Matej Čapo

The occupation of Bratislava by Saxon and French troops

The events of 1809 turned out to be unfortunate for Bratislava (Preßburg), the coronation and assembly town of Hungary. It was affected by a big flood in January. In May, the bridgehead in Petržalka (Engerau) became one of the side battlefields of the War of the Fifth Coalition.¹ In spite of the successful defense of the city against the French troops, the fate of Bratislava and the Austrian Empire was decided on the main battlefield, during the battle of Wagram on 5-6 July.

During the night of 11-12 July, the Austrian and French agreed on armistice in Znojmo (Znaim). According to the ceasefire agreement, Austria had to surrender 3,775 square miles² of the territory until the conclusion of peace. A demarcation line covered Bratislava and its surroundings

within one-hour walk in favor of the French.³ On 13 July, Brigadier general, Vinzenz Bianchi, received a report on armistice, on the basis of which Bratislava opened its gates to its besiegers on 14 July.⁴ An unknown Franciscan recorded in his diary⁵ that Bratislava opened them “not defeated, but heroic, unconquered.”⁶ The division of Napoleon’s Saxon allies arrived at the city under the command of General Jean .⁷ It happened on Napoleon’s direct order.⁸ Soldiers stayed in barracks, public buildings and at local people. The occupation units were located not only in Bratislava, but also in Karlová Ves (Karlsdorf), Lamač (Blumenau), Dúbravka (Kaltenbrunn), Záhorská Bystrica (Bissternitz), Stupava (Stampfen), Zohor, Láb (Laab), Plavecký Štvrtok (Zakendorf, Zahnendorf) and in Vysoká pri Morave (Hochstetten).⁹ General J. Reynier became the commander of the city.¹⁰

¹ Petržalka is currently a quarter in Bratislava.

² It stood for 217,236 km².

³ It represented a half of the Vienna (Austrian) post mile, i.e. 3,793 km.

⁴ Alojz Vyčislík, “Napoleonské vojny a Bratislava,” in *Bratislava: zborník múzea mesta Bratislavy*, ed. František Kalesný (Martin: Osveta, 1969), 243. Vinzenz Ferrerius Friedrich Bianchi (1768-1855), Commander of the defense of Bratislava’s bridgehead.

⁵ Diary *Oppugnatio Civitatis Posoniensis per Gallos Anno 1809 Dietim Connotata (The occupation of the town Bratislava in 1809 by the French)* was preserved in the Franciscan library in Bratislava. It contains everyday records of the unsigned Franciscan priest during the siege of the town. The diary was discovered by the historian of the order

Vševlad Jozef Gajdoš in 1936. It is written in Latin and has 20 pages. A part of the records was published by Florenc Hutár.

⁶ Florenc Hutár, “Napoleon oblieha Bratislavu,” *Františkánsky obzor* 4 (1938): 132.

⁷ Jean Louis Ebénézer Reynier (1771-1814), of Swiss descent completed his entire military career in French service.

⁸ Juraj Hradský, *Napoleon a Bratislava* (Bratislava: Albert Marenčin Vydavateľstvo PT, 2005), 104.

⁹ Karlová Ves, Lamač, and Dúbravka are currently quarters in Bratislava.

¹⁰ Dušan Špirko and Miroslav Lupták, “Obrana bratislavského predmostia vo francúzsko-rakúskej vojne v roku 1809,” *Vojenská história* 6 (2002): 21.

On 15 July, Viceroy of Italy, Eugen Beauharnais, visited Bratislava.¹¹ He was accommodated at the Grassalkovich Palace. General J. Reynier organized a ball in his honor.¹² It is possible that thanks to him, a social life enlivened.¹³ Citizens, however, had to take care of the supplies and accommodation of troops, pay the war tax and send gifts to generals. According to the chronicle of the Merciful Brothers: "All buildings and town houses were often occupied by soldiers, our monastery was occupied only by a few wounded officers and even though the hospital was so

crowded with the sick, they were still trying to get in with horses."¹⁴

From the *Preßburger Zeitung* newspaper, we get to know that in those days, ramparts at the bridgehead were demolished.¹⁵ According to historian András Krisch, the costs of destroying the Austrian fortifications amounted to 914 guilders.¹⁶ Napoleon himself was interested in their destruction, as revealed by his letter to

¹¹ Oľga Wagnerová, "Bratislava a ťaženie 1809," in *Zbierka Európa. Výstavba miest–národné hospodárstvo. Československá republika. Bratislava* (Berlin: Vydavateľstvo Dari, 1928), 22. Eugen Beauharnais (1781-1824), Napoleon's adoptive son. In 1809, he commanded the Italian Army (the French Army on the territory of Italy). He played a crucial role during the Battle of Wagram.

¹² According to historian Štefan Holčík, the ball was supposed to take place in the theater in front of Fisher's Gate. Štefan Holčík, "Nábytok požičali šľachta a mešťania," *Bratislavské noviny* 12 (2009): 11.

¹³ Wagnerová, "Bratislava," 22.

¹⁴ Slovak Republic, Archív hlavného mesta SR Bratislavy [hereafter AMB], Oddelenie mestských fondov, fond Bratislavské kláštory, Milosrdní bratia, "Historia domus (1672-1948)," fol. 201. b.

¹⁵ *Preßburger Zeitung* 45 (28 July 1809), 583. In connection with the ramparts that surround Janko Král' city park (Brückenau) in Petržalka, it is possible to meet two different sets of opinions concerning the date of their creation. According to historian Viera Obuchová, the ramparts come from 1809. For more information: Viera Obuchová, *Príbehy z dejín Bratislavy* (Bratislava: Albert Marenčin Vydavateľstvo PT, 2013), 165; Viera Obuchová, "Napoleon v roku 1809 v Petržalke," *Večerník* 40 (1995): 4. On the contrary, other works show that the ramparts were destroyed in 1809 and those, remains of which we can still see today, were created during the Revolutions of 1848. For more

information: Stefan Rakovszky, *Geschichtliches über Presburg* ([s.l.]: [s.n.], around 1900), 47; Wagnerová, "Bratislava," 22; Ivan Houdek, "Francúzi v Bratislave v rokoch 1805-1809," in *Slavín: historická ročenka Západoslvenského kraja III*, ed. Ladislav Hubenák (Bratislava: Západoslvenská pobočka Slovenskej historickej spoločnosti pri SAV a Krajská skupina spolupracovníkov ÚD KSS pri ZsKV KSS, 1969), 169; Ivan Houdek, "Bratislava v revolučných rokoch 1848-1849," in *Bratislava: zborník múzea mesta Bratislavy*, ed. František Kalesný (Martin: Osveta, 1969), 185; Anatole Wacquant, *Die ungarische Donau-Armee 1848/49* (Breslau: S. Schottlaender, 1900), 25; Karol Goláň, "Bratislava v napoleonských vojnách," *Devín. Vlastivedný časopis Bratislavy a okresov: Bratislavského, Malackého a Modranského* 1 (1933): 117; Juraj Ohrival, *Sprievodca po Bratislave a Bratislavskom kraji* (Bratislava: Sloboda, 1957), 78; Vladimír Wagner, *Bratislava: Popis a sprievodca* (Bratislava: Informator, 1928), 48; Emil Kumlik, *Bratislava, Pozsony, Pressburg 1907. Ilustrovaný sprievodca* (Bratislava: Albert Marenčin Vydavateľstvo PT, 2005), 104. Based on the aforementioned sources, it can be concluded that it is more likely that the current remains of ramparts originated in 1848, on the site of the original ramparts, as evidenced by the report from *Preßburger Zeitung* newspaper.

¹⁶ András Krisch, "Francia megszállás Magyarország szabad királyi városáiban 1809" (PhD diss., Pécsi Tudományegyetem, 2009), 238.

Marshal Louis Berthier.¹⁷ In the letter, he wrote that he wanted General J. Reynier “to let him know if the bridgehead built by the enemy on the right bank was obliterated.”¹⁸

On 15 August, Bratislava celebrated pompous celebrations of Napoleon’s fortieth birthday. The French organized a ball that was attended by more than a thousand guests.¹⁹ Celebrations were very expensive and the burden was borne by citizens. The French crews celebrated in the same way in Stupava and Malacky (Malatzka).²⁰ An interesting story happened in Malacky. The French had asked the Franciscans to prepare a service with a German sermon about Napoleon on 15 August. The same day was also the feast day of the Assumption of Mary. Priest Agapit Neizer was afraid that in this way he could defile the feast day. He wondered how he could comply with their request and at the same time circumvent the order. At



9 a.m., the army gathered in the Franciscan church. At the end of his sermon, priest A. Neizer mentioned Napoleon, when he said: “Napoleon ascended to the French throne and became the great victor since he faithfully worshipped the Virgin Mary.”²¹ The French allegedly liked the sermon. From this moment, they were zealous visitors of the Franciscan church.

Accommodation and support of the troops in Bratislava

In their own territory, the French army was supplied from domestic sources, in the territory of the Allies, the local authorities took charge of the duty. In the enemy’s territory, the French army chose a requisition of the enemy’s property and supplies.²² The same happened in Bratislava. Already on July 16, it was ordered to provide accommodation and

¹⁷ Louis Alexandre Berthier (1753-1815), count from Neuchâtel, French Marshal of the Empire and Chief of Staff.

¹⁸ Bonaparte to Louis Alexandre Berthier, 28 July 1809, Napoleon Bonaparte, *Dernières lettres inédites de Napoléon Ier* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1903), No. 928, I, 427.

¹⁹ All members of the city council received the invitation from Colonel Gressot, Adjutant of General J. Reynier. Štefan Holčík, “Oslavy boli

v Redute, aj na Promenáde,” *Bratislavské noviny* 12 (2009): 11.

²⁰ Golán, “Bratislava,” 118.

²¹ Celestín Lepáček, *Františkánsky prínos do slovenskej kultúry* (Bratislava: Serafín, 2005), 225.

²² Dušan Uhlíř, “Vojenská moc v průběhu napoleonských válek,” in *Jakou Evropu ohlašovala bitva u Slavkova?*, ed. Svatava Raková and Christian Lequesne (Praha: Historický ústav AV ČR, 2006), 36.

supplies for soldiers.²³

The provision of accommodation was the most demanding during the first days of the occupation. We do not have a complete list of residents at our disposal, however, the list from some parts of the town has been preserved. For

example, on the basis of the list from 30 September concerning Krížna street (Untere Kreutzgasse) and Radlinského street (Landstrasse), four officers, 212 soldiers and 65 horses were accommodated in 95

houses. That meant 1-5 soldiers per a person, but not everyone had a horse.²⁴ According to Rabbi Chatam Sofer, one family in town accommodated 6-10



soldiers.²⁵ The French in town used so-called

“Einquartierungs-Billet.”²⁶ Soldiers and officers had to be content with the prescribed care and were not allowed to demand more. Meat, bread and other foods were to be delivered to places, where they were staying. Citizens were obliged to give each soldier vegetables and 1/16 liters of wine distillate for breakfast.²⁷ According to Rabbi Ch. Sofer, the daily costs per soldier amounted to one Rhenish guilder,

regardless of the amount of bread and meat the magistrate provided them on a daily basis.²⁸

²³ Krisch, “Francia megszállás,” 215.

²⁴ Krisch, “Francia megszállás,” 234.

²⁵ Rabbi Moshe Sofer, *Pressburg under Siege: An Autobiographical Account by Rabbi Moshe Sofer*, trans. Rabbi Avraham Y. Finkel (New Jersey: CIS Publishers, 1991), 79. Chatam Sofer, by his own name Moshe Schreiber (1762-1839), came from Frankfurt am Main. He was the most important Jewish religious scholar of the 19th century. In 1806 he became a rabbi in Bratislava. His records *Seal of the Scribe (Sefer hazikaron)* is one of the few well-known sources for the local history of the Napoleonic Wars. It was written between July and October 1809 in Bratislava and Svätý Jur (Sankt Georgen). Chatam’s grandson Shlomon Schreiber published his records for the first time in 1879. There are several editions. I proceed from three editions that differ in several details. The first

version is the translation made by Samuel Bettelheim. It relies on some write-offs from the original text. The basis for the second version, published in 1957 is the original manuscript. The translation made by Peter Ambros is based on it. The third version is the translation made by Avraham Y. Finkel.

²⁶ It was an accommodation ticket. It contained the exact address, name and surname of the accommodation provider, number of accommodated, their ranks, provision and number of horses.

²⁷ Krisch, “Francia megszállás,” 215.

²⁸ Samuel Bettelheim, “Ostreľovanie Prešporka Napoleonom roku 1809,” in *Židia v Bratislave v minulosti a súčasnosti*, ed. Hugo Gold (Bratislava: Albert Marenčin Vydavateľstvo PT, 2010), 130.

Already on 20 July, the provision for the troops started to cause significant problems to the city council. When Saxon troops came to the town, the magistrate assumed that they would be dispersed over larger territories and it would not be necessary to provide for them over a long period of time. However, besides the Saxon troops, a large part of the Italian army was located there. The supplies of the town and citizens started to run out.²⁹ There was not enough barley and oats for a day. Therefore, Jewish and Christian merchants were charged with the provision of supplies. It was not easy because the purchase of goods was not possible beyond the demarcation line, where it was intended for the Austrian army.

On 22 July, an inventory of goods was created and handed over to the French, Italian and Saxon army. Troops were supplied with meat, salt, cheese, beans, peas, gruel, wine, spirits and candles. Bandages, disinfectants, candles and several thousand needles had to be provided for wounded and sick soldiers, for a total value of 2,080 guilders.³⁰ General Karl Watzdorf³¹ ordered to collect a monthly supply in stock and to immediately replace the daily consumption.

It is also worth mentioning that Bratislava bought animals for slaughter in the

territory that was not occupied by the French, but the Austrian guard did not allow it to pass through the demarcation line. The town asked Brigadier general V. Bianchi, who was behind the demarcation line, for help. They argued that Bratislavská stolica (Pozsony County) was affected the most by the occupation in comparison to other counties. They could not get food. According to Brigadier general V. Bianchi, the Austrian army kept all foods rightfully. On the order of the Emperor Francis I, only goods issued by the Hofkriegsrat could be transported through the demarcation line. It was not possible to help because all contributions were sent to Komárno (Komorn). Brigadier general V. Bianchi recommended to the town that the regulation did not apply to the territorial lords, who transported foods behind the demarcation line for their own consumption. He was supposed to immediately sign their passports.³² Citizens of the town also turned to the Emperor Francis I for help. His answer pointed out that it was not possible to import foods from the unoccupied territory. He also stated that he could not help, because if the French found out, they could multiply requisitions. He gave a secret loan of 50,000 guilders to the town envoy. Moreover, he promised assistance by issuing permits to transport of goods in small quantities. He fulfilled his promise in a few days.³³

²⁹ The army demanded 850 quintals of oats and barley and 722 quintals of hay per day. Even the entire Bratislavská stolica (Pozsony County) could not have provided such an amount to the French at the time of ceasefire. Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 216.

³⁰ Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 217.

³¹ Karl Friedrich Ludwig von Watzdorf (1759-1840), Saxon General and Diplomat.

³² Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 219.

³³ Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 220.

As a matter of interest, a special statement concerning the food and feed supplies for Saxon troops in Lamač has been preserved. Based on it, we can predict how many soldiers were located there. In the period between 17 July and 15 November, 44,423 rations of bread were delivered, therefore, the unit could have consisted on average of 370 people. The supplies costs of bread, meat, beer, wine and feed for horses amounted to 40,802 guilders. Innkeeper Johann Georg asked 400 guilders for a daily care of the French Imperial Guard that consisted of 60 members. However, the town paid him only 200 guilders. There were also those, who were less fortunate. City stonemason Anton Dankó demanded 6,259 guilders for the construction of ovens for the Saxon army. The city was unable to pay such an amount.³⁴

Treatment of wounded and sick soldiers in Bratislava

The French paid the main attention to the care of their soldiers. Medical facilities were set up in each occupied territory, where it was possible or they occupied already existing facilities. The situation in Bratislava was no different. The best-equipped hospitals in the town were on the Castle Hill and in the Castle. The wounded were treated on Špitálska street (Spitalgasse) and in Water barracks (Wasserkaserne).³⁵ Soldiers suffered from feverish illnesses, to a lesser extent from sexually transmitted diseases and scabies.

Medical facilities did not have enough bed capacity and as a result, other buildings were occupied as well.

On 20 July, measures were taken to establish a central hospital and two nursing homes. From the magistrate's protocol we get to know that on the last day of July, the French demanded 600 pieces of shirt for soldiers treated in the hospital from citizens. A certain amount of shirts was handed over at short notice. Cloth and blankets were delivered by the castle administrator. Glass and other dishes were supplied by local glassmaker Hauer and pharmacist Johann Dobay.³⁶ The costs of J. Dobay's pharmacy accounted for 7,093 guilders and 32 kreuzers for the period between 22 September and 31 October.³⁷

We have a detailed statement about the supplies and operation of the Castle hospital at our disposal. When the shooting of the town took place, the building was seriously damaged since it was hit by 61 bombs and 11 grenades.³⁸ In order to be able to treat soldiers, it was necessary to repair it. First of all, it was necessary to glass more than 700 windows covered with paper.³⁹ The door, window frames and damaged floor had to be replaced and broken stoves repaired. It was important to obtain dishware, paper, stationery, dressing material, cleaning products, candles, shirts, containers and other equipment, and in the end, they succeeded. The Castle was supplied with water from

³⁴ Krisch, "Francia megzallás," 220 and 240.

³⁵ Krisch, "Francia megzallás," 231.

³⁶ Krisch, "Francia megzallás," 232.

³⁷ Krisch, "Francia megzallás," 232.

³⁸ Sofer, *Pressburg*, 68.

³⁹ Krisch, "Francia megzallás," 232.

the Danube. Two horses were at disposal for its transportation.⁴⁰ According to the records, the Castle hospital could have been working from 18 July. From this day until the end of July, 6,873 rations were provided to soldiers. One ration consisted of a soup with bun or bread, meat and wine. In August, 662 treated soldiers were provided with 32,518 rations. In September, 54,057 rations were provided to 450 soldiers. Johann Tumlert was charged with the provision of food. Based on the record from September 30, the repair, equipment and operation costs amounted to approximately 189,000 guilders, out of which 53,000 guilders were paid by the town.⁴¹ Regarding the number of treated people, we only have data from the Castle hospital at our disposal. We can estimate that the number of treated soldiers in war healthcare facilities in Bratislava exceeded 1,000 people. After the occupation of the town, hospitals were evacuated, but the patients, who could not be transported, had to be taken into account.

Damage and compensations for citizens of Bratislava

The shooting of the town caused damage to its inhabitants. Partial compensations were already delivered during its course. However, it was more about providing people with help to meet their everyday

vital needs. Many of them happened to be homeless. Frequent rains and storms worsened their situation even more because they caused further damage to already damaged houses.⁴² For example, Juliana Huber was paid 10 guilders and Leopold Flüger was paid 15 guilders by the town.⁴³

After the occupation of the town, unfortunate citizens asked the sovereign for help. One of them, Franciska Marsovszky was in a difficult situation. Her property was damaged not only as a result of January floods but also by artillery fires and brand. Out of a loan amounted to 2,700 guilders, she bought wood. It was taken from her by the French to build the bridge in Devínska Nová Ves (Theben-Neudorf).⁴⁴ Her situation worsened when she had to accommodate 3-4 officers and 6-7 ordinary soldiers. For expenditures amounting to 3,000 guilders she had to once again take out a loan. Urban clockmaker Michael Mayer and widow Magdalena Ott suffered the same hardship.⁴⁵ The Jewish quarter also suffered considerable damage. Rabbi Ch. Sofer calculated the damage at a sum of more than 23,000 guilders.⁴⁶ The most important reparations could begin at the beginning of November 1809. From the magistrate's protocol, we come to learn that the town approached two carpenters considering a repair of the parish church damaged by the shooting. One of them was

⁴⁰ This fact is interesting because at that time, the Castle already had a pumping unit. For more information: Ivan Houdek, "Napoleon v Bratislave v roku 1809," in *Bratislava: zborník múzea mesta Bratislavy*, ed. František Kalesný (Martin: Osveta, 1970), 392.

⁴¹ Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 232.

⁴² Bettelheim, "Ostreľovanie," 127.

⁴³ Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 240.

⁴⁴ Currently a quarter in Bratislava.

⁴⁵ Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 241-42.

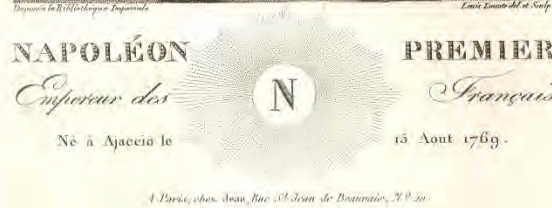
⁴⁶ Bettelheim, "Ostreľovanie," 131.

Michael Wittmann and the second Jakob Mahr. M. Wittmann was more successful because he was willing to carry out works about 104 guilders cheaper.⁴⁷ The city was even offered help from unoccupied territories. The cities of Banská Štiavnica (Schemnitz), Brezno (Bries) and Temesvár and even Spišská stolica (Szepes County) contributed 300,000 guilders. Taking into account the situation in Bratislava, the sum was rather symbolic.

Napoleon's visit to Bratislava

At the end of August 1809, the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte was to visit Bratislava. Only General J. Reynier was informed, on a confidential basis, about his visit. Even the *Preßburger Zeitung* newspaper did not inform about the event. The reason for his journey was the fear that the fighting would start again, as evidenced by the movements of the Austrian army. Therefore, Napoleon wanted to examine the state of the Hungarian fortresses in

person, in order to find out if they could withstand a possible Austrian attack.⁴⁸ Visits occurred without a welcoming ceremony and ethics that were maintained on similar occasions.⁴⁹



A century later, archivist Johann Bátka published an article dedicated to Napoleon's visit to Bratislava. He referred to several sources that confirm this fact.⁵⁰ First of all, there is a letter addressed to Marshal L. Berthier.⁵¹ Besides his planned journey to the military units that camped near Győr (Raab), in this letter, he wrote that he probably would come to Bratislava on his return journey from Győr during the night of 31 August to 1

September. He would get to the city and quickly inspect the Castle. He asked for maintaining the incognito. However, the visit took place already on his way to Győr, as evidenced by several sources.

⁴⁷ Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 243.

⁴⁸ Árpád Popély, "Miesto Uhorska v zahraničnej politike Francúzska v rokoch 1792-1812" (Master's thesis, Univerzita Komenského, 1993), 85.

⁴⁹ Hradský, *Napoleon*, s. 104.

⁵⁰ Johann Bátka, "Kaiser Napoleon I. in Preßburg," *Preßburger Zeitung* 146 (31 August 1909), 2-3.

⁵¹ Bonaparte to Louis Alexandre Berthier, 30 August 1809, Napoleon Bonaparte, *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier publiée par ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III* (Paris: Plon, 1866), No. 15 727, XIX, 475-76.

The historical source that confirms Napoleon's journey to Bratislava is the magistrate's protocol.⁵² According to this source, Napoleon came to Bratislava's flying bridge⁵³ from Vienna. He was subsequently led to the city to see the Castle and the Saxon army camp, accompanied by French generals and riders. After an hour's rest, he returned to the other bank and continued his journey to Győr. Some historians question Napoleon's visit.⁵⁴ Therefore, I would like to point out the contemporary document that confirms the event. I managed to find it in the chronicle of the Merciful Brothers and nobody has referred to it yet. It says: "It is worth mentioning that Napoleon visited the town Preßburg on 30 and 31 August, under certain circumstances, also the town Raab, but at night he again returned to

Schönbrunn."⁵⁵ In my opinion, the record confirms that Napoleon actually visited Bratislava. Interesting is, however, the date 30 August.

Napoleon was supposed to rest on the Donkey Hill (Eselberg).⁵⁶ From there, he could see the three-colored French flag raised on the top of Devínska Kobyla (Thebener Kogel), where the French army established a watchtower.⁵⁷ The place on the Donkey Hill was marked with a stone that bore the inscription N.Q. (Napoleon quiescebat = Napoleon rested). According to some opinions, it should have been Paul Rázga's⁵⁸ memorial stone, what J. Bátka considers to be improbable.⁵⁹ The stone is no longer at this place. It was to be removed during the reconstruction in the 1960s.⁶⁰

⁵² Vyčislík, "Napoleonské vojny," 245.

⁵³ There was no solid bridge in Bratislava, due to frequent floods. The Danube often burst its banks and it would have swept such a bridge away. Therefore, the transportation over the Danube was solved through so-called shuttle bridge, called flying bridge (fliegende Brücke). In the middle of the river, there was a long row of docked ships joined by ropes. A big ferryboat was fastened to the longest rope. When it turned, the stream of Danube easily carried it from one bank to the other. The shuttle bridge was safe, and boats automatically reacted to the raised water level and went up and down with it. When there was ice in the river or a flood occurred, the shuttle bridge was easily dismantled and put to safety.

⁵⁴ Vojtech Dangl and Vladimír Segeš, *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska: vol. 3 (1711-1914)* (Bratislava: MO SR, 1996), 73.

⁵⁵ Slovak Republic, Archív hlavného mesta SR Bratislavy [hereafter AMB], Oddelenie mestských fondov, fond Bratislavské kláštor, Milosrdní bratia, "Historia domus (1672-1948)", fol. 202 a.

⁵⁶ Its name is derived from the fact that long time ago donkeys used to graze there. They wore

drinking water in leather bags from nearby sources to the Castle. Houdek, "Napoleon," 392. The elevation was later named "Napoleon's hill" and three oaks were planted there. Currently, a multifunctional house Bonaparte is located there.

⁵⁷ Adelbert Müller, *Die Donau von ihrem Ursprung zu den Mündungen. Zugleich ein Handbuch für Reisende, welche diesen Strom befahren. Nach den verlässigen Quellen. II. Theil: Die untere Donau* (Regensburg: Georg Joseph Manz, 1846), 15.

⁵⁸ Paul Rázga (1798-1849), Evangelical priest of Slovak descent. After the outbreak of the Revolutions of 1848, he was a member of the National Guard. He participated in the campaign against the campaign of Slovak volunteers in September 1848, led by J. M. Hurban. He did not stop campaigning in favor of the revolution even after the occupation of Bratislava by the Emperor's army in December 1848. He was imprisoned and executed on the Donkey Hill.

⁵⁹ Bátka, "Kaiser Napoleon," 3.

⁶⁰ Jana Martinková, "Po Napoleonovi nezostane ani pamiatka," SME, published 8 October 2001, <http://bratislava.sme.sk/c/126059/po-napoleonovi-nezostane-ani-pamiatka.html>.

The only memory is the photograph in the collections of the Bratislava City Museum.

Information about the fact that Napoleon stopped in the town is also mentioned by Albert Schuermans. According to him, the Emperor departed at 2 a.m. on 31 August 1809, from Schönbrunn to Győr. On the way, he stopped in Bratislava, where he spent three hours exploring the Castle and its surroundings and then proceeded towards Győr.⁶¹ Another memory of Napoleon's visit is a tinted wine barrel from the possession of the city shooting force, on which is engraved the report about the event.⁶² Lajos Kemény recorded the recollection of Zsuzsánna Hirsch, owner of a distillery, who allegedly personally saw Napoleon and his escort in the town.⁶³

⁶¹ Albert Schuermans, *Itinéraire général de Napoleon Ier* (Paris: Jouve, 1911), 304.

⁶² The barrel is among the collections of the Bratislava City Museum. At the bottom, there is engraved a brief description of key events: "On June 1, 1809, the French arrived at the village of Engerau. On June 3 and 4, 1809, the town was bombarded by cannons. On June 26, 27 and 28, 1809, the town was bombarded and many houses were reduced to ashes. On July 14, 1809, the enemy troops came to Preßburg and on July 15 also came the Italian viceroy. In August 1809, Napoleon, the French Emperor, visited Preßburg. On October 14, peace was concluded. On November 20, 1809, the Saxons and French left the town. The same day, the Austrian imperial units came to the town. On November 22, 1809, our beloved Emperor and King Francis I. came to the town. On May 28, 1811, the royal castle in Preßburg and 75 houses on the Castle Hill and in Zuckermantel were destroyed by fire." For more information: Zuzana Francová, "Bakchus a kronika na cínovom súdku," *Pamiatky a múzeá – revue pre kultúrne dedičstvo* 42 (1993): 12-13.

⁶³ Lajos Kemény, *A Pozsony vár és váralja* (Bratislava: Lúč-Vydavateľské družstvo, 2002), 67.

The report about Napoleon's visit to Bratislava has been also preserved in the Jewish society in Bratislava. According to Emil Portisch, Napoleon rode through the Jewish ghetto on 31 August without informing the crew and magistrate.⁶⁴ Based on the preserved tradition, he was supposed to summon Rabbi Ch. Sofer and debate with him.⁶⁵ Apparently, it is just a legend. Rabbi Ch. Sofer did not mention this event at all. After visiting Bratislava, Napoleon was then led to the side of Petržalka. He was supposed to stop once more in the Janko Kráľ city park. It is believed that he stood under a poplar. However, it is highly unlikely that any objective evidence exists.⁶⁶ According to Jaroslav Gustafík, the tree has been in this place since the

⁶⁴ Emil Portisch, *Geschichte der Stadt Bratislava-Pressburg: vol. 1* (Bratislava: Steiner, 1933), 321.

⁶⁵ Hradský, *Napoleon*, 107.

⁶⁶ It is worth mentioning a nonexistent monument dedicated to five French soldiers (probably officers) who died in 1809. It consisted of a low pedestal, on which stood a rectangular higher cube. It was located on the right bank of the Danube behind Starý most (Old bridge) in the vicinity of the former swimming pool Lido that was in the quarter called Elýzium (from the Greek – home of the blessed after death; a place where the French buried their dead). On the front side of the monument was an inscription both in French and Slovak language: "Here lie the remnants of five French soldiers, who fell in this region in the June fights in 1809. Based on memoirs provided to me by J. Gustafík, the monument was destroyed during the bombing of Bratislava on 16 June 1944. Therefore, the information mentioned by V. Obuchová that the monument stood there in the 1970s can be considered incorrect. For more details: Obuchová, *Príbehy*, 168. According to J. Gustafík, the monument attracted the attention of both the Czechoslovak and the French side. A reference about the monument and its photograph was published by A. Vyčislík. Alojz Vyčislík, *Vojenské*

1960s.⁶⁷ Napoleon left Bratislava and went to Győr to see the fortification and the crew. He returned to Schönbrunn on 1 September.

The fact that Napoleon regarded Bratislava and its surroundings as a strategically important point is evident from his letters and orders. He ordered Marshal Auguste Marmont to carry out a thorough inspection of Carpathian foothills and terrain reconnaissance at Bratislava along the Danube.⁶⁸ In the next order, he mentioned the observation of the Bratislava surroundings and the construction of fortifications at Prievoz (Oberufer) and fortifications for the protection of the road from Vienna to Bratislava on the section Schlosshof-Bratislava.⁶⁹ In the letter dated 5 September, Napoleon ordered General J. Reynier to build bridges at Devín and Bratislava and to carry out relevant fortification works. At the same time, he was commanded to find a suitable terrain in front of Bratislava for “a nice battlefield for the army of 150,000.”⁷⁰ The battlefield was supposed to lie between the Carpathians on

the left and the Danube on the right. Napoleon elaborated on even more detailed tactical variants, which he described in the order. Taking into account the properties of the terrains, he also wanted to find such places for fortifications which would allow raids in different directions and which would excellently protect his military forces. It is also interesting to note that Napoleon announced his visit to Bratislava in the letter: “As soon as you carefully think about these plans and examine sites, I will myself come to Preßburg to get acquainted with the progress of the work....”⁷¹

Citizens of Bratislava brought to justice in front of the French military court

The French army strictly punished those who violated the rules of war, as evidenced by documents from the Hungarian territory. For example, in Vašská stolica (Vas County), both fighting sides executed people accused of espionage, whether it concerned soldiers or civilians.⁷² The French military court was also active against the citizens of Bratislava. In this case, the matter was related to another

pamiatky Bratislavy (Bratislava: Obzor, 1974), 100. The monument is also mentioned by Ješek Hoffmann and Klement Ptačovský, who mentioned it as a grave of a French officer from the Napoleonic Wars. Ješek Hoffmann and Klement Ptačovský, *Bratislava s okolím a Malé Karpaty* (Praha: Dr. K. Dvořák, 1922), 20. For more information: Dangl and Segeš, *Vojenské dejiny*, 73.; Špirko and Lupták, “Obrana,” 23.

⁶⁷ Jaroslav Gustafík, *Spomienky Staropetržalčana* (Bratislava: MÚ MČ Bratislava-Petržalka, 2000), 174. The tree stood next to the restaurant Au Café. I. Houdek pointed out that it still stood there around 1970. Houdek, “Napoleon,” 393. Historian Pavěk Dvořák states

that the tree was cut down after 1945. Pavel Dvořák, *Štvrtá kniha o Bratislave* (Budmerice: Rak Budmerice, 2011), 173-75.

⁶⁸ Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de Marmont (1774-1852), in 1809 he commanded XI. Army Corps.

⁶⁹ Currently a quarter in Bratislava.

⁷⁰ Bonaparte to Jean Reynier, 5 September 1809, *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, No. 15 756, XIX, 503-04.

⁷¹ Bonaparte to Jean Reynier, 5 September 1809, *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*, No. 15 756, XIX, 504.

⁷² Krisch, “Francia megszállás,” 230.

issue. Rabbi Ch. Sofer states: "... On days of big battles, the fields were full of human corpses, like 'manure in the field.' Weapons and armaments lay loose for people to collect, pheasants collected them and brought them by thousands to the Jews for sale...."⁷³ Through the sale of free weapons, the inhabitants sought an opportunity to get some money. From the *Wiener Zeitung* newspaper, we come to know that a big amount of weapons was found buried in the ground near Vienna. A total of 10,000 rifles were seized and transported to Bratislava.⁷⁴ Several million in guilders and Bankozettels and a large number of Austrian government securities faced the same fate.⁷⁵ The *Wiener Zeitung* newspaper further states:

*His Majesty [Napoleon] is favorably inclined to reward every person, who will help to uncover such matters and is determined to give a quarter of a price of discovered items to those who will provide information about rifles, ammunition, uniforms, Bankozettels and other assets and financial resources that belong to the Austrian government.*⁷⁶

It was possible to give a statement in writing or orally to provincial intendant,

chief intendant, provincial governor or French intermediary.

Rabbi Ch. Sofer in his memoirs states: "A man was found here [in the Jewish community] named Mordechaj Oberbreit who endangered himself and others because he was buying these weapons and sent entire wagons to our Lord, Emperor to Pest and conducted it all publicly."⁷⁷ He continues:

When the enemy units that were camping here found it out, they captured him and "he approached the gates of death," and on the feast day of Jom Kipur, ten men from Stupava, who were arrested because of him, were brought here and thanks to God who saved their village, because they intended to devastate and plunder and God has thwarted their decision.⁷⁸

Rabbi Ch. Sofer did not record the course of the trial or its outcome.

The decision of the French military court I managed to find shed some more light on the matter. The court was on the order of the French Emperor in session on 25 September 1809. Members of the commission were Chartre, Thomas, Gargam, Charlot, Jarlot, Begarlé

⁷³ Bettelheim, "Ostrel'ovanie," 132.

⁷⁴ *Wiener Zeitung* 107 (9 September 1809), title unpaginated page.

⁷⁵ Bankozettels were the first paper money used in the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy. They were introduced between 1761 and 1762 under the reign of Maria Theresa.

⁷⁶ *Wiener Zeitung* 107 (9 September 1809), title unpaginated page.

⁷⁷ When the French military patrol stopped him, he allegedly did not deny selling weapons to the Austrian army. Sofer, *Pressburg*, 83. Pest is currently part of Budapest.

⁷⁸ Bettelheim, "Ostrel'ovanie," 132. P. Ambros in his translation mentioned 20 men. Peter Ambros, "Rabínovo svedectvo o obliehaní Prešporka v lete 1809," *Historický časopis* 47 (1999): 509.

and Jossa.⁷⁹ They were appointed by the Governor and the Austrian Ambassador to France, Antoine François Andreóssy.⁸⁰ The aim of the commission was to judge rifle shooters from Bratislava, Frédéric Tugend and George Schwartz, Jewish merchant living in Bratislava, Marcus Obernbreit,⁸¹ and citizen of Bratislava of Jewish descent, Simon Joseph. They were accused of trade in weapons with the intention of selling them to the enemy. Moreover, rifle shooters from Vienna, Étienne Weiss and Jean Benntz, were accused of being accessories to the crime.⁸²

The accused were brought in freely and without irons. After their examination, the commission unanimously found F. Tugend and M. Obernbreit guilty because they were not able to state anything to their defense.⁸³

⁷⁹ Slovak Republic, AMB, Oddelenie mestských fondov, fond Magistrát mesta Bratislavy, Spisový materiál (II. manipulačné obdobie), Inventory number 13179, Box 1039, "Rozsudok francúzskeho vojenského súdu nad bratislavskými obyvateľmi (tresty smrti)," fol. 1.

⁸⁰ Antoine François Andreóssy (1761-1828), French General and statesman. From the beginning of Napoleon's ascent, he was in his service. After the Treaties of Tilsit, he took up the post of the ambassador in Austria. In 1809, he was military governor of Vienna during the French occupation. See Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 230.

⁸¹ It is possible to find other variants of the surname. In the sentence, he was stated as Obernbreyt. S. Bettelheim mentions the name Mordechaj Oberbreit. Bettelheim, "Ostreľovanie," 132. P. Ambros mentions the name Mordechaj Obran Brajt. Ambros, "Rabínovo svedectvo," 509.

⁸² Slovak Republic, AMB, Oddelenie mestských fondov, fond Magistrát mesta Bratislavy, Spisový materiál (II. manipulačné obdobie), Inventory number 13179, Box 1039, "Rozsudok francúzskeho vojenského súdu nad bratislavskými obyvateľmi (tresty smrti)," fol. 1.

⁸³ Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 230.

The other accused were found innocent. Based on the second part, first section and fourth article of the Military Code of Criminal Procedure,⁸⁴ F. Tugend and M. Obernbreit were sentenced to death. F. Tugend sent his family a goodbye letter, which they received on 3 October 1809.⁸⁵ In it, he asked the magistrate to take care of his wife and children. Even though the *Preßburger Zeitung* and *Wiener Zeitung* newspapers did not inform about the trial, the report about it can be found in other historical periodicals.⁸⁶

I managed to find interesting information about the fate of F. Tugend and M. Obernbreit in the diary of Theodor Behrend.⁸⁷ A representative of local weapons manufacturers, Kalno, approached him and asked him to write a

⁸⁴ "Every maneuver, any cooperation with enemies of France, even an attempt to facilitate their arrival into the French Empire, such as handing over of cities, fortifications, ports, shops or armory that belong to France, provision of military assistance, money, food or ammunition, or support of the advancement of their weaponry in any way to the French territory against our land and naval forces or undermining the loyalty of officers, soldiers and other citizens of the French nation, will be punished with death." Slovak Republic, AMB, Oddelenie mestských fondov, fond Magistrát mesta Bratislavy, Spisový materiál (II. manipulačné obdobie), Inventory number 13179, Box 1039, "Rozsudok francúzskeho vojenského súdu nad bratislavskými obyvateľmi (tresty smrti)," fol. 1.

⁸⁵ Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 230.

⁸⁶ For more information: *Baierische National-Zeitung* 3 (10 October 1809), 988; *Journal de l'Empire* 5 (7 October 1809), 2; *Nouvelles littéraires et politiques* 13 (12 October 1809), 3.

⁸⁷ Theodor Behrend (1789-1851), of Prussian descent. He was in the French service in Gdansk. In 1809, he went to Vienna, which was occupied by the French, where he worked as a translator and interpreter.

letter in French to the defense of the accused. Young and inexperienced T. Behrend thought about the possibility to help the accused, but on the other hand, to improve his situation and in the end, he accepted the offer despite the fear. He was given complete paperwork. The most important document was the report written by the Governor A. Andreóssy addressed to Marshal L. Berthier. The report stated that the French had seized several ships with weapons and ammunition that were destined for the Austrian army and their owners F. Tugend and M. Obernbreit had been arrested. The report was submitted to Napoleon. He wrote on the margin of the report: "Bring these people in before the war council that will likely sentence them to death."⁸⁸ T. Behrend subsequently wrote the letter. Kalno thanked him for this service with a check for 1,000 guilders. In the court, the letter was read verbatim by the appointed defense attorney. T. Behrend was supposed to read the convicts their sentence at the execution site. For unknown reasons, however, the execution warrant remained unfulfilled. T. Behrend stated that in a couple of days after cannon shots announced that peace was concluded, both convicts and other prisoners were released. The whole matter was concluded with the words: "Naturally, I was pleased

with the result and felt that 1,000 guilders in my pocket were suddenly much lighter."⁸⁹

In the Jewish society in Bratislava, the hearsay was spread that even Rabbi Ch. Sofer was brought in before the French military court because he decided the dispute between traders of weapons.⁹⁰ General,⁹¹ who grew up in the same house as Rabbi Ch. Sofer in Frankfurt am Main, was supposed to take part in the court.⁹² The General was allegedly disobedient as a child. His mother envied happy mother of decent and diligent Moshe and complained about her son.⁹³ That troubled Moshe. He sought his peer and told him to do better. It worked and the boy was suddenly different. He studied hard and achieved a great carrier. When Rabbi Ch. Sofer stood before the court, the general rose from his chair and exclaimed: "Moshe, is it really you?" Without any accusation, he accompanied him home with reverence.⁹⁴ Rabbi Ch. Sofer did not mention this event.

Financial situation in Bratislava

On 23 July, the French announced through Bratislavská stolica that they had imposed a war tax of 1,505,883 francs and 13/57 centimes.⁹⁵ The town was burdened with 2/5 that amounted to 602,352 francs and 4/5

⁸⁸ Raimund, Behrend, *Aus dem Tagebuch meines Vater Theodor Behrend in Danzig* (Königsberg: Ostpreußische Zeitungs- und Verlags-Druckerei, 1896), 41.

⁸⁹ Behrend, *Aus dem Tagebuch*, 42.

⁹⁰ Bettelheim, "Ostreľovanie," 136.

⁹¹ On the other hand, A. Finkel mentions that he was Lieutenant Pauli de Montfort. Sofer, *Pressburg*, 84.

⁹² Bettelheim, "Ostreľovanie," 136.

⁹³ Bettelheim, "Ostreľovanie," 136. A. Finkel, for a change, states that the future officer asked Rabbi Ch. Sofer for German lessons and to repay him, he would help with chores. In this way, their strong friendship was supposed to create. Sofer, *Pressburg*, 84.

⁹⁴ Bettelheim, "Ostreľovanie," 136.

⁹⁵ Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 224. Rabbi Ch. Sofer mentions 1,800,000 guilders. Bettelheim, "Ostreľovanie," 130.

centimes.⁹⁶ This sum was actually paid probably in September or October. Shortly after the tax started to be collected, on 27 July, the town treasury was emptied. The city council, therefore, invited citizens to lend money on a voluntary basis. However, it retained the power to exact loans in a violent way. In order for the city to abide the war tax payments deadlines, it had to eventually proceed to the forced collection of loans. There was a bond issued to everyone for a paid loan. In exchange for it, they could get money back, but after a long time. When on 23 August, the payments of the war tax still did not proceed, the magistrate began to urge payments. It pointed out that otherwise, the French army would organize the collection of the war tax.⁹⁷ The citizens were also informed that the city would accept gold, silver and conventional gold and silver coins.⁹⁸ As evidence, the amount of money of

population decreased significantly.

In September, the city was unable to provide for the troops. It was so badly in debt that it would take them a hundred years to repay the loans. This led to exploitation of citizens. The unfavorable

financial situation continued even at the beginning of October. Many failed to pay the forced loans and no one was willing to borrow voluntary.

The magistrate, therefore, resorted to an unprecedented solution to offer those, who could secure the loan for the city, one-time reward with a 6 percent interest.⁹⁹ For a more detailed depiction of the situation in the town, there is a court decision dated 2 October, I managed to find. It states that a state building, despite

repeated reminders from the magistrate, did not pay a loan in the amount of 173,000 guilders. The court decision shows that the state building, under the threat of execution, “undertakes to pay the



⁹⁶ When converting the amount to guilders, the sum is higher, since 1 franc corresponded to 1 guilder and 16 kreuzers.

⁹⁷ Krisch, “Francia megszállás,” 226.

⁹⁸ Conventional currency (Conventionelle Münze) was a monetary system introduced at the beginning of the second half of the Eighteenth

Century in the Habsburg Monarchy and Bavaria. The principles were defined by a coinage treaty (convention) signed by representatives of both states on 21 September 1753. It expired on 27 April 1858.

⁹⁹ Krisch, “Francia megszállás,” 227.

mentioned forced war loan within 2 times 24 hours from the day and hour of the delivery of this decision....”¹⁰⁰

On 2 November, the magistrate attempted to disclaim a generally widespread report by a declaration signed by Vice Notary Michael Mayer. According to hearsay, by concluding peace under the Treaty of Schönbrunn, the war tax did not have to be paid anymore. The statement, the copy of which I managed to find, says:

*... The city magistrate, on the explicit instruction of his Excellency's Royal Commissioner deems it necessary to explain that allegations of unauthorized interpreters of the peace treaty [...] are not only incorrect, but given the same, still unworthy conditions of the town Preßburg, which cannot obtain monetary contribution needed for the provision of the imperial and royal French and Saxon troops in any other way, only through self-sacrifice, cannot be used under any circumstances.*¹⁰¹

It was also noted that those, who had not paid the war tax yet, were obligated to do so without delay, otherwise, it would have to be exacted under the threat of execution. It is worth mentioning the Article 6 of the Treaty of Schönbrunn, which states: “... all war contributions, of whatever denomination, previously imposed on the

Austrian provinces occupied by the French and allied troops [as a result of a reciprocal agreement] shall cease from the day of the exchange of the ratifications.”¹⁰² Given the difficult financial situation, the magistrate tried to give an impression that it was an obligation to pay war loans. However, those were probably unnecessary to pay. The *Preßburger Zeitung* newspaper published the magistrate's report:

*By a notice issued by the local famous city magistrate, on the order of the imperial commissioner, unauthorized interpreters of the peace treaty, who believe that it also includes the cancellation of forced loans intended to cover the expenses of the French and Saxon soldiers, are being punished, because the abolition of citizens' obligations for a daily provision for the army are not incorporated in any agreement of the negotiating parties.*¹⁰³

The chronicle of the Merciful Brothers brings evidence that forced loans did not circumvent even the mentioned order. It says that the monastery was obliged to pay 3,250 guilders. Even complaints addressed to the city council and the county did not help. Under the threat of execution, the monastery was finally forced to pay the demanded amount at the beginning of

¹⁰⁰ Slovak Republic, AMB, Oddelenie mestských fondov, fond Magistrát mesta Bratislavy, Spisový materiál (II. manipulačné obdobie), Inventory number 13316, Box 1409, “Súdne rozhodnutie”, fol. 1.

¹⁰¹ Slovak Republic, AMB, Oddelenie mestských fondov, fond Magistrát mesta

Bratislavy, Spisový materiál (II. manipulačné obdobie), Inventory number 13316, Box 1409, “Vyhlásenie magistrátu”, fol. 1.

¹⁰² *Preßburger Zeitung* 45 (27 October 1809), 815-16.

¹⁰³ *Preßburger Zeitung* 45 (7 November 1809), 841.

October in the form of silver items.¹⁰⁴

The Jewish community in Podhradie (Zuckermantel) of the city represented a specific chapter. It had to pay 52,500 guilders within the required period. However, they asked to defer the payment, which the city council had to deal with. They forgave them 10,000 guilders but demanded the remaining amount to be paid within ten days.¹⁰⁵ Representatives of the Jewish community, Israel Brüll and Salamon Pollack, announced that they were unable to pay that sum. They could only afford to pay 24,000 guilders, with which the city finally agreed. The first half of the sum was required to be paid within three days and the other within six days.¹⁰⁶

The Treaty of Schönbrunn and the departure of the occupying troops from Bratislava

Bratislava continued to endure the presence of the French and Saxon troops. The Saxon army camping on the Račianska street (Ratsdorfer Strasse) received double rations of food and wine from the citizens. On 26 September, the news spread that

Napoleon was to visit Bratislava. The announced visit, however, did not take place.¹⁰⁷ As we come to learn from the *Wiener Zeitung* newspaper, at that time, the French repaired the road to the dam towards Vienna because it was damaged by the flood in January.¹⁰⁸

On 14 October, Austria and France signed the Treaty of Schönbrunn. The Austrian Empire thus entered the most difficult period in its history.¹⁰⁹ For Austria, peace was a great humiliation.¹¹⁰ For a long time, the empire was in a role of secondary power.¹¹¹ The wars with France exhausted its economy and the state was headed for financial bankruptcy.¹¹²

In Bratislava, they found out about the conclusion of peace on 15 October. The end of the war was announced to citizens by 60 cannon shots. General J. Reynier organized a rich feast, where he welcomed the Brigadier general V. Bianchi. The fortifications built by the French troops in Bratislava were obliterated.¹¹³ The import of goods into the city was restored. However, it did not lead to price reduction.

¹⁰⁴ Slovak Republic, Archív hlavného mesta SR Bratislavy [hereafter AMB], Oddelenie mestských fondov, fond Bratislavské kláštor, Milosrdní bratia, "Historia domus (1672-1948)", fol. 201 b.-02 a.

¹⁰⁵ Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 229. Even Rabbi Ch. Sofer reports about the fact that the Jewish community was obliged to pay 40,000 guilders. For more information: Sofer, *Pressburg*, 130.

¹⁰⁶ Krisch, "Francia megszállás," 229.

¹⁰⁷ Wagnerová, "Bratislava," 22.

¹⁰⁸ *Wiener Zeitung* 107 (13 October 1809), title unpaginated page.

¹⁰⁹ Josef Polišenský, *Napoleon a srdce Evropy* (Praha: Svoboda, 1971), 97.

¹¹⁰ Vladimír Segeš et al., *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska a Slovákov* (Bratislava: Ottovo nakladateľstvo, 2015), 169.

¹¹¹ Vladimír Segeš et al., *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska a Slovákov slovom a obrazom* (Bratislava: MO SR v spolupráci s VHÚ, 2013), 136.

¹¹² Miroslav Broft, *Vojenské dejiny Československa: vol. 2 (1526-1918)* (Praha: Naše vojsko, 1986), 273. The bankruptcy occurred on March 15, 1811. Peter Podolan and Miriam Viršínská, *Slovenské dejiny III. 1780-1914* (Bratislava: Literárne a informačné centrum, 2015), 33.

¹¹³ Vyčislík, "Napoleonské vojny," 247.

Citizens were disappointed that despite the peace, they were still obliged to pay forced loans for the provision of the French and Saxon troops. Based on the peace treaty, the troops left Bratislava during 14-19 November. The occupation of the city ended on 20 November.¹¹⁴ On 22 November, the Emperor I visited Bratislava. Before his visit, the city had donated 4,000 guilders to cover the national expenditure. Already on 20 November, the Emperor wrote a letter of thanks to the magistrate. He pointed out that he was very grateful for the donation because he knew how much the city had suffered during the war.¹¹⁵

Peace, however, was not restored in Bratislava even after the end of 1809. On 14 January 1810, the city was hit by an earthquake, epicenter of which was near the town Mór.¹¹⁶ Damage in Bratislava was not significant. The earthquake, however, caused panic among the citizens that had suffered so much. The same suffering Győr was also hit by the earthquake, where several buildings were damaged. In conclusion, it can be stated that since the population census in 1787, the total population decreased by 10,000 by 1814.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Wagnerová, "Bratislava," 24.

¹¹⁵ *Wiener Zeitung* 107 (6 December 1809), 3397.

¹¹⁶ Jan Kozák and Ivan Prachař, "First macroseismic map in transalpine Europe (1810 Mór

earthquake in the Pannonian Basin)," *Studia Geophysica et Geodaetica* 54 (2010): 339.

¹¹⁷ Darina Lehotská and Ján Pleva, *Dejiny Bratislavy* (Bratislava: Obzor, 1966), 185.

Mass Graves of the Battle of Znojmo/Znaim 1809

by Jaromír Kovárník¹

Introduction

We are returning to our find of soldier mass graves from the Battle of Znojmo/Znaim (see fig. 1) in 1809. In spring 2004, the building operation of the Interspar hypermarket in Znojmo, Brněnská Street, was carried out directly in the battlefield.

The Battle of Znojmo/Znaim took place on 10 and 11 July 1809 was an important part of the military operations of the Napoleonic Wars. It followed an important Battle at Wagram in Lower Austria from (from 5 to 6 July) between Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte and Austrian Emperor Franz I. This war campaign was the culmination of efforts not only to occupy the Spanish throne. Napoleon Bonaparte at that time had already played a much larger game (not just Spain) and increased his influence.² The analysis of the Battle of Znojmo/Znaim in 1809, however, was the theme of the J. Wismar's, J. Gill's and L. Mucha's etc. studies.³ So we are just giving a very brief

sequence of battle. Archduke Carl retreated after the lost battle at Wagram via Korneuburg, Stockerau, Hollabrunn and Schöngrabern with troops through Moravia to Bohemia. He was still able to lead another combat action. It was shown in a combat operation in the eastern and southern approaches to the town of Znojmo/Znaim. (The Austrian Emperor Franz I, however, already sent to Napoleon the Marshal, Prince Johann of Liechtenstein with a ceasefire offer on 7 July, but he arrived until 11 July at the time of the fighting). The Austrian troops, in the number of about 60,000 soldiers, occupied the defensive positions of the town of Znojmo/Znaim in the shape of an arc from the south through the east to the north from the village Oblekovice/Oblas in the south via Dobšice/Klein Teßswitz in the southeast, Suchohrdly/Zuckerhandl in the east, Kuchařovice/Kukrowitz in the northeast to Přímětice/Brenditz in the north (see fig. 2 and 3-4).⁴ The General Staff

¹ Department of Archaeology, Philosophical Faculty, University of Hradec Králové, Rokitanského 62, 500 03 Hradec Králové, Czech Republic.

² Marc Ferro, *Dějiny Francie* (Praha: Z francouzského originálu *History of France* vydaného v nakladatelství Odile Jacob v roce 2001, přeložily Jitka Matějů a Doubravka Olšáková, 2006), 189-90.

³ For details see Josef Wisnar, *Die Schlacht bei Znaim im Jahre 1809. Ein Gedenkblatt den Manen der wackeren Kämpfer vom 10. und 11. Juli 1809 gewidmet. Jahresbericht des k. k. Gymnasiums in Znaim für das Schuljahr 1909/1910* (Znaim, 1910); John H Gill, *With Eagles to Glory. Napoleon and his*

German Allies in the 1809 Campaign (London – Novato, California: Greenhill Books, London, Presidio Press, California, 1992), 48, 56-8, 110, 114, 116, 201, 205-07, 211, 238, 242-43, 358, 482, and 484; Ladislav Mucha, *Bíva u Znojma 10. a 11. července 1809. Vydáno při příležitosti odhalení pomníku padlým a zemřelým v obci Dobšice* (Znojmo, 2002).

⁴ Cf. P. Rehm, (map) *Schlacht bei Znaim zwischen der k. k. französischen und k. k. österreichischen Armée, den 11 ten Jul. 1809. von vormittags 11, bis abends 9 Uhr. – Bataille de Znaim entre l'Armée J. R. autrichienne et J. K. française, le 11. e Juil. 1809* (C. Timlich, ed.) M. 1 75 000 (Wien: Institute and Museum of Military History. H IV a

of the Austrian troops was established in the farm of Count Ugarte in Přímětice/Brenditz (see fig. 5). Archduke Carl housed the adjacent presbytery since 9 July (see fig. 6). A parish priest wrote to the chronicle that there was a banquet for 300 official guests in twelve rooms from 9 am to 10 pm. All the houses in Přímětice/Brenditz were abandoned.

Between Znojmo/Znaim and the village of Přímětice/Brenditz, we discovered the field relics of the Austrian army's artillery (see fig. 7). The chasing XI Army of Marshal August Frederic Louis Marmont reinforced by the 2nd Bavarian Division (Commander Major General Franz von Minucci, representing the wounded Lieutenant General Carl Philipp von Wrede) and later also the army corps IV under the command of Marshal André Masséna advanced in the direction of Nový Šaldorf/Neu-Schallersdorf, Oblekovice/Oblas and

Dobšice/Klein Teßwitz. The French emperor, who arrived with the main military forces later, planned to bypass the Austrian troops from northeast through the village of Suchohrdly/Zuckerhandl towards Přímětice/Brenditz (see fig. 8). However, this plan was not implemented because a ceasefire was concluded. The fighting ended at eight o'clock in the evening.⁵ General Berthier and General Wimpfen signed a truce in Suchohrdly/Zuckerhandl in the farmhouse "Rother Hof" early in the morning of 12 July 1809 (see fig. 9).



Marshal August Frederic Louis Marmot

In Znojmo/Znaim, Kovářská Street no. 19, a parchment (dating to 1842) was discovered with a memorial record of the then owner of the burgher house Jahann Höck. It states in the parchment document that Marshal Masséna attacked the city several times. Major Count Salis, commander of the battalion of the Viennese military volunteers, fought of the attacks. The French troops occupied the Brno and Znojmo region

1265; 1700-1820; 1809-1810?); internet source [*Jahresbericht des k. k. Gymnasiums in Znaim für das Schuljahr 1909/1910* \(Znaim, 1910\)](https://maps.hungaricana.hu/en/HTITerkeptar/25706/?list=eyJmaWx0ZXJzIjogey.IQSUMiOiBbIIIUy.IdfSwgInF1ZXJ5IjogIkhIRVI9KEhUSUhpZX.IhcmNoeS00NCkiLCAic29ydCI6ICJSRUNOVU0ifQ; Josef Wisnar, <i>Die Schlacht bei Znaim im Jahre 1809. Ein Gedenkblatt den Manen der wackeren Kämpfer vom 10. und 11. Juli 1809 gewidmet.</i></p></div><div data-bbox=)

⁵ Pavel Bělina, Milan Hlavačka, Daniela, *Války s revoluční a napoleonskou Francií. IV. Od Slavkova k Wagramu. IV/1 Krach čtvrté a formování páté protifrancouzské koalice. Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české* (Praha–Litomyšl: Paseka, 2013) 109-18 (116).

for 110 days after signing the ceasefire. Homeowners (in Znojmo) had to support 2, 4, 6, 10 or more French soldiers at a good level. The document also states that the French as enemies behaved well.⁶ It should be added that Marshal Marmont had great merit for the victory of the French troops at the Battle of Znojmo/Znaim. The Battle of Znojmo/Znaim in 1809 was also the subject of the picture by the painter Friedrich Wilhelm L'Allemand, Archduke Charles who created in 1845 (see fig. 10).⁷

We will therefore return to our archaeological themes. Six mass graves



Archduke Charles

with fallen 57 soldiers and one woman we found at the edge of the left terrace the Thaya River along the road leading from Northeast to Southwest from the village of Starý Šaldorf/Alt-Schallersdorf on the southern suburbs of Znojmo/Znaim to the village of

Dobšice/Klein Teßwitz (see fig. 11-12). We excavated the mass graves no. I-VI to save these graves for destruction during construction work. In the course of their scientific evaluation, we have gained new information on both the reconstruction of the battle, the soldiers' health and the form of mass graves.⁸

⁶ Zdeněk Bína, *Pamětní zápis nalezený při opravě domu v Kovářské ulici ve Znojmě. Ročenka Okresního archivu ve Znojmě 1988* (Znojmo: Okresní archiv ve Znojmě, 1988), 40-42.

⁷ This canvas depicts the scene of the Battle of the Austrian battalion of Lieutenant Colonel Count Leiningen, with a French infantry at the bridge over the Dyje River, behind the complex of the former Premonstratensian monastery in Louka/Kloster Bruck near Znojmo/Znaim. The picture captures the short captivity of Brigadier General Destabenrath, Brigadier General Lazowski (Lasouski/Lasowski/Lazouski) and General Fririon. ([https://www.google.cz/search?q=Friedrich+Wilhelm+LpercentC2percentB4Allemand&tbn=isch&tbs=rimg:CVuMtC56e82HIjhsMABqOLM_1y8QQdsQqwWLB50yJgTZl2YrBPSp9O8z6VncH99CoLt-](https://www.google.cz/search?q=Friedrich+Wilhelm+LpercentC2percentB4Allemand&tbn=isch&tbs=rimg:CVuMtC56e82HIjhsMABqOLM_1y8QQdsQqwWLB50yJgTZl2YrBPSp9O8z6VncH99CoLt-3vY4JZq4LhSGIRcaMGmHKWioSCWwwAGo4sz_1LEcYjwVqIXZncKhIJxBB2xCrBYtsR1CDbyBDnZfoqEggnTImBNmXZihFJY_1MgpKxecioSCeE9Kn07zPpWEXkRYGECgSluKhIJdwf30Kgu37cRdFWbEs1L8NUqEgm9jglmrquFIRGnBM1g2PipLioSCYhFxowaYcpaEc9PZiOOOMoQ&tbo=u&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjq-dzK_qXdAhVQ_aQKHxjYBjUQ9C96BAgBEBg&biw=1366&bih=700&dpr=1#imgrc=W4y0Lnp7zYdZXM:)

[3vY4JZq4LhSGIRcaMGmHKWioSCWwwAGo4sz_1LEcYjwVqIXZncKhIJxBB2xCrBYtsR1CDbyBDnZfoqEggnTImBNmXZihFJY_1MgpKxecioSCeE9Kn07zPpWEXkRYGECgSluKhIJdwf30Kgu37cRdFWbEs1L8NUqEgm9jglmrquFIRGnBM1g2PipLioSCYhFxowaYcpaEc9PZiOOOMoQ&tbo=u&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjq-dzK_qXdAhVQ_aQKHxjYBjUQ9C96BAgBEBg&biw=1366&bih=700&dpr=1#imgrc=W4y0Lnp7zYdZXM:](https://www.google.cz/search?q=Friedrich+Wilhelm+LpercentC2percentB4Allemand&tbn=isch&tbs=rimg:CVuMtC56e82HIjhsMABqOLM_1y8QQdsQqwWLB50yJgTZl2YrBPSp9O8z6VncH99CoLt-3vY4JZq4LhSGIRcaMGmHKWioSCWwwAGo4sz_1LEcYjwVqIXZncKhIJxBB2xCrBYtsR1CDbyBDnZfoqEggnTImBNmXZihFJY_1MgpKxecioSCeE9Kn07zPpWEXkRYGECgSluKhIJdwf30Kgu37cRdFWbEs1L8NUqEgm9jglmrquFIRGnBM1g2PipLioSCYhFxowaYcpaEc9PZiOOOMoQ&tbo=u&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjq-dzK_qXdAhVQ_aQKHxjYBjUQ9C96BAgBEBg&biw=1366&bih=700&dpr=1#imgrc=W4y0Lnp7zYdZXM:)).

⁸ See Jaromír Kovárník, *Hypermarket Interspar: Závěrečná nálezová zpráva ze záchranného archeologického výzkumu 5/04. Final Finding Report from the rescue archaeological excavation 5 / 04* (Znojmo: Archive of the South Moravian Museum of Znojmo, 2004).

This is the place of the encounter between Marshal Marmont's (the so-called Dalmatian) XI Army with the support of the Bavarian military units and the army of the V Corps of Prince Heinrich Reuß von Plauen south of Znojmo/Znaim in the area of the bridge over Thaya (see fig. 13-14) and its blind shoulders between the villages of Oblekovice/Oblas and Nový Šaldorf/Alt-Schallersdorf (see fig. 12.1) and the fords at the villages Bohumilice/Pumlitz (see fig. 12.2), Dobšice/Klein Teßwitz (see fig. 12.3), Sedlešovice/Edelspitz (see fig. 12.4) and Louka/Kloster Bruck (see fig. 12.5).

Methods and Aims of the Article

We have carried out research into archaeological situations in the mass graves of soldiers killed at the Battle of Znojmo/Znaim in 1809. We have described the shape of these mass graves. We analyzed individual archaeological finds from mass graves. We also

described the results of anthropological analyses of skeletons of fallen soldiers. We also described the results of the anthropological analyses of the skeletons of the fallen soldiers, which mainly concerned their age and body height. We have published statistical results of this data. We

also mentioned the illnesses and injuries that the anthropologists found on the skeletons of the fallen soldiers.

Description of the Place of Finding

Mass graves were violated in Znojmo/Znaim, Brněnská Street 2937/21 about 1.81 kilometers from the town centre (from the town hall) on the south-eastern edge of the cadastral area (see fig. 11-12). They were located on the edge of the youngest left terrace of the Dyje/Thaya River at an altitude of 216-220 meters. This terrace is about 12-16 meters above the river Dyje (204 meters above sea level). Instead of the find, it covers black earth

(chernozem). In the subsoil is the layer of loess. In the bedrock of this river terrace is tertiary sandy gravel. For this reason, both the mining of loess and sand took place here in the Nineteenth Century. We assume that many mass graves have been destroyed here.



Porcelain of Napoleon at Wagram

Description of First Group of the Mass Graves

We discovered the first disrupted mass graves during our inspection of the Interspar supermarket building site. The graves were grouped north at the edge of

the road between Starý Šaldorf /Alt-Schallersdorf ND Dobšice/Klein Teßwitz. This road was used to transport of killed soldiers. The mass grave no. I (see fig. 15) was found at the southeast edge of the building site. However, it has been damaged in the past by digging the foundations of a building. The grave was again disrupted by the excavation for utility networks. We did not find the dimensions of the tombstone for these reasons. The ground plan was rectangular. The grave depth was 50 cm from the current surface. We examined three male skeletons in the grave. Top skeleton no. 1 was 20 cm beneath the surface. The soil infill of the grave no. I, as in the other graves no. II-VI, was just loess.

The mass grave no. II was also disrupted (see fig. 16) by construction works.⁹ It had a rectangular shape. The grave was 180 cm long, 65 cm wide and 47 cm deep. There were four skeletons in two layers.

Exceptional was the mass grave no. III (see fig. 17). The shallow grave pit was again disrupted. It was irregularly oval. The length of the grave was 180-200 cm and the longer axis was oriented from northeast to southwest. The grave was 110 cm wide and 40 cm deep. The skeletons of the soldiers were only 10 cm below surface. In the explored part of the mass grave, we

discovered nineteen skeletons and their parts, which were placed in four layers above each other in antipodal position. The skeletons were not stored regularly as in other mass graves.

Description of the Second Group of Mass Graves

Mass graves no. IV-VI of rectangular shape formed the second group, about 20 meters west of the first group. The graves were directed from the northwest to the southeast. The graves were 50-150 cm remote from each other.¹⁰

The mass grave no. IV was again disrupted (see fig. 18) in the past and again during the construction of the Interspar hypermarket. The grave measuring 180 x 90 cm and having a maximum depth of 38 cm had a rectangular ground plan with slightly rounded corners.¹¹ We discovered nine skeletons in the grave and their parts in two layers alternately skull-oriented from northwest to southeast and vice versa in antipodal position as is customary in military mass graves.

The pit of the mass grave no. V also had a rectangular ground plan with rounded corners (see fig. 19). The length of the grave was 200 cm, width 110 cm and a relative depth of 40 cm (absolute depth about 50 cm). In the mass grave, ten skeletons of

⁹ Jaromír Kovárník, Ladislava Horáčková, Lenka Vargová, Ladislav Mucha, Alena Vachunková, 2006: *Hromadné hroby vojáků na Brněnské ulici z bitvy u Znojma v roce 1809. Mass graves of soldiers in Brněnská street from the battle of Znojmo. In: V. Hašek – R. Nekuda – M. Rutkay, eds.: Ve službách archeologie VII. Sborník věnovaný*

85. narozeninám Doc. PhDr. Karla Valocha, CSc. (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost v Brně, Geodril Brno, Geopek Brno, Archeologický ústav, Slovenská akademie věd Nitra), 313-328 (317, Fig. 6, 7).

¹⁰ Cf. footnote 8, 319. Fig. 11.

¹¹ Cf. footnote 8, 321, Fig. 20-23.

fallen soldiers were placed in the northwest-southeast direction in three layers in antipodal position above each other.¹²

The pit of the mass grave VI had a disrupted southeast side (see fig. 20). The pit of the mass grave had a length of 208 cm, a width of 94 cm and a relative depth of 35 cm. The absolute depth (from the surface of the terrain) was approximately 45 cm. Twelve skeletons were placed in the grave in three layers alternately with the skulls either northwest or southeast.¹³

In the case of a small depth of mass graves, we believe that the very shallow recess of mass graves could be related to the rush for the summer heat, storms and for hygienic reasons. The second reason could have been the laborious and time-consuming digging of deep grave that hit the layers in gravel sand with large quartz boulders. Shallow storage of the skeleton under the current surface led to the fact that they were very often disrupted during excavation work or during ploughing.

Archaeological finds

From the overview of these findings, it is clear that in the mass graves were not buttons of military uniforms. Buttons of military uniforms are found in some graves.¹⁴ It could indicate that the fallen soldiers were buried without uniforms or in canvas and as the case may be in plain linen

grave cloth. The "military cloth" was undoubtedly a valuable item during the Napoleonic wars, both for the Treasury, and for peasants from burned villages (Bohumilice/Pumlitz, Dobšice/Klein Teßwitz, Kuchařovice/Kukrowitz, Nesachleby/Essecklee, Oblesovice/Obles, Přímětice/Brenditz, Sedlešovice/Edelspitz and Suchbátka/Zuckerhandl).

Clearly the most valuable archaeological find alongside the remnants of fallen soldiers, which are decorated with piety, was the archaeological find of a large silver coin (see fig. 21). We found this coin on the chest skeleton of male skeleton no. I/2 in the mass grave no. I.¹⁵ The coin a silver écu is the mintage of the French King Louis XV. The écu bears a portrait of the king on the avers and text LUD.XV.D.G.FR. ET NAV.REX (Ludovicus quintus decimus Dei Gratia Francorum et Navarorum Rex), on the reverse these words SIT NOMEN DOMINI L BENEDICTUM and edge lettered DOMINE SALVUM FAC REGEM (see fig. 22). Écu blanc (otherwise called écu d'argent, Louis blanc or Louis d'argent) had a weight of 25.98 grams. The coin contained 23.72 grams of pure silver and was worth one quarter of a golden louis d'or or 60 sous. Big inflation occurred after the French Revolution 1789, so these valuable silver coins, alongside the gold coins, disappeared

¹² Cf. footnote 8, 320, Fig. 15-19.

¹³ Cf. footnote 8, 321, Fig. 20-23.

¹⁴ Jiří Kohoutek, Rudolf Procházka, Josef Unger, Richard Zatloukal, *Novověké osídlení a vojenská aktivita. In: Čižmář, M. – Geislerová, K. –*

Unger, J., eds., Výzkumy. Ausgrabungen 1993-1998 (Brno: Ústav archeologické památkové péče Brno, 2000), 80, Fig. 100.

¹⁵ Cf. footnote 8, 317, Fig. 25-26.

into the treasures of the people and beyond the borders of France.¹⁶

This fallen soldier could wear this silver coin as a talisman in a pouch hanging on his neck, or he could have sewed the coin up in to his shirt. We can only speculate that the coin was valued (even though it did not pay at that time), but it could also be a memorial (dedicated to parents, grandparents), or a gift (for example from a godfather to baptism). The skeleton showed anthropological features of the age from 24 to 30 years, *adultus* I. The coin was minted 41 years before the Battle of Znojmo/Znaim 1809.¹⁷

We found a very interesting find also in the mass grave no. II, at the female skeleton no. II/4 (the woman satler?) aged from 35 to 44 years, *adultus* II. The two-piece bronze knob has fixed a cut yellowish-green hexagon (glass?) on the front (see fig. 23). The edge of the button is decorated with a pair of small plastic mouldings. Between the front and back of the button, the remainder of the woollen fabric was preserved. The diameter of the front part of

the knob is 14.7 mm, the rear part is 12.1 mm, and the thickness is 10.2 mm.¹⁸

We also found a flat bronze metal ring (see fig. 24) on the finger of the left upper limb of skeleton no. IV/3 at age 16-18, *juvenis*.¹⁹

The diameter is 20.0 millimetres and the width is 6.6 mm. Both ring edges are raised and are decorated with very fine grooves at intervals of 1 mm. On the inside of the ring there are two intersecting grooves. Two bone buttons (see fig. 25) were in the thoracic cage at the skeleton no. 4 in grave no. IV. Buttonholes have a diameter of about 2.5 mm.²⁰

Another archaeological find from the equipment of fallen soldiers, a small green glass bead with a

diameter of 4.27-4.72 mm (see fig. 26), was found in the area of cervical vertebrae at skeleton no. V/3.²¹ We found another small bone object of circular shape in the frames of the skeleton bone of the skeleton no. V/4 (see fig. 27). The diameter was 14.4-14.9 mm, and the thickness was 2.9 mm. In the centre there was an opening of 2 mm



Minature painting of a Napoleonic surgeon

¹⁶ Jiří Sejbál, *Základy peněžního vývoje* (Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, Ekonomicko-správní fakulta, 1997), 250-251.

¹⁷ Cf. footnote 8, 316-317, Fig. 25-26.

¹⁸ Cf. footnote 8, 317-318, Fig. 24: 1, 28.

¹⁹ Cf. footnote 8, 320, Fig. 24: 3, 29-30.

²⁰ Cf. footnote 8, 320, Fig. 24: 2, 27.

²¹ Cf. footnote 8, 320, Fig. 32.

diameter.²² The bronze pendant (the sacrament) lay on the chest basket of the skeleton no. VI/8 (see fig. 28). It has an oval shape measuring 15 x 17 mm. On the obverse is a relief of the Madonna with Child.²³ We also managed to save the scraps of textile, the guimpé with silver thread and a small bronze clasp at skeleton no. VI/6. The described finds could indicate that the individual could have an officer rank.

Earlier Finds of Other Mass Graves

In the village of Suchohrdly/Zuckerhandl, the Military Napoleon's army occupied the farm with a number 2 (see fig. 9). The French adjusted a military hospital in this farm. It is possible that some of important s Dominique Jean Larrey, Alexandre-Urbain Yvan or Pierre-François Percy treated soldiers here. Very noteworthy is the discovery of a vertebra with a shot projectile, a lead bullet with a calibre of 13.825 mm (see fig. 29-30) from the village of Suchohrdly/Zuckerhandl.²⁴ It is certain that the projectile completely crushed the neighbouring vertebra and was stuck it in this vertebra. Skeletons of fallen soldiers from the Battle of Znojmo in 1809 are described in the "Holzplatz" of the former village Starý Šaldorf/Alt-Schallersdorf. A male skull was found in a disrupted grave at the village of Starý Šaldorf/Alt-Schallersdorf.²⁵ We also found the skull of a

man from a previously disrupted grave in Dobšice/Klein Teßwitz.²⁶

Results of Anthropological Analysis

We thank very much our colleagues RNDr. Ladislava Horáčková, Ph.D. and MUDr. Lenka Vargová, Ph.D.²⁷ for anthropological analyzes of rescued skeletons from the mass graves of soldiers from the Battle of Znojmo/Znaim in 1809 and for an excellent long-term cooperation. The skeletons of the fallen soldiers from the mass graves investigated can be considered as a representative group within anthropological study. L. Horáčková and L. Vargová have reached these results. We examined a total of 53 human skeletons, of which we were unable to analyze the five skeletons. The analyzed skeletons were 47 males and one female.²⁸

The age of fallen soldiers oscillated from 15 years, *juvenis* (skeleton no. 8 from the grave no. V), to 40 and 50 years, *maturus I* (skeleton no. 5 from the grave no. IV). Soldiers mostly fell at the age of boys aged from 16 to 19, *juvenis*, or young men, *adultus I*, from 20 to 25 years. The average age of the fallen soldiers from the explored mass graves was very low. Most represented the age group from 15 to 19 years, *juvenis*, 25 soldiers, i.e. 53.3 percent. We have to add them to the *juvenis-adultus I* (from 15 to 19 / from 20 to 25 years), 3 soldiers, i.e.

²² Cf. footnote 8, 320-321, Fig. 31.

²³ Cf. footnote 8, 321, Fig. 24: 5, 33.

²⁴ South Moravian Museum Znojmo, Inv. No. A 24447.

²⁵ South Moravian Museum Znojmo, Inv. No. A 1581.

²⁶ South Moravian Museum Znojmo, Inv. No. A 8219.

²⁷ Division of Medical Anthropology, Department of Anatomy, Faculty of Medicine, Masaryk University, Kamenice 3, 625 00 Brno, Czech Republic.

²⁸ Cf. footnote 8, 322-26, Tab. 1, Fig. 34-36.

6.4 percent. There are a total of 28 soldiers or 59.7 percent. The rest of the young soldiers (27.6 percent) were still 13 skeletons in the group from 20 to 30 years, *adultus I*. Two skeletons (4.2 percent) belong to the *adultus I* age group (from 20 to 30 years) and *adultus II* (from 30 to 40 years). Five skeletons (10.6 percent) fell into the age group *adultus* (*adultus I*, from 20 to 30 years and *adultus II*, from 30 to 40 years). The age group *maturus I* (from 40 to 50 years) incorporated only one skeleton (2.1 percent). The calculated height of the skeletons ranged from 163.8 cm to 178.8 cm. The average height of the fallen soldiers was calculated to be 168.6 cm. This height met military requirements in the Napoleonic Wars (five foot and two inches).²⁹ The existence of the female skeleton no. II/4 aged from 35 to 44 years, *adultus II*, in the mass grave no. II is an exceptional finding. We think the skeleton could be a woman sutler.³⁰

From the anthropological analysis of the skeletons, the conclusion is that the army (of Emperor Napoleon) was forced to recruit in 1809 young soldiers. A larger number of 16- to 18-year-old (*juvenis*) boys fought, which can be proved by the presence of the unfinished growth fissures on their skeletons.³¹ It follows from this finding that at that time there was already a shortage of the team at the optimum age of 20 or 30 years, *adultus I* and *adultus II* unlike the Battle of Austerlitz (2 December

1805).³² We further infer that the young soldiers did not have enough combat experience and therefore very often fell in a battle.

The significance of the discovery and rescue of the six mass graves of the fallen soldiers from the Battlefield of the Battle at Znojmo/Znaim in 1809, among other things, is in the anthropological study of the age and health of these soldiers. In general, war conflicts involve young and healthy fighters to withstand great physical and mental demands. We also assumed that the soldiers in the teams were ill with acute, especially infectious diseases that did not leave any traces on bones. L. Horáčková and L. Vargová³³ found that on the bones of young soldiers in the age stage of growth, *juvenis*, who had not yet closed growth slits, there was a high degree of wear of the joints, especially the lower limbs (see fig. 31).³⁴ It was caused by the extreme body load of the young body in long-distance marches, wearing heavy military equipment, frequent coldness, lack of sleep, poor hygiene, and a great deal of psychological stress. Abnormal stress on joints, especially on the hip joint, has caused irritation (*periosteum*). Dead parts of the cartilage of the joints or muscle after excessive strain of the young individuals have caused degenerative joint diseases. These pathological changes were found in one third of the studied skeletons especially in the shoulder joint. Ossification of soft

²⁹ Cf. footnote 8, 317 and 322, Tab. 1.

³⁰ Cf. footnote 8, 326.

³¹ Cf. footnote 8, 322.

³² Ladislava Horáčková, Lenka Benešová, *Findings of War-time Injuries from the Battle of*

Austerlitz. Anthropologie XXXV/3 (Brno: Moravian Museum, 1997), 283–89.

³³ Cf. footnote 8, 323.

³⁴ Cf. footnote 8, 322–23, Fig. 34.

musculoskeletal injuries (*myositis ossificans posttraumatica*) was also found very often in the lower limbs. Soft musculoskeletal injuries arise as a result of a blunt blow, muscle soreness after repeated micro trauma and permanent muscle strain. Long, exhausting marches resulted in a very frequent occurrence of a foot lesion (*calcar calcaneare*) among fallen soldiers. Such a large joint wear occurs only after the age of 40. Inflammatory changes (*periositis*) were also analyzed on the blades of the fallen. Changes on the shoulder blades (see fig. 32) could have been the result of a heavy load on this part of the back while wearing very heavy military equipment, but also the result of physical punishment.³⁵

Inflammatory changes on the front of both tibia and right fibula were in the skeleton III/1 (male from 30 to 34 years). Similar symptoms of syphilis were on the right tibia of skeleton no. V/7 (the very young man from 18 to 20 years, *juvenis*). The signs of syphilis in the form of superfluous bumps in the first molars of a very young soldier prove the inborn origin (from the mother's womb) of this disease.³⁶ Characters of chronic inflammation were on the inside of ribs of the female skeleton no. 4 from the grave no. II. Pleuritis was a manifestation of tuberculosis at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century.³⁷

Severe war injuries were mostly fire open and fragmented fractures with fragments that threatened surrounding tissues. Mechanical contamination of such injuries by projectiles, clothing, soil, insects, etc., caused fatal consequences such as phlegmona, gas gangrene and tetanus. Hope for survival was very small. In the best case, amputations of the entire limbs occurred. Skeleton no. 6 (male from 25 to 35 years) from the grave no. IV had a fragmented distal part of the left femur (see fig. 33).³⁸ A hit of the femoral artery in this case caused bleeding to death. The concretion of the distal part of the tibia at skeleton no. IV/5 (male from 40 to 50 years, apparently veteran) was caused by inflammation—osteomyelitis after an injury. Skeleton no. 4 (male from 16 to 19 years) from the grave no. IV has proven to be a poorly healed fracture of the middle part of the left humerus (created a further joint). Another, later cut, cut off the left part of the breast bone, causing the death of the soldier.³⁹ Of course, paleoanthropological studies could not identify very frequent injuries to internal organs deposited in the thoracic cavity and artery injuries. It was forgotten that Divisional General Jean de Boudet died (in the castle of Count Joseph Franz Wallis von Carighmain) in Moravské Budějovice on 13 (or 14.?) September 1809.⁴⁰ He was buried at the then town cemetery, today in the

³⁵ Cf. footnote 8, 325, Fig. 35.

³⁶ Cf. footnote 8, 326.

³⁷ Cf. footnote 8, 326.

³⁸ Cf. footnote 8, 326, Fig. 36.

³⁹ Cf. footnote 8, 326.

⁴⁰ František Gregor, *Od nastoupení Marie Terezie do roku 1848. Společenský vývoj*. In: Vladimír Nekuda, ed., *Moravskobudějovicko a Jemnicko. Vlastivěda moravská* (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost v Brně, města Moravské Budějovice a Jemnice, 1997), 275-82 (281);

Gymnasium Park (see fig. 34). The general's grave still marks a remarkable stone (the cross is missing).⁴¹

Conclusion

Archaeological and paleoanthropological studies of skeletons from mass graves of soldiers from the battlefield of the Battle at Znojmo/Znaim 1809 enrich our past knowledge of the Napoleonic wars history. We tried very hard to place a commemorative plaque at the site of the mass graves of soldiers fallen in the Battle of Znojmo in 1809 at the former village of Starý Šaldorf/Alt-Schallersdorf to give them tribute. Not only the soldiers of Emperor Napoleon had fallen and found their grave in our country, far from their homes. We have, therefore, sent a letter about the find these mass graves to the Embassy of France in Prague. We also asked for financial assistance from the investors in the Interspar to make a memorial plaque or small memorial in the shopping centre area. We had the promise, but never happened to it. War must never be! But we did not give up our efforts. We now deal with leadership of the town Znojmo/Znaim to pay for the tombstone for

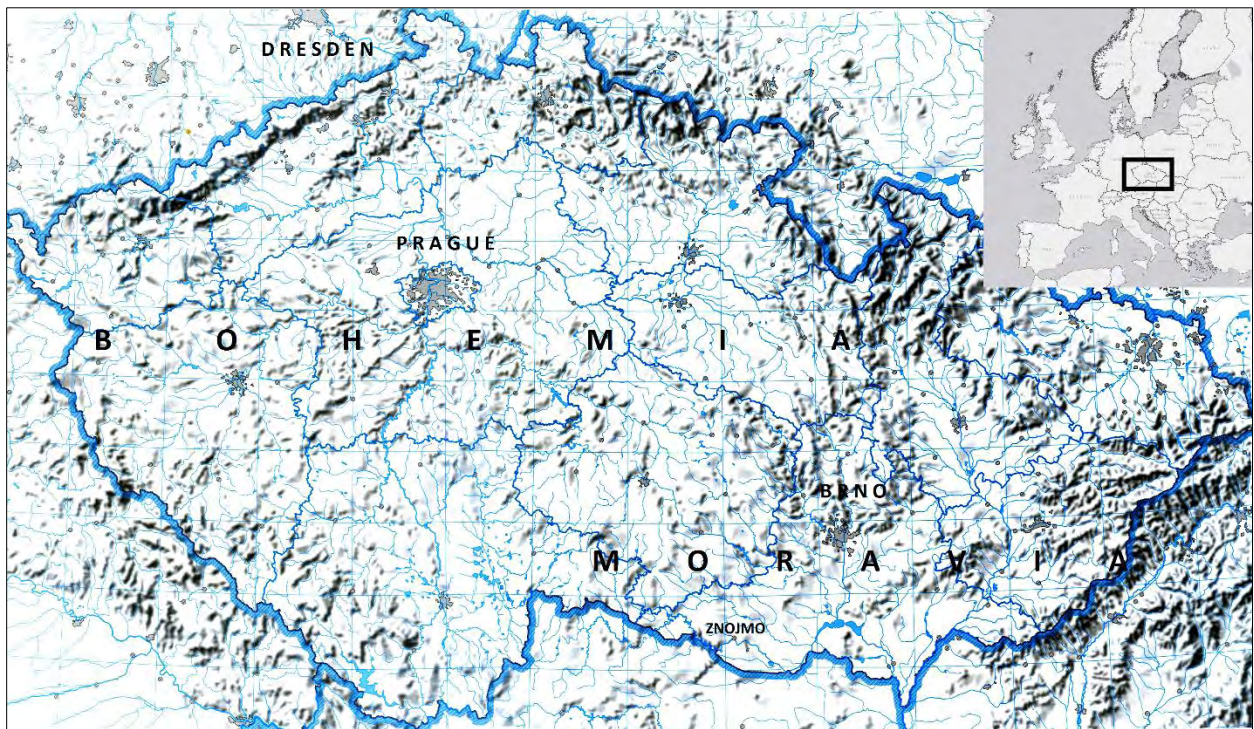
the newly built mass grave of the remains of these fifty-two soldiers and one woman who will be in the Znojmo/Znaim—Starý Šaldorf/Alt-Schallersdorf cemetery along with the graves of the Prussian soldiers of the Battle at Hradec Králové in 1866.⁴²

František Gregor, *10. Život města za Wallisů. III. Od poddanství k občanským výhodám. In: Rudolf Fišer, Eva Nováčková, eds., Dějiny Moravských Budějovic. Od pravěku do roku 1945* (Třebíč: Vydavatelství Fibox Třebíč pro Městský úřad v Moravských Budějovicích, 1997), 159-73 (171); Eva Nováčková, e. 1997: *Moravské Budějovice. In: Vladimír Nekuda, ed., Moravskobudějovicko a*

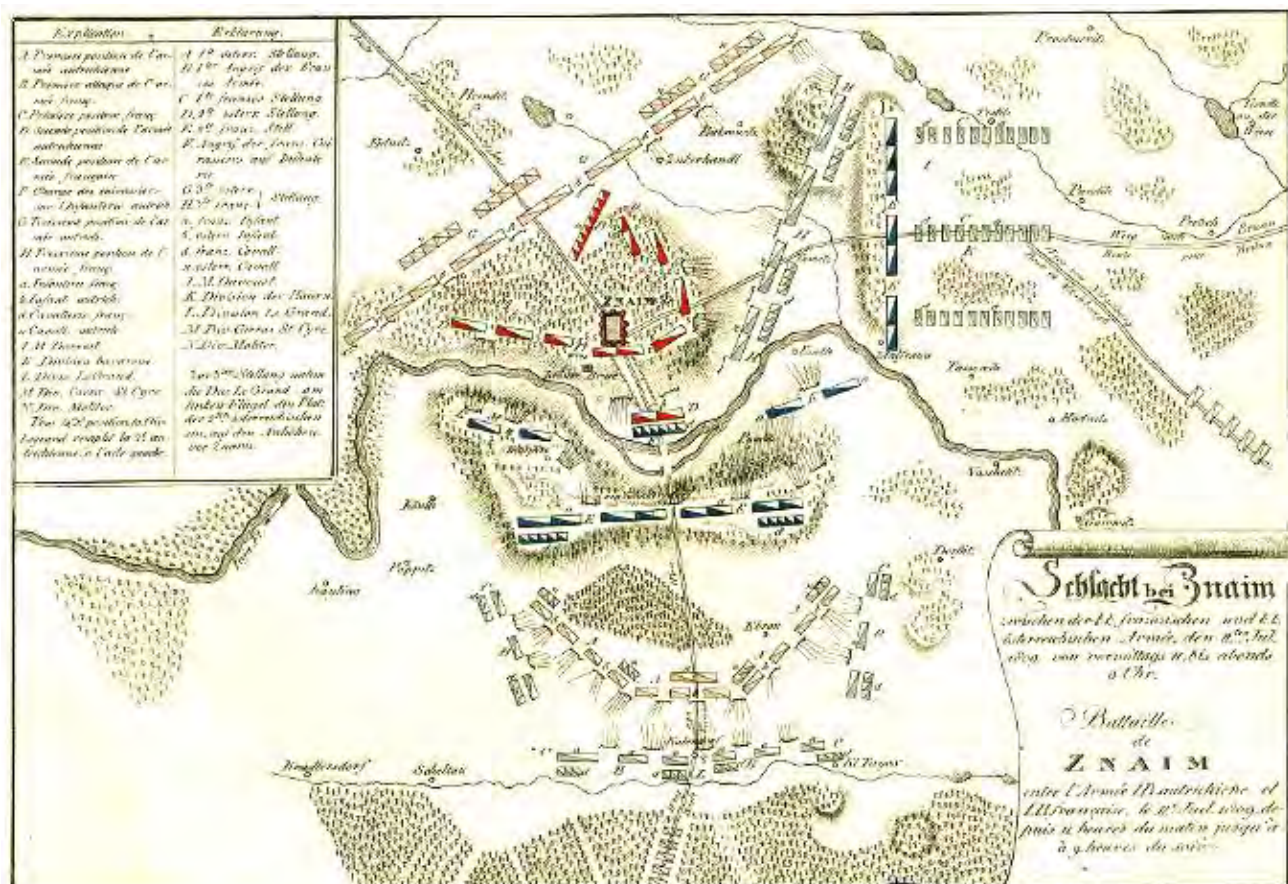
Jemnicko. Vlastivěda moravsko (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost v Brně, města Moravské Budějovice a Jemnice, 1997), 495-521(509).

⁴¹ At this time, a new tombstone was made.

⁴² A new memorial will be unveiled next year on this mass grave on the occasion of the 210th anniversary of the Battle of Znojmo/Znaim.

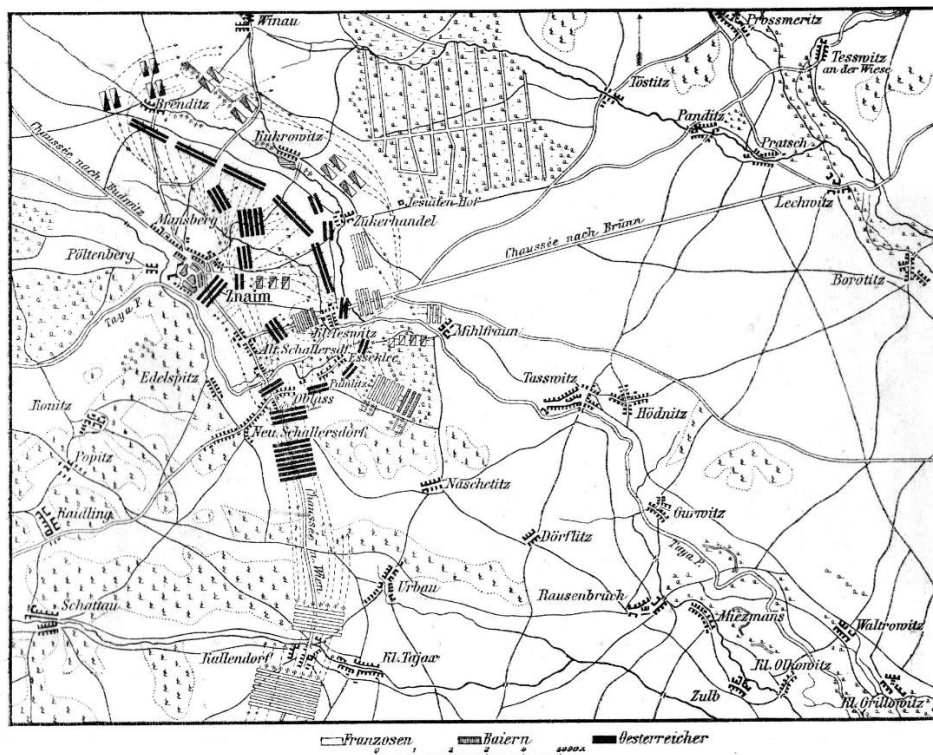


1. Map of Czech Republic: town Znojmo/Znaim (South Moravia).

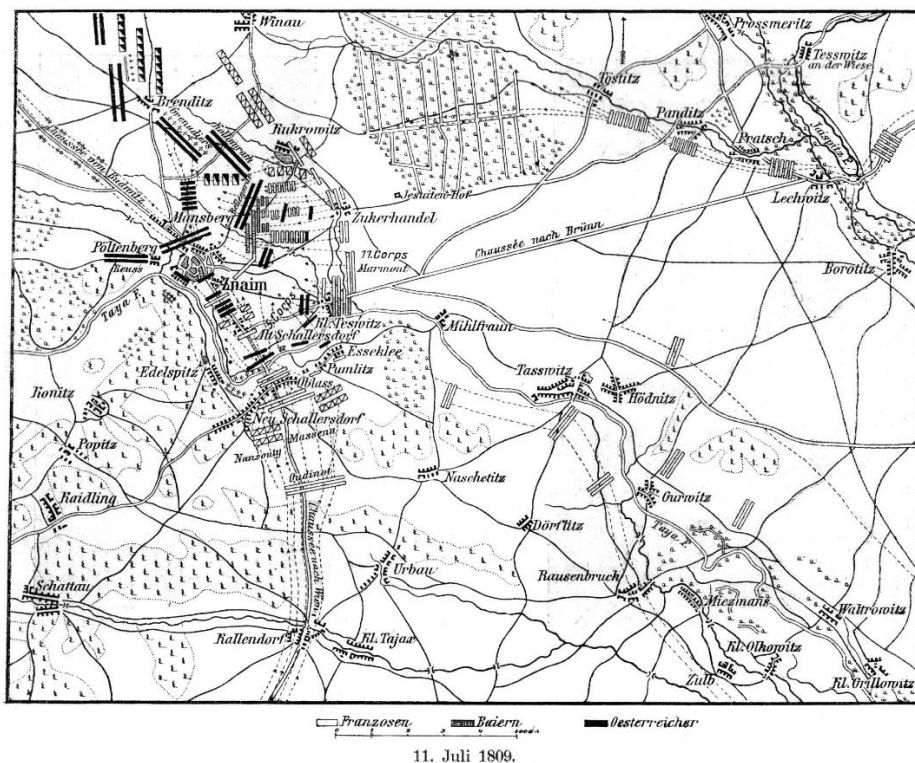


2. Military map of the Battle of Znojmo/Znaim 1809 (after Rehm 1809-1810?).

10. Juli 1809.



3. Military map of the of the deployment of the French, Bavarian and Austrian soldiers on day 1 of the Battle of Znojmo / Znaim, July 10, 1809 (after Wisnar 1910).



4. Military map of the of the deployment of the French, Bavarian and Austrian soldiers on day 2 of the Battle of Znojmo / Znaim, July 11, 1809 (after Wisnar 1910).



5. Přímětice / Brenditz. Photograph of Count Ugarte's farmhouse, where was the General Staff of the Austrian troops.



6. Přímětice / Brenditz. Photo of the presbytery, where Archduke Carl was staying. Photo Jaromír Kovárník jr.



7. Znojmo / Znaim, municipal forest. The discovered terrain relics for the artillery battery of the Austrian army.
Photo author.



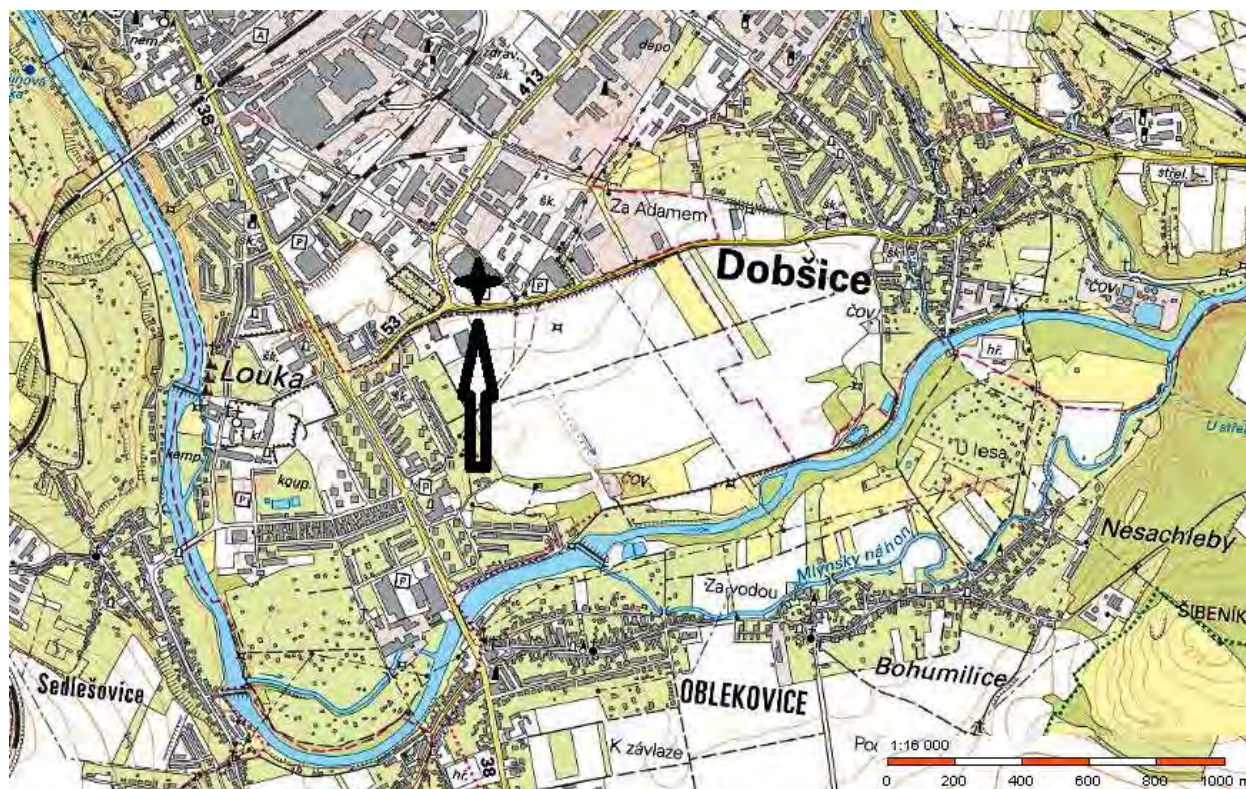
8. Suchohrdly / Zuckerhandl. Photos of the exact location where Emperor Napoleon watched the Battle of Znojmo / Znaim. Photo Jaromír Kovárník jr.



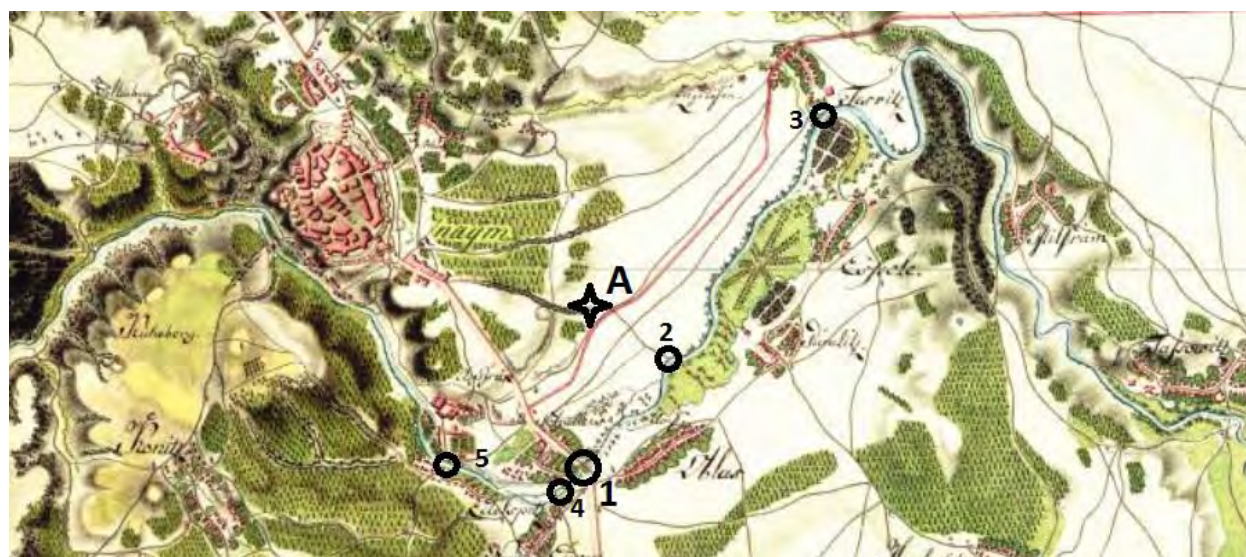
9. Suchohrdly / Zuckerhandl. Photo of the southeastern tract of the Baroque (1721-1740) farmhouse "Rother Hof", where the General Staff of the French troops was located. Photo Jaromír Kovárník jr.



10. Friedrich Wilhelm L'Allemand (1845, oil painting): „An episode of the Battle of Znojmo between the Austrian and Napoleonic troops on July 11, 1809“.



11. Znojmo / Znam. Map with the marked location of the mass graves at the former village Starý Šaldorf / Alt-Schallersdorf.



12. Map with bridges and fords across the Dyje / Thaya River in the southern suburbs of the town Znojmo / Znam. 1-the bridge in Oblekovice / Oblas, 2-the ford between Oblekovice / Oblas and Bohumilice / Pumlitiz, 3-the ford in Dobšice / Klein Teßwitz, 4-the ford in Edelspitz, 5-the ford in Louka / Kloster Bruck, A-the location of mass graves of soldiers. (after: The 1st military mapping, Moravia 1764-1768, M 1 : 28 800: http://oldmaps.geolab.cz/map_viewer.pl?lang=cs&map_root=1vm&map_region=mo&map_list=m110).



13. Photo of the Battlefield from the east of the village of Dobšice / Klein Teßwitz towards west to the former village of Starý Šaldorf / Alt-Schallersdorf (mass graves), southwest to the village of Oblekovice / Oblas (the bridge) and to the former Premonstratensian monastery in Louka / Kloster Bruck in the background. Photo Jaromír Kovárník jr.



14. Photograph of the battlefield from the southeast of the village of Oblekovice / Oblas towards the bridge and further northwest to the former monastery of Premonstratensian Louka / Kloster Bruck in the background, north to the former village of Starý Šaldorf / Alt-Schallersdorf (mass graves) and to the southern part of the town Znojmo / Znaim. Photo Jaromír Kovárník jr.



15. Znojmo / Znaim, Brněnská Street. The part of the mass grave no. I (from SW). Photo author.



16. Znojmo / Znaim, Brněnská Street. The preliminary picture of the partially examined mass grave no. II (from NW). Photo author.



17. Znojmo / Znaim, Brněnská Street. The top layer of skeletons of the part of mass grave no. III (from S). Photo author.



18. Znojmo / Znam, Brněnská Street. The top layer (A) of skeletons of the mass grave no. IV (from SE). Photo author.



19. Znojmo / Znam, Brněnská Street. The second layer (B) of skeletons of the mass grave no. V (from SE). Photo author.



20. Znojmo / Znam, Brněnská Street. The top layer (A) of skeletons of the mass grave no. VI (from SE). Photo author.



21. Znojmo / Znaim, Brněnská Street. The silver écu from the mass grave no. I (skeleton no. I / 2), averse. Photo author.



22. Znojmo / Znaim, Brněnská Street. The silver écu from the mass grave no. I, reverse. Photo author.



23. Znojmo / Znam, Brněnská Street. The decorative bronze button with ground glass from the mass grave no. II (skeleton no. II / 2). Photo author.



24. Znojmo / Znam, Brněnská Street. The detailed view of the bronze ring from the mass grave no. IV (skeleton no. IV / 3). Photo author.



25. Znojmo / Znam, Brněnská Street. The pair of bone buttons from the mass grave no. IV (skeleton no. IV / 4). Photo author.



26. Znojmo / Znaim, Brněnská Street. The small bead made out of light green glass from the mass grave no. V (skeleton no. V / 3). Photo author.



27. Znojmo / Znaim, Brněnská Street. The bone button from the grave no. V (skeleton no. V / 4). Photo author.



28. Znojmo / Znaim, Brněnská Street. The bronze medallion with the Virgin Mary from the grave no. VI (skeleton no. VI / 8). Photo author.



29. Suchohrdly / Zuckerhandl. The vertebra with a shot projectile, a lead bullet with a calibre of 13,825 mm (South Moravian Museum Znojmo, inv. no. A 24447). Photo R. Hetflaiš.



30. Suchohrdly / Zuckerhandl. The vertebra with a shot projectile, the other side (South Moravian Museum Znojmo, inv. no. A 24447). Photo R. Hetflaiš.



31. Znojmo / Znaim, Brněnská Street. Erosion of anterior articular surface of heel bones (mass grave no. V, skeleton no. V / 10). Photo L. Horáčková and L. Vargová.



32. Znojmo / Znaim, Brněnská Street. Right shoulder blade of a young individual with traces of inflammation on the scapular ridge (grave no. V, skeleton no. V / 3). Photo L. Horáčková and L. Vargová.



33. Znojmo / Znaim, Brněnská Street. Fragmented fracture of distal part of left femur. In this type of injury the thick femoral artery is severed and without timely help the injured bleeds to death (grave no. IV, skeleton no. IV / 6). Photo L. Horáčková and L. Vargová.



34. Moravské Budějovice, district Třebíč. The gravestone on the grave of Divisional General Jean de Boudet (after:

<https://www.google.com/search?q=hrob+generpercentC3percentAlla+jeana+de+boudet&client=firefox-b&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjQ87rDmrPdAhXBzaQKHYSIBswQsAR6BAgGEAE&biw=1366&bih=671#imgsrc=4fDJGc6WcWmWFM:>)

Masters in Their Own Country: Approaching Ireland in the Napoleonic System, 1796-1815

by Nicholas Stark

“After several unsuccessful attempts, behold Frenchmen arrived amongst you.... Be free, be masters in your own country.” – General Jean Humbert, 1798¹

Armed columns of French soldiers alongside Irish soldiers in green uniforms and flags emblazoned with golden harps under the imperial eagle marching before the Emperor Napoléon’s gaze across the Emerald Isle was the dream of many, the nightmare of others, but in any event never became a reality. Villagers of coastal County Cork could see French ships off-shore in 1796, and Connaught hosted about one thousand French soldiers under General Jean Humbert in 1798, but a large-scale invasion never came to fruition. Nevertheless, the failure of the Napoleonic France to complete an invasion of Ireland does not mean that Ireland was absent from the international arena. As the laboratory of British imperialism, one of the most significant political driving forces to come from this period, Ireland serves as a fruitful junction for examining both French and British models of empire, while having its own narrative of colonial resistance. This article is an introduction to understanding both Ireland and the French imperial system in this period as they intersect. It will begin with an overview of Ireland’s colonial context to then be juxtaposed with models for French empire. The resulting

synthesis will reveal the significant autonomy the Irish revolutionaries both sought and managed to wrest in their negotiations and organization—even though independence was unsuccessful—and some of the potentialities a Franco-Irish victory held, which will leave the board set for future considerations of actual military planning and operations in much more detail.

The “British Isles” combined arguably the most advanced and the most backwards regions of Europe, certainly in Western Europe. The majority of the peasantry, an overwhelming percentage of the population, was either renters or infinitesimally small land holders, with land ownership being predominantly an Anglo-Protestant privilege. Anglicanism was associated with British rule, in contrast to the immense majority Roman Catholic population and the dissenter communities, with Catholics disallowed entirely from public office or even voting. A slight bit of nuance, the Irish Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1793 aimed to assuage more radical minds by granting voting rights to Catholic lease-holders, amounting to a whopping

¹ Stephen Dunford and Guy Beiner, *In Humbert's Footsteps: Mayo 1798* (Mayo: Fadó Books, 2006), 49.

five percent of the population, who still were themselves ineligible for office, a token gesture at best. While there was a growing Catholic bourgeoisie, it was numerically and politically in its infancy.

As historian Niall Ferguson remarked, “Ireland was the experimental laboratory of British colonization.”² It was in Ireland

that the British first implemented the plantation system in 1610. Rather than relying on African slave labor like in North America, the British used the Irish plantations to plant “pure” English and Scottish laborers. Agriculturally and militarily significant land was given to aristocratic and

bourgeois Englishmen and divided into parcels of a few thousand acres, which were then closed off to the local inhabitants and Catholics, beginning a process of native dislocation and ethnic cleansing.³

British policy towards Ireland explicitly dealt with it as a colony. England prevented significant industrialization

there, as it had done to a lesser extent in India, so as to protect itself against competition, and oriented the Irish economy around providing agricultural goods and cash crops for its markets. As the Eighteenth Century progressed, Ireland produced decreasingly for direct consumption and simple use-value and

increasingly for exchange on the market. The types of products are significant for shaping this system. Some cash crops like cotton would eventually necessitate mechanization, especially upon the rise of machinery for spinning and weaving and the shortage of “cheap and efficient labor.” As in Central Europe, however, the

impoverished peasantry served as a contingent for linen production, which was cheap and technologically unadvanced and undemanding.⁴ This was especially the case in Ulster.

Foremost among cash crops, the Irish grew potatoes, which the British introduced



² Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (2002; repr., New York: Basic Books, 2004), 49.

³ Ferguson, 48.

⁴ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789-1848* (1962; repr., New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 36.

following their colonization of North America and gradually enforced as the primary crop across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (and onwards). What is special about the potato is that it not only does not require immensely organized or technologically advanced labor, but it also requires little space and provides a higher yield per acre than most other crops. This worked perfectly for the British model for Ireland. Land parcels were divided into increasingly smaller plots, to less than an acre by the start of the nineteenth century, for increasingly larger families amid the population boom resulting from increased food supplies (albeit not increased quality). Families survived on about 10-12 lbs. of potatoes per person per day.⁵ According to historian Eric Hobsbawm, this process of concentrating people and dividing land allowed “a handful of absentee landlords ... [who] exploited a vast mass of tenants by means of extortionate money rents” to maximize the number of paying renters while also readying a larger labor force for work on expanding farms for exports to British markets. This policy, while richly rewarding to British capitalists and

landlords, created “a population unparalleled in Western Europe for its poverty.”⁶ On the coast, most of the major ports served doubly as urban and trade centers, especially Limerick, Cork, Waterford, Dublin, and eventually Belfast. Cork and Dublin in particular served to bank and credit the country’s (uneven) development, especially the northern linen industry.⁷ Cork also served as a hub for British Caribbean trade. Yet poverty and deprivation were hardly unknown in the cities as well. As *Le Moniteur* reported, “Bread is so expensive in Dublin that the poor find themselves in the most deplorable situation.”⁸

Ireland’s major ports were not only central hubs of trade for Europe and the Caribbean, but also major docks for the English Navy, indispensable to the maintenance of the empire. The English likewise relied heavily on Irish troop contributions. Irish officers were virtually entirely Protestant gentleman, who occupied roughly one-third of the officer positions of the army as a whole.⁹ In addition, from 1741-1815, for all but three

⁵ K. H. Connell, “Land and Population in Ireland, 1780-1845,” *The Economic History Review*, New Series 2, no. 3 (1950), 288. Connell’s work is the classic study on the matter, the figure based on the adult male (estimating a daily intake of some 3800 calories) in years of plentiful harvest, noting no major potato crop deficiency between 1741-1816 except the disasters of 1800-01. However, between 1816 and the Great Famine, the bountiful years were on par with deficient ones. Brinley Thomas contends, drawing upon J. Mokyr’s *Why Ireland Starved* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983), that the daily average then became 4.5 lbs. instead, some 1,400 calories. Brinley Thomas, *The Industrial Revolution and the Atlantic Economy*:

Selected Essays (1993; repr., London: Routledge, 2003), 85-86.

⁶ Hobsbawm, 17, and 165-66.

⁷ Jim Smyth, *The Men of No Property: Irish Radicals and Popular Politics in the Late Eighteenth Century* (London: MacMillan, 1992), 25.

⁸ *Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel*, vol. II : 1790, *Semestre I*, no. 11, 11 January 1790, 47.

⁹ Alan J. Guy, “The Army of the Georges, 1714-1783” in David G. Chandler and Ian Beckett, eds., *The Oxford History of the British Army*, New ed. (1994; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 104.

years [1776-79] the Irish were numerically predominant in the army. Indeed, from 1795-1810 the Irish represented 42 percent of the Royal Artillery, despite the fact that there was a separate Royal Irish Artillery until 1801 and that Irish numbers in the English forces would only increase into the mid-Nineteenth Century.¹⁰ The English navy also recruited from Ireland. United Irishmen like Theobald Wolfe Tone often cited the navy as being composed of roughly two-thirds Irishmen, a staggering figure. In actuality the figure was closer to one-twelfth, however, representing perhaps 25 percent of the lower decks at the start of the nineteenth century, which is still a considerable sum.¹¹ Despite contributing soldiers and sailors to the English military, Ireland was forced by England to rely on occupation forces for protection in order to breed further dependency.

While Ireland was deemed politically to be its own kingdom under the dual monarch of England and Ireland, in every respect this monarchy was the rule of England over Ireland. Ireland had its own parliament in Dublin since the Thirteenth Century, but England meant for that parliament to represent its own people in Ireland, not the Irish people themselves. Under Poynings's Law of 1494, Ireland's parliament was restricted to only being able to pass bills

that had first been introduced in London. This restriction would last until 1782, leaving a legacy of legislative subservience in its wake. Locally the crown governed through the Lord Lieutenant (who was always an Englishman appointed by England) and his chief secretary. The British administration thus functioned out of Dublin Castle rather than through parliament, although Irish peers were closely monitored by and financially wed to the British.

Ireland was also subject to a lengthy series of legal discriminations against Catholics and Dissenters known collectively as the Penal Laws, the intent and effect of which was to further empower British rule. Legal professions and public offices were closed to non-Anglicans, ensuring that the Ascendancy controlled the government. Catholic merchants were expropriated in favor of Anglicans, undermining internal class development of the bourgeoisie and furthering dependency on the English ruling elite.¹² The Penal Laws also struck at that crucial source of social and political power in early industrial capitalism: land. Catholic lands had to be divided between sons and could only be leased for periods of 31 years, never purchased from Anglicans.¹³ Meanwhile the Ascendancy carved up swathes of land for its own, including in the

¹⁰ Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (2001; repr., New York: WW Norton and Company, 2002), 54-56.

¹¹ Theobald Wolfe Tone, *The Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone, 1763-98*, ed. by T.W. Moody, R.B. McDowell, and C.J. Woods, vol. II: *America, France and Bantry Bay, August 1795 to December*

1796 (2007; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 4n1.

¹² Denis O'Hearn, "Ireland in the Atlantic Economy" in Terrence McDonough, ed., *Was Ireland a Colony? Economics, Politics and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005), 8.

¹³ Smyth, *Men of No Property*, 11.

form of large plantations. The scheme was effective, and from 1668 to 1778 Catholic land ownership (excluding leases) dropped from 22 percent to 5 percent.¹⁴ The Penal Laws were not always enforced strictly or uniformly, however, largely due to a limited government bureaucracy and balancing concerns over potential uprisings, and so the larger project ultimately failed, leaving a disenfranchised and deeply bitter population.

In 1791 England passed Mitford's Act, repealing some anti-Catholic legislation there, relieving certain economic and social limitations, and easing restrictions on education, which inspired hopes for similar changes in Ireland. Then Langrishe's Act of 1792 allowed Catholics to practice law. However, the drawn-out public discussions in Ireland about the Penal Laws over several years created immense public discontent. Meanwhile, not only was little of the British reform reverberating in Ireland, but also the Irish government repealed some of the pre-existing pro-Catholic legislation. Even if every Penal Law were repealed, much land had already been long-since redistributed, and the monopoly over social and political life gained by the Ascendancy through those laws would remain intact.

With an image of how Ireland stood in the period established, it is time to examine how the Irish revolutionaries and their French allies tried to reimagine Ireland's role in a new Revolutionary and Napoleonic system. The Society of United Irishmen was founded in 1791 as a civil group to promote the need for parliamentary reform to create a more representative government with local autonomy in contrast to unilateral English laws and powers.¹⁵ It was a mixture of an Enlightenment salon and lobbying group, dominated by bourgeois Irish Protestants. Leading members like Wolfe Tone and Napper Tandy successfully pushed for the inclusion of Catholic Emancipation in their program, that is, the removal of laws restricting the civil and political rights of Catholics. By 1794 their program also called for what amounted to universal adult male suffrage.¹⁶

With the outbreak of war between France and Great Britain, the United Irishmen radicalized and called for a republic. Wolfe Tone (a Protestant lawyer) and Napper Tandy (a trader and influential member of Dublin Corporation) championed a novel theory which was fundamental to the United Irish social vision. The argument ran that Irish strife, especially religious, was the product of British policy and design, aimed at preventing the uniting of

¹⁴ Smyth, *Men of No Property*, 13.

¹⁵ "Declaration and Resolutions of the Society of United Irishmen of Belfast" in Tone, *Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone: Memoirs, Journals and Political Writings, Compiled and Arranged by William T.W. Tone, 1826* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1998), 298-99.

¹⁶ The Dublin Society of United Irishmen, "The United Irishmen's Plan of Parliamentary reform" in Edmond Curtis and R.B. McDowell, eds., *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922* (1943; repr., New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1968), 237-38.

Ireland. As such, they sought to make their movement into a pan-religious one (or at least pan-Christian) aimed at tackling an unjust socio-political system rather than succumbing to sectarianism.

In terms of economic ideology, Arthur O'Connor, formerly a member of parliament (MP) in the Irish House of Commons, took a leading role with his 1804 treatise *The Present State of Great Britain*. He provided a liberal economic critique of what he considered the mercantilist policies of England, arguing for "free trade." He condemned England for seeking global domination, arguing in terms of its power and wealth, "The entire structure depends, not only upon making the interests of every other nation subservient to her own aggrandizement, but that the precarious existence of her bloated power and wealth depend upon her being able to impede or to crush the manufactures and commerce of the other nations of Europe" and expanding into the Americas and India.¹⁷ He accused England, through monopoly over trade from the Antilles, of keeping European markets intentionally understocked, while undermining especially Irish industry. Meanwhile, the British government was replacing violence with influence, a system of corruption undermining the significance of political representatives, controlling the right to legislate for Ireland, and centralizing power into a few hands in their secretive cabinet.

In all, Ireland was chained by the remnants of feudalism, the degrading of commercial trades, and the prevention of the free circulation of property, especially land.

Conversely, Tone, instead of lavishing praise upon the merchants and bourgeoisie, decried the "spirit of commerce," especially as he saw it strangling social life in the United States where he lived in exile. Even though the US was supposedly democratic, it was being consumed by a merchant aristocracy, especially in terms of the Senate and the presidency, then under George Washington, that "high-flying aristocrat" corrupted by staying too long in power. "What is it to me," Tone argued, "whether it is an Aristocracy of Merchants or of Peers, elective or hereditary? It is still an aristocracy, incompatible with the existence of genuine liberty."¹⁸ While revolutionary James Connolly noted that "Tone built his hopes [for the revolution] upon a successful prosecution of a Class War"—calling upon the full democratic participation of the nation against the aristocracy, neither the United Irish program nor Tone personally called for anything approximating the abolition of private property.¹⁹ They did call, however, for the transformation of property. The United Irish viewed the Protestant aristocracy's immense land holdings as invalid primarily since they were the spoils of British conquest, and therefore based in theft, not law. Since the land was also based

¹⁷ Arthur O'Connor, *The Present State of Great-Britain* (Paris: Sold by all the booksellers, 1804), 1-2.

¹⁸ "Letter from America," Tone, *Life*, 450-51.

¹⁹ James Connolly, *Labour in Irish History* (1910; repr., New York: The Donnelly Press, 1919), 62.

largely on a feudal system, wherein most of the land and consequently sovereignty and rights belonged to the aristocracy, it must be forcibly transformed into a private ownership system. In addition, since the Ascendancy, as upholders in the British system and whose positions and possessions were inherently connected to the colonial system, would assuredly side with the British, making them enemies of the republic, there would be an easy legal justification for the confiscation and resale of their property.

In this context, Tone called for the nationalization of English, church, and absentee properties, as did Miles Byrne, who wrote, "The country possessed all the resources necessary for this great undertaking; the church property becoming immediately the property of the state; and the estates of all those who should emigrate, or remain in the English army, fighting against their country being confiscated, the revenue arising from these funds would have been employed to provide for and defray all the expenses necessary for the defense and independence of the country."²⁰ As Tone noted, "The Catholics ... who form almost the entire body of the peasantry ... labor incessantly, and their landlords, the Protestant aristocracy, have so calculated that the utmost they can gain by this continual toil will barely suffice to pay the rent at which these petty despots

assess their wretched habitations."²¹ By removing land from the control of absentee British landlords and the Ascendancy, there would be a chance to create a more equitable rent system, thereby alleviating the plight of the peasantry.

Apart from altering the fundamental structure of property-relations into a more capitalist system, the call for confiscations also concerned immediate military needs. The fledgling republic must have enough resources for the war against England, in which Ireland aspired to be a full legal combatant nation instead of being seen as purely insurgent, a constant in Irish revolutionary history. Therefore the government must enact the "immediate confiscation of every shilling of English property in Ireland, moveable or fixed, of every species, and appropriating it to the national service," which included "the church, college, and chapter lands," and those of emigrants and "absentees who never visit the country at all."²² Functionally, property ownership would symbolize patriotism, in that while not all republicans would have property, all those who held property could be deemed to be republicans in support of the government. At the same time, there was no planned radical redistribution of the property to the peasantry as a class. The plan was instead akin to the French nationalized property.²³ Nationalization in this context was not

²⁰ Miles Byrne, *Memoirs of Miles Byrne*, edited by Fanny Byrne, vol. I (1863; repr., Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), 8-9.

²¹ "First memorial to the French government on the present state of Ireland, 22 February 1796," Tone, *Writings*, vol. II, 64-65.

²² "Second Memorial," Tone, *Writings*, vol. II, 95.

²³ French nationalized property, i.e., *biens nationaux*.

meant as a form of collectivization, but rather the converse, to allow the state to divest itself of public property and create private property. In short, the Irish Republic was imagined to be a liberal, secular, bourgeois republic based in universal adult male suffrage, a sister republic to France.

Local patriots and Jacobins often had their own visions for their countries before the actuality of allied French republican forces in the region, or later Napoleonic armies, resulted in drastically different realities. Therefore, the aims and the actual programs of the French forces in Ireland must be examined in their own right. As representative for the United Irish in Paris during the Directory, Tone secured from the French government all the promises the Irish desired: the guarantee of a truly independent Ireland under the sovereignty of the Irish people, protection of private property, no “Chouanization,” and the non-involvement of religion in politics. These would be largely born out in the instructions the Directory gave to General Lazare Hoche for the 1796 expedition, emphasizing the creation of an independent Hibernian Republic as the necessary goal, bringing aid to a people desirous for liberty. If the Catholic Committee or members of the United Irish gathered at the moment of the French landing, they would be recognized at the true representatives of the nation until a National Assembly could be convoked. In the meanwhile, Hoche was to

watch over the Republic and its representatives, ensure their protection, and intervene if necessary to prevent the accumulation of English agents, although the stress was on restraining the use of any force unless absolutely necessary. Ireland was to be allied to France against England in the present struggle. Upon arrival, the French had two immediate goal: “the organization of a simple and economical financial system and the creation of a formidable navy.” At the same time, they were not to interfere with religious affairs, as “It does not seem that Ireland would be ripe for a revolution of religion.” If the Irish revolution were secured and Hoche possessed the necessary means, he would be further authorized to undertake the invasion of England. But if, for some reason, Hoche could not defeat the English in Ireland, he was, unbeknownst to Tone, ordered to organize a Chouannerie and hold out until the Directory could reinforce him.²⁴

Plans and promises are one thing, but practical application is another. The question becomes how the designs of the Irish revolutionaries and their French allies panned out, at least in the limited time they had to put them into action. The government created by the United Irish and the French expeditionary force under General Humbert in Connacht in August 1798 was not formally a republic, and primarily focused on public order and provisions. The men appointed to the

²⁴ “Instructions pour le Général en Chef Hoche sur l’expédition d’Irlande,” 3 (?) Thermidor, an 4, National Library, Dublin, Ireland, MS 704/ 19-24.

government were all Catholics, local notables, and not particularly enthusiastic supporters of an Irish republic. They did not exceed their positions, for better or for worse, and they remained inactive on any property or land reform. In the words of historian J. G. Simms, they were “Men of moderation who administered their areas reasonably and earned the commendation of local protestants.”²⁵ On the other hand, they failed to create a public treaty of alliance between Ireland and France, as had been agreed upon, binding them legally together and adding an air of legitimacy to the republic to grant it any diplomatic position at all. They were not wholly to blame for this, being in most respects more of a municipal council than a provisional national government. Nevertheless, this still remained a general failing, which would deny the Irish rebels more broadly even the pretense of legal standing as official participants of a legitimate government against British repression.

General Humbert’s French forces for their part, even at the cost of hampering the war effort, stood by their pledge to respect and protect the rights of property. They likewise kept their vows on religion. Indeed, despite the potential oddity of the government that was derided by counterrevolutionaries as “atheistic” coming to the aid of a nation with an

overwhelmingly Catholic population, this was not a significant issue in actuality. At least under the command of Humbert, it appeared that the Irish Republic could be the most genuine sister republic.

The Irish project did not die with the invasion of 1798, although it would be the last French force to set sail for that purpose. What I wish to do here is briefly outline how Ireland might have fit into the Napoleonic Empire, or the Napoleonic settlement of Europe. It is not my intention here to engage in speculative history for its own sake. However, there is a limited field in which applying our real knowledge of the position of Ireland to models of the Empire can test our understanding of both. Napoléon himself, despite as head of the Army of England having met Wolfe Tone and several times contemplated Irish invasions, never fleshed out a significant framework for what would become of Ireland. Before the 1803 Irish Uprising, Napoléon made a tentative agreement to support the movement and independence, which fell apart by August.²⁶ In 1811 Napoléon again attempted to draw up plans for an invasion of Ireland, and said he would meet whatever general conditions O’Connor and the Irish leadership in Paris might have, a statement belying true interest in the matter.²⁷

²⁵ J.G. Simms, “Connacht in the Eighteenth Century,” *Irish Historical Studies* 11 (September 1958): 132.

²⁶ “7914. Au Contre-Amiral Decrès, Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies,” Napoléon Bonaparte, *Correspondance générale*, vol. IV (Paris: Fondation Napoléon, 2007), 258-59. For Emmet’s memorial to

Napoléon, see: Kleinman, “French Connection II: Robert Emmet and Malachy Delaney’s Memorial to Napoleon Buonaparte, September 1800,” *History Ireland* 11 (Autumn 2003): 29-33.

²⁷ Napoléon au Duc de Feltre, Paris, 4 juillet 1811, National Library, Ireland, MS 10961.

Whatever lack of plans Napoleon had for Ireland outside of the invasion, the Napoleonic system existed outside of the man himself. Historian Michael Broers has done us the service of providing a general framework for dividing the empire into inner, outer, and intermediary zones, reflecting how well French reforms and policies were integrated in a region. The inner empire were those longest under French hegemony - primarily France itself, western Germany, northern Italy, and the Low Countries – where Napoleonic political and administrative structures (especially relating to the Code Napoléon) were more deeply entrenched, compared to the outer empire – such as Rome, the Illyrian Provinces, and Spain, where resistance to reform was greater and successful implementation lesser.²⁸ Ireland provides a curious case-study in this instance. Broers himself only momentarily considers Ireland, where he characterizes it, alongside Poland, as “poignant, but derisory” exceptions that prove the rule that “the Grand Empire left no abiding loyalties to its founder.”²⁹ If taken into deeper consideration, however, exuberance for the French Revolution and a republic of their own strongly marked Irish social life. Yet if the French struggled to implement reforms in a place as excited in their favor yet distantly located as Poland, implementing them in Ireland without a stable line of communication across the Channel or constant political coordination between

Paris and Dublin would be a daunting task. As such, if permitted to speculate, Ireland would likely fall into the outer empire, but with elements straddling the characteristics of the inner empire.

The problem posed by the Channel plagues any model for a Napoleonic Ireland. An independent Ireland is one thing. The events of 1796 and 1798 proved how tenuous a hold England had on Ireland and how effective a French landing could be. However, in the long-term, it would have been an immense strain for France to maintain a sufficient force in Ireland to exact taxes back to the metropole for the maintenance of French armies like it could in Continental Europe. Likewise, it is hard to imagine the British navy doing anything less than its upmost to prevent Napoleonic recruiting sergeants from conscripting Irishmen for French armies on the Continent, or even keeping France from shipping over any further reinforcements of their initial invasion force. Recruitment and taxation were demands of all Napoleonic allies and satellites, and the coupling of military demands with legal and political reform went hand-in-hand, two-sides of the same coin that was the professional Napoleonic bureaucracy, the basis of the modern state. If the French armies were not able to extract what they needed from Ireland, the chances of devoting serious effort to modernizing the Irish state seem significantly slimmer. That

²⁸ Michael Broers, *Europe Under Napoleon 1799-1815* (New York: Arnold, 1996), 266-68. For a trenchant review of Broers’s model, see Steven Englund, “*Monstre Sacré*: The Question of Cultural

Imperialism and the Napoleonic Empire,” *The Historical Journal* 51 (2008): 215-50.

²⁹ Broers, 259.

is, unless the initial French forces created a system of extraction directly devoted to an invasion of Great Britain from Ireland itself, as the Directory had hoped.

With England's full annexation of Ireland under the Act of Union in 1800, they stripped away any semblance of self-governance, along with the charade of an Irish parliament. Now Westminster ruled unopposed, apart from the addition of largely symbolic Irish peers. Ireland would cross the nineteenth century as the sole white colony in the empire to lack a parliament.³⁰ Outside of the change in political framework, Britain extracted further economic gains from the Emerald Isle. Despite in actuality being a colony, Ireland was now legally an integral part of the empire. As such, Ireland was required to pay for the "privilege" of British rule and "protection," responsible for two-seventeenths of the imperial expenditure, in addition to its domestic taxes. However, Ireland's debts were not absorbed in the process, piling onto their dues.³¹

In the context of the demands of the British Empire on the Irish, from taxes and expenditures paid, to levees for the army and navy, to civil and political rights forsaken, the potential requirements of the Napoleonic system seem much less severe. Moreover, the potential gains from the introduction of the Code Napoleon were immense. The Ascendancy system would no longer have a basis, with religious liberty

ushering in Catholic Emancipation. The creation of national property out of at least Church and Crown lands would fundamentally alter the basis of Protestant aristocratic power and hamper British royal restoration. Moreover, the Ascendancy being directly tied to British interests, a French policy of *ralliement* would be far harder to enact, further enabling a radical redistribution of land and socio-political power. Longer-term, with the removal of British colonial restrictions on Ireland, even if the full weight of Napoleonic exactions were implemented, the path of Irish industry and agriculture would be opened up for mechanization and the development of capital accumulation. This is in part because Ireland's dependent status on England was a development of hundreds of years of colonization and underdevelopment, far more intrusive than what Broers refers to as the cultural imperialism of the French Empire.

What was Ireland on the eve of the French Revolution? Nothing, a nation toiling under the domination of a near yet disconnected colonial metropole and an implanted, foreign Ascendancy. What did the Irish revolutionaries seek to become? Something, a republic of four and a half million people rid of colonial subjugation commonly expressed in religious terms, where land ownership would not be an exclusive privilege and people have a say in policies or policy makers. What might Ireland be without the Ascendancy and

³⁰ Ferguson, 208-09.

³¹ Georges Lefebvre, *Napoleon: From 18 Brumaire to Tilsit, 1799-1807*, trans. Henry F.

Stockhold (1936; repr., New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 22.

their British handlers? Everything, but an everything free and flourishing, free to develop outside of its state of economic and political dependency into which it had been forced, with more catastrophic consequences to come across the nineteenth century. Yet the entrenchment of the English land distribution and ethnic cleansing made the requirements for Irish liberation all the more daunting, far beyond defeating the English in battle. As James Connolly astutely observed over a century later, “If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle... England would still rule

you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and individualist institutions she has planted in this country... Without a reorganization of society on the basis of a broader and more developed form of that common property which underlay the social structure of Ancient Erin- [nationalism] is only national recreancy.”³² That is why an analysis of colonial Ireland is more than a question of military tactics, but also of the limits and potentials of truly becoming masters in their own country and all that entailed.

³² Connolly, “Socialism and Nationalism (1897),” Marxists Internet Archive, online,

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/connolly/1897/01/socnat.htm> (accessed 9 August 2016).

Shattered Illusions: The Secret Mission of Lieutenant-colonel Björnstjerna to Napoleon in 1809¹

by Andrzej Kosim

The year 1809 is in the history of the Napoleonic epic the critical year, as it has marked the beginning of the end of the French empire. The first crack in the Napoleonic universal monarchy appeared with the start of the Spanish intervention in 1808. This encouraged the rigidity of the policy of Austria, who wanted to recover lost influence in Central-Eastern Europe. This together with the English support for the opposition circles in Europe led to the formation of the Fifth Coalition, the most dangerous of the hitherto existing, because appealing in their plans and initiatives so clearly to the national factor. These processes became a real threat to the foundations of the Napoleonic empire. This harbinger of the rise of nations was to be from now on the characteristic feature of the declining period of the empire on both strategic directions of the Napoleonic expansion, i.e. the southern and central. These processes have also, paradoxically, not avoided direction traditionally very friendly to France, i.e. the northern that was Scandinavia.

The murder of Gustav III in 1792, and subsequently the Regency and then personal government of Gustav IV Adolf have initially marked connection to the historic geopolitics and the rapprochement with France. However strongly conservative attitude towards the French Revolution and fanatical reluctance of the Swedish monarch to Napoleon moved him on the anti-French path, which resulted in useless participation in the Third and Fourth Coalition operations but also attracted closer attention of the emperor to the northern direction. Unsuccessful attempts to an agreement with Gustav IV Adolf led to the French occupation of Swedish Pomerania in 1807, but in terms of the strategy meant the end of the ambitious plans of Napoleon to restore the east cordon composed by Turkey, reconstructed Poland and Sweden.²

The agreement of Tilsit was followed by the reversal of alliances. For the fate of Sweden these agreements, confirmed in Erfurt in 1808, became a massive threat. Although the official documents do not contain

¹ This study will be included in my monography prepared for the Librairie historique Teissèdre, *Napoléon contre Castlereagh. Dans la toile d'araignée antinapoléonienne de Londres 1799-1822 (Napoleon versus Castlereagh. In the Anti-Napoleonic Spiderweb of London, 1799-1822)*.

² Armfelt to Posse, Stockholm, 8 May 1809, qtd. in Berndt von Schinkel, *Minnen ur Sveriges nyare historia, samlade af B. von Schinkel. Bihang, utgifvet*

af S. J. Boëthius, II (Upsala 1881), 104; Henri-Gatien Bertrand, *Cahiers de Sainte-Hélène. Journal 1816-1817. Manuscrit déchiffré et annoté par Paul Fleuriot de Langle (Paris, 1951), 208-09; and René Pétiet, Gustave IV Adolphe et la Révolution française. Relations diplomatiques de la France et de la Suède de 1792 à 1810 d'après des documents d'archives inédits* (Paris, 1914), 322.

expressis verbis the relevant expression, outside the granting of Finland to Russia, the effect of activities of France and Russia brought in practice an attempt to partition the country into occupying zones: Danish-French and Russian, therefore to dismantling Sweden with increasingly in the course of time indicated tendency to entry the country to the Russian sphere of influence.³ In circulation were rumors about the partition of the country between Denmark and Russia along the line of the river Motala, which became an important incentive to act for the Lieutenant-colonel Georg Adlersparre (1760-1835), hostile to the reigning monarch.⁴ A grave danger loomed large over the country.



The situation became dramatic, when in March 1809 the Russian army occupied Umeå in the North and the archipelago of Åland in the East, then directly threatened

Stockholm. In the complex political conditions, active opposition circles and conspirators planned the arrest of the king already in February.⁵ The course of events were rapid. First the rebellion reached the Värmland division of Western Army (*västra armén*) under the leadership of Lieutenant-colonel Adlersparre with the famous manifesto from Karlstad 7 March and the march of the revolting troops in the capital and then the 13 March palace coup in Stockholm and arrest of the monarch by general Carl Johan Adrecreutz (1757-1815). The reins of government in the country are taken over by the group of opponents, called the men of 1809–1809 *års män* and the brother of the murdered king Prince Karl/Charles, who from 1803 remained not in the best relations with his nephew, became the regent, formally from 6 June sitting on the throne as Charles

³ Frédéric de Martens, *Recueil des traités et conventions conclus par la Russie avec les puissances étrangères publié d'ordre du Ministère des Affaires étrangères*, vol. 14 *Traité avec la France 1807-1820* (St. Pétersbourg, 1875), 70-73; Hedvig Elisabeth Charlottas dagbok. *Översatt och redigerad av Cecilia af Klercker, född Lewenhaupt* (hereafter abbreviated HECD), vol. 8 (Stockholm, 1908), 382-83; and *Adolphe Thiers, Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire faisant suite à l'histoire de la Révolution française*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1847), 647-48, 655, and 668-69.

⁴ Axel Brusewitz and Georg Adlersparre, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (hereafter abbreviated SBL), vol. 1 (Stockholm, 1918), 163-64; and Sten Carlsson and Torvald Höjer, *Den svenska utrikespolitikens historia*, vol. 3 *1792-1844* (Stockholm, 1954), 123-24.

⁵ Although the coup plans already existed in the years 1807-1808. See Sten Carlsson, *Svensk historia*, vol. 2 *Tiden efter 1718* (Lund, 1980), 236.; and Carlsson and Höjer, 124.

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It is difficult to talk about the revolution: It was rather a coup of elites. Despite the prevailing dissatisfaction in the country due to the bad war situation and isolation on the international stage and the financial burden came no protests and therefore no support for the activities of the conspirators from the wider public. On the contrary among the Lutheran clergy and peasants were revealed strong royalist sympathies, which Gustav IV Adolf was not able to exploit.⁶ Therefore only the convocation of an extraordinary Riksdag gave the conspirators not only the highly desired legitimacy for their activities but also transmitted the rebellion of elites to the wider public. And only properly from this point can one talk about the spread of revolutionary sentiments in the country.

The coup of March 1809 had far-reaching consequences for the survival and reorganization of the state which together with the new, adopted on 6 June constitution (*Regeringsformen 1809*) passed from the absolute government to representative form of regime based on separation of powers according to the theory of Montesquieu. The change was very important and signed by the men of 1809, grouping beyond conspirators also a significant part of the elite from Gustav IV

Adolf's entourage that at the head with Gustav af Wetterstedt (1776-1837) smoothly passed to the camp of March winners, entering immediately after the coup without any greater defiance the Ministerial Council under the chairmanship of Prince Charles.⁷ But in the contemporary political situation of Sweden priority of the new authorities was to prevent the threat of disintegration of the state and in the first place to build a dam to the Russian pressure. Eyes of the government had turned on France, i.e. Napoleon.

This correlation manifested perfectly with the establishment of diplomatic relations after the coup d'état of March. When the president of the Royal Chancellery Fredrik Wilhelm von Ehrenheim (1753-1828) with his letter to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jean-Baptiste de Nompère de Champagny (1756-1834) opened the field to peace negotiations, identified in it France as *partie principale / main part* having to appear in the role of an intermediary towards Denmark and Russia.⁸ But still the same day, 17 March, this term had been adopted and clarified by Prince Charles in a personal letter to the emperor, which informs him of the acquisition of government and the desire of peace settlement. The regent regarded Napoleon as he was being seen by Swedish elites and so just: "as main part in the negotiations

⁶ Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères (hereafter abbreviated AMAE), Mémoires et documents (hereafter abbreviated MD), Suède, Vol. 36, *Réflexions et anecdotes sur la guerre de 1808 entre la Suède et la Russie et la révolution de 1809*, f. 72; and Carlsson, 238.

⁷ Hans Ludvig Forssell, *Minne af statsministern m. m. greve Gustaf af Wetterstedt* qtd. in *Svenska Akademiens handlingar ifrån år 1886*, vol. 3, 1888 (Stockholm, 1889), 96-97; and Carlsson, 237.

⁸ Riksarkivet (hereafter abbreviated RA), Anglica, Vol. 513, N° 2, copie, Ehrenheim to Champagny, Stockholm, 17 March 1809.

that I wish to open, convinced that his peaceful dispositions will determine first of all his allies to end the war that they make to my homeland.”⁹ Just so it was formulated in the letter of Prince Charles to the tsar with the proposal to launch peace negotiations.¹⁰ In fact it was therefore attempted to block the tendency, clearly drawing from Tilsit, for the entry of the country to the Russian sphere of influence. The imperial answer did not give a long time to wait. Already 12 April Napoleon dictated from Paris his thoughts, formulated in a friendly but cautious tone, forwarding to the fore the need for consultation with allies, i.e. with Denmark and Russia.¹¹

The situation of Sweden was after all so difficult that not waiting for the receipt of the reports from the mission dispatched on the continent, it was decided on a secret meeting of the Ministerial Council to send to Napoleon the next one, whose aim was to explore the imperial reaction to an offer of succession to the Swedish throne for the future brother-in-law of the tsar (from 3 August 1809) Peter Frederick Georg Prince of Oldenburg (1784-1812), in exchange for the return of Finland or in case of

impossibility the acquisition of Norway.

In the letter to Napoleon, Prince Charles informs about the proposal presented to the tsar to send to Petersburg representative in order to begin peace negotiations and to make sure he could count on “partie principale” and find in him “a support and a mediator.” All this in the belief that, placed under the care of Napoleon’s generosity, interests and: “the present and future destinies of Sweden could not be indifferent to this monarch,”¹² nor should matter to him on its weakening because he often spoke about maintaining the balance on the northern direction. Therefore the regent had hoped that the emperor would not require conditions devastating the country and encourage Russia to moderation. The best solution would be if negotiations of Sweden with Denmark and Russia took place simultaneously with ongoing peace talks between Sweden and France in Paris or in the place of stay of the imperial headquarters. Then to the fullest would come to voice strong mediation of Napoleon. Much further went temporarily designated Minister of Foreign Affairs Gustaf Lagerbielke (1777-1837), which hearing the news that to Sweden in order to investigate the possibility of the conclusion

⁹ AMAE, MD, France, Vol. 2173, Nr 1 Prince Charles to Napoleon, Stockholm, 17 March 1809. Together with the other documents, this letter was taken to Paris by General Charles-Jean-Baptiste de Suremain. See *La Suède sous la République et le premier Empire. Mémoires du lieutenant général de Suremain (1794-1815) publiés par un de ses petits-neveux*, 153-54.

¹⁰ RA, Anglica, Vol. 513, N° 5, copie, Prince Charles to Alexander I, [Stockholm], 18 March 1809.

¹¹ RA, Gallica, Vol. 523, Napoleon to Prince Charles, Paris, 12 April 1809; qtd. in *Correspondance de Napoléon I publiée par ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III*, vol. 18 (Paris, 1865), 469.

¹² Bilaga 1, Instruktion för H. K. H. Hertigen-Riksföreståndarens beskickning till Fransmännens Kejsare, kaptenlöjtnanten Grefve Robert Rosen och öfverstelöjtnanten M. Björnstjerna, den 29 mars 1809, a. Instruction secrète, qtd. in Oscar Alin, *Carl Johan och Sveriges yttre politik 1810-1815. Historisk studie* (Stockholm, 1899), 3.

of separate peace has arrived Russian Envoy David Alopaevs (1769-1831), concluded without blunt:

This sending of Mr. d'Alopaevs will become consequently a new reason to press the resolution of H.I.R.M. to accept the direction of the negotiations of our general peace, and to interpose himself, so that it took place under his eyes, and was done by his ministry with Swedish plenipotentiaries sent close to his person.¹³

In the event of separate peace negotiations with Russia for which the tsar has anyway received Napoleon's consent, it would be appropriate to send instructions for the French ambassadors in Saint Petersburg and Copenhagen.¹⁴

This mission and correspondence were assigned to two trusted officers of the regiment, which were Colonel Robert Magnus von Rosen (1762-1825) having to bring back the imperial reply and the adjutant of Prince Charles, Lieutenant-colonel Magnus Fredrik Ferdinand Björnstjerna (1779-1847),¹⁵ against which he requested Napoleon that he could remain in his entourage and pass the relation of upcoming with rapid steps important events on the Central European theater of operations. They get started on 30 March.¹⁶

Behind this special and important mission, sent to Napoleon, were standing circles of the men of 1809, among them for instance Adlrecreutz or Wetterstedt who wanted to determine the ground to the further fate of the country in the complex political

¹³ AMAE, Correspondance politique, Suède (hereafter abbreviated CPS), Vol. 293, f. 28, Supplément à l'instruction pour M. le comte de Rosen et M. de Björnstjerna, Stockholm, 29 March 1809, qtd. in Alin., Bilaga 1, b. Supplément à l'Instruction pour Mr le C:te de Rosen et Mr de Björnstjerna, 5-6.

¹⁴ Kungliga biblioteket (hereafter abbreviated KB), Almare Stäkets arkiv (hereafter abbreviated ASA), M. F. F. Björnstjerna (hereafter abbreviated MFFB), Biographica, vol. Fullmakter och förordnanden 1793-1847 (hereafter abbreviated BFF), (...) Instruction, hvarefter (...) öfversten (...) Robert Rosen, samt öfver adjutanten, öfverste lieutenanten (...) Magnus Björnstjerna, äga sig att rätta, vid den i nåder dem anförtrodde beskickning, Stockholm, 29.03.1809; Brev / Biographica, Familjehandlingar (hereafter abbreviated BBF), vol. 1808-1810, N° 30, copie, Lagerbielke do Champagny, [Stockholm], 29 March 1809; Samlade skrifter, vol. Diverse 1809-1834 (hereafter abbreviated SSD), Brouillons de dépêches, notes, etc. pendant ma mission auprès de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon, Note of Björnstjerna

without date; AMAE, MD, France, Vol. 2173, Nr 2 Prince Charles to Napoleon, Stockholm, 29 March 1809, published in extenso, qtd. in Magnus Björnstjerna, *Anteckningar af grefve Magnus Björnstjerna. Utgifne efter hans död, Andra delen* (Stockholm, 1852), 78-81; Berndt von Schinkel, *Minnen ur Sveriges nyare historia, samlade af B. von Schinkel, författade och utgifne af C. W. Bergman, Femte delen* (Stockholm, 1854), 43-46 and 53; Alin, op. cit., Bilaga 1a., 1-5; and Louis Bignon, *Histoire de France sous Napoléon. Deuxième époque depuis la paix de Tilsitt en 1807 jusqu'en 1812, vol. 8 (Paris, 1838), 166-67.*

¹⁵ In the sources of this period it is mentioned in this rank, although he was yet formally major as official nomination for lieutenant-colonel comes from 12 September, with the seniority from 1 May 1809. See KB, ASA, MFFB, BFF, nomination patent from 1 May 1809; Carl Hallendorff, *Magnus Fredrik Ferdinand Björnstjerna* qtd. in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* (hereafter abbreviated SBL), vol. 4 (Stockholm, 1924), 674.

¹⁶ Björnstjerna, 81.

situation of the era.¹⁷ The result of missions of the year 1809 was the foundation for a reorientation of the Swedish policy and drawing up of its directions in the years 1810-1812, so that you can use the term: “the policy of the years 1810-1812 [1810-1812 *års politik*].”¹⁸

The audience with Napoleon took place on 18 April in Donauwörth. Envois were admitted very kindly and were fully of hope. The moment was ultimately greatly deteriorated, critical indeed because Napoleon, heavily involved in Spain and having behind uncertain Germany, faced desperate effort of the Court of Vienna that had to decide the fate of the Austrian monarchy, i.e. at once the southern and central directions. These were then:

the chances that Napoleon takes, these are the reasons that make Him a law of saving Russia, and that is those that prevent him to rescue us as effectively as the inclination and the personal esteem that he has for Your Royal Highness, as well as the political interest of his empire would inspire him in any other circumstance.¹⁹

¹⁷ Archives Nationales (hereafter abbreviated AN), AF/IV/1700, N° 64, Champagny to Napoleon, Paris, 15 April 1809.

¹⁸ In the Swedish historiography says about: *the policy of the year 1812-1812 års politik*, but I believe that the term used by me is more adequate in relation to the policy pursued by Charles John, see: Andrzej Kosim, *Politische Situation Schwedens 1796-1809* [w:] *Zusammenfassung der Beiträge zum Napoleon Symposium “Feldzug 1809” im Heeresgeschichtlichen Museum, Wien 4 und 5 Juni 2009* (Wien, 2009), 72.

This state of affairs could not last forever and victory must fall to the emperor: “and it is then that the time of Sweden will have arrived, perhaps even this happy time is not so remote....”²⁰

During the audience came to a rare situation, namely the emperor himself read secret instructions brought by the Swedish envoy. As he read, a discontent could be seen on the face of the rulers of France, which stated then:

I cannot at this point, as I would like, act for Sweden because I am obliged to spare Russia in view of the dangers, which surrounded me. The fortune may be unfavorable to me, and if then Russia declares against me, my armies below Elba are lost. I promised in Erfurt Sweden to Alexander in equivalent of it that he has left me the conquest of Spain and Portugal. I have been on my knees before your king before the peace of Tilsit to pray to him to allow me to make you a great power.²¹

And more literally, mourning difficult position of the country: “what do you want me to do; your Revolution arrives too late;

¹⁹ RA, *Utrikesdepartementet/Kabinettet för utrikes brevväxlingen* (hereafter abbreviated KUB), *Inkomna handlingar 1809-1901, Skrivelser från särskilda beskickningar 1809-1870* (hereafter abbreviated SSB), Vol. 1, Björnstjerna to Prince Charles, Stuttgart, 21 April 1809.

²⁰ KUB, *Inkomna handlingar 1809-1901*; and SSB, vol. 1, Björnstjerna to Prince Charles, Stuttgart, 21 April 1809.

²¹ Armfelt do Posse, Stockholm, 8 May 1809, qtd. in Schinkel, *Minnen...*, Bihang, II, 104. This is probably the report of Rosen.

I have already exchanged Sweden against Spain.”²² Since: “our fate was decided in Erfurt, we served to exchange against Spain, it is from the mouth of the emperor himself that we have heard it....”²³

On such dictum quite sharply responded Björnstjerna by declaring that contrary to the words of the emperor, the position of the country was not hopeless and underlined the importance by France go having a free and strong Sweden. To his surprise Napoleon changed tone and answered gently, indicating that although he did not like the Revolution, especially carried out by soldiers, this Swedish was necessary and accentuated: “the advantage, he could one day take from it, in a future battle with Russia.” That is why he would have made what in his power for Sweden:

But the time is critical, I need Emperor Alexander’s friendship; I have just asked for his participation in ejecting the enemy from Poland, I cannot and do not want to give him the slightest reason to be dissatisfied. Finland’s possession is for him a life

question. If I would interfere herein and accommodate the Swedish envois in my camp, this would be enough to get me 300,000 Russians on the neck, a company, whereof I have no desire at all. You must therefore both, gentlemen, leave the army.²⁴

Despite the friendly atmosphere and promises for the future it was actually the end of the mission, more could not be achieved: “Roma locuta, causa finita.”

The emperor later gave three pieces of advice that being underestimated, played though its role in the future, namely advised to conclude as soon as possible, in an atmosphere of national reconciliation on the Riksdag, an advantageous peace with Russia, further, the election of the regent to the king and leaving

him by the Riksdag the choice of the successor to the throne, which postponed for better moment can then: “return to Sweden its stolen provinces,” although Napoleon not recommended any German prince. Altogether they achieved properly nothing and the reply of the emperor



²² Björnstjerna, 93.

²³ RA, KUB, SSB, Vol. 1, Björnstjerna to Prince Charles, Stuttgart, 21 April 1809.

²⁴ Björnstjerna, 94.

brought by Rosen in May was in practice his declaration of “*désintéressement*.”²⁵ Napoleon then in the face of increasingly larger problems in Spain and Portugal and ambiguous attitude of Prussia and the forthcoming decisive clash with Austria would not antagonize Russia and renounce the spirit of Tilsit–Erfurt agreements. Vague declarations of intent for the future, it was too little. The emperor promised although intervention as far as possible, but at the same time gave clearly to understand that Sweden got into the Russian sphere of influence: “The Emperor Alexander is generous, noble: that it refers to him.”²⁶

So the attempts to convince Napoleon to intervene in favor of Sweden in the uneasy process of peace with its neighbor came to nothing, not only because the emperor would not expose at risk his relations with the tsar in the for him difficult situation in spring 1809, but also because of the reluctance of the Russian side for such intervention, which in practice meant that the new government in Stockholm was forced to separatist talks with Russia, which meanwhile took a hard attitude against the Swedish peace proposal. All this has not prevented the government in disseminating for national use, in yet unstable political situation, when the need for any success was then very large in the

society, rumors of Napoleon’s kindness.²⁷

The complicated political situation of Sweden has made that after sending Rosen off to Stuttgart and his return 6 May to Stockholm, another envoy, namely Lieutenant-colonel Carl Axel Löwenhielm (1772-1861) has appeared on the theater of war. An altogether short stay was aimed to win support in view of the upcoming peace negotiations with Russia. Napoleon became therefore:

the arbiter of the fate of Sweden. It deposits its interests between your hands, it expects nothing but from you. It will abide scrupulously by your decisions. This conduct, dictated by the confidence that inspires Your Majesty and by the fair idea that forms in Sweden of his all-power, is also the result of little hope that have given rise to the approaches of Russia and the responses of the Danish government.²⁸

In this direction Björnstjerna continuously operated. He was then 30 years old, was therefore still young but talented and already an experienced officer, whereof testified for instance this promotion to lieutenant-colonel. He distinguished himself in time of the Finnish campaign in 1808. As many of the other officers, anxious

²⁵ RA, KUB, SSB, Vol. 1, Björnstjerna to Prince Charles, Stuttgart, 21 April 1809; Schinkel, *Minnen*, 54; HECD, 382-83; Carl Henrik Carlsson, Rosen, von, släkt, qtd. in *SBL*, vol. 30 (Stockholm 1998-2000), 381-82.

²⁶ RA, Gallica, Vol. 523, Napoleon to Prince Charles, *Donauwörth*, 18 April 1809, qtd. in *Correspondance...*, 485. See also Carlsson, 253.

²⁷ Bignon, 167; Carlsson, 253; and Robert Magnus von Rosen, *Nordisk familjebok. Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi. Ny, reviderad och rikt illustrerad upplaga*, vol. 23 (Stockholm, 1916), 863.

²⁸ AN, AF/IV/1700, N° 65, Champagny to Napoleon, Munich, 10 May 1809.

about the dramatic situation of the country, he established contacts with the conspirators' circles and took part in their actions.²⁹ Therefore it is no surprise that he had very good relations with the men of 1809.

Fascinated by the person of Napoleon, “*l’homme du siècle*/man of the century,” he eagerly took up his task. Even the first disappointments have not changed the initial enthusiasm. For immediately after the audience in Donauwörth:

as H. M. the Emperor had the grace to allow that I follow him at the army, I shall not fail the opportunity to insinuate, which by the march of events may be born of favorable; His Imperial Majesty however has ordered to me to go first and for two weeks to Strasbourg, probably not to give some suspicion to Russia in this time of crisis, I have awaiting the permission to write to His Highness the Duke of Friuli.³⁰

Then Björnstjerna, whom the emperor promised to the regent to keep in his

entourage and send back, once he better understands the intentions of his allies, found himself in Strasbourg. And all this not to irritate Russia. The emperor promised however that after the occupation of Vienna, when the situation is changed, he will invite him to his headquarters. And for the time being the communication was

to be done through the Grand Marshal of the Palace, Géraud-Christophe-Michel Duroc (1772-1813).³¹

Condemned to inactivity officer carefully observed events taking place and tried to interest Napoleon in the political situation of Sweden – this old and

natural ally of France, whose alliance was for Sweden a protective shield. The enthusiasm and faith in the emperor, the only person who was able to save the country from the current crisis, the result of breaking by Gustav IV Adolf of salutary and based on mutual interest ties connecting through the centuries Sweden with France, were visible in the memorial to Napoleon dedicated to the importance of Finland, whose conquest has been compared to the benefits achieved by Russia as a result of the partitions of



²⁹ Björnstjerna, 5-16; and Hans Järta, *Hans Järtas berättelse om förberedelserna till 1809 års revolution: Historisk tidskrift* (Fjortonde årgången, 1894), 344-45.

³⁰ RA, KUB, SSB, Vol. 1, Björnstjerna to Prince Charles, Stuttgart, 21 April 1809.

³¹ RA, Gallica, Vol. 523, Napoleon to Prince Charles, *Donauwörth, 18 April 1809*; and Björnstjerna, 94-95. Although it is worth to add that contrary to reports from the epoch, memoirs written down much later were more pessimistic (HEC, 383).

Poland. It reinforced its power and was therefore a threat to France and if Sweden loses all Finland, it will not be able to operate offensively against Russia, furthermore, without any compensation it will be a fatal blow to the kingdom. It would be at that time important to acquire Norway. On the issue of the succession to the throne, it returned to the candidacy of Prince of Oldenburg as a remedy to calm Russia and the possible restoration of Finland, but generally it relied on the emperor.³²

Over time the enthusiasm of Björnstjerna decreased. No reaction from Vienna and specific exile in Strasbourg have undermined the faith in Napoleon. Change of mood was noticeable:

It appears that H. M. the Emperor Napoleon wants to keep great considerations with the court of St. Petersburg, it is closely bound with it, that he sacrifices political considerations which in other circumstances would probably make him to embrace with more intensity the interest of Sweden.

Because the news of the invasion of the Russians of Galicia reached the emperor recently:

this may be a reason not to take a

decision earlier on the affairs of Sweden, here is the one for retaining our prisoners, here is the one for spending my life in Strasbourg. Now when the Russians are definitively engaged in this war, that the Rubicon has been passed by them, perhaps H. M. the Emperor will have to burst his feelings which in Donauwörth have appeared so favorable, but I am afraid that having still need the Russian alliance, he does not keep us so long in suspense, so long that it will not be finally more time at all.³³

Björnstjerna believed that if France does not help Sweden against further actions of Denmark and Russia, a return to the alliance with England and so to the anti-Napoleonic camp will be necessary, but this time in a different political constellation.

Without that imperial call, unable to wait any longer, Björnstjerna hit the road and arrived 22 July to Vienna. Via Duroc he received orders to appear 27 July around 9 o'clock in the morning in Schönbrunn. The aim of the audience with Napoleon was to remind him: "especially of my tottering homeland, which in spite of it, and for the support of its political existence, will be forced to throw itself into the arms of England, if Russia does not stop the hostilities."³⁴ Even such dictum did not touch the emperor, what has shown the

³² KB, ASA, MFFB, SSD, Brouillons de dépêches et notes pendant ma mission près de l'Empereur Napoléon, copie, Björnstjerna to Duroc, [Strasbourg], 10 May 1809 with attached Mémoire, published in fragments, qtd. in Björn-

stjerna, 113-18; *Mémoire confidentiel remis au maréchal Duroc l'an 1809*.

³³ RA, KUB, SSB, Vol. 1, Björnstjerna to Prince Charles, Strasbourg, 21 June 1809.

³⁴ KB, ASA, MFFB, SSD, Björnstjerna to Champagny, Vienne, 26 July 1809.

audience with Champagny, which if during it underlined that Napoleon had nothing more to add than what he passed to Rosen, he alone was more forthcoming. Since the minister: “admitted that it was in the interest of France to support Sweden, that this alliance had to enter in its federal system but that the emperor bound by the crisis of the moment, and by promises made in Erfurt, could not yet nothing for us, and that it was necessary to pass the storm....”³⁵ The reason for this imperial restraint was ambiguous attitude of Russia in a very unstable situation in the summer of 1809, when in Galicia stood strong Russian army animated by anti-French spirit and Austro – Russian contacts were on the agenda.

The difficult situation of France meant uneasy pacification for Sweden as carrying not only the loss of the eastern part of the country, i.e. Finland with Åland, which approved the peace treaty in Fredrikshamn on 17 September 1809, but moreover getting in the Russian sphere of influence. For Napoleon the election of the successor to the throne—Frederick Christian August Prince of Augustenburg, which has adopted the name of Charles August (1768-1810), in July 1809 and the exclusion of the old dynasty were positive elements and meant the end of the affairs of Sweden.³⁶ This lack of active policy on the northern direction

had negative consequences and caused that events unfolded another track.

Foreign policy of Sweden was after the return of Björnstjerna to the country in August 1809 at a crossroads. Peace treaties with Denmark, France and above all Russia meant a grave mutilation of state and pressing it into the pincers of old enemies / new friends. Many depended now on the possession of a successor to the throne, which would bring the country out of such a difficult position. The men of 1809 had long looked for the right candidate. In their circles Marshall Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte (1763-1844) appeared for some time as the right man in the right place, and disappointment with the results of missions of 1809, these tendencies strengthened.³⁷ Surprised by the development of events, Napoleon did not take a firm position here, allowing thereby the election of Prince of Ponte-Corvo, that has adopted the name of Charles John (Charles XIV John), in Örebro on 21 August 1810. This episode has become a turning point in a declining period of the Napoleonic era. The new successor to the throne acted as a pivot connecting England and Russia and reversing the northern direction against Napoleon, whose badly handled conflict with Russia in 1812 meant in this situation the end of empire.

³⁵ KB, ASA, MFFB, SSD, Björnstjerna to Engeström, Stockholm, 14 September 1809. See also Björnstjerna, 157 and 160-162; and Hallendorff, 679.

³⁶ RA, KUB, SSB, vol. 1, Carl Axel Löwenhielm do Wetterstedta, Stralsund, 11 July 1809, but here

were visible revanchist sentiments, firmly prevalent in the country; AMAE, MD, France, vol. 1783, f. 25, Napoleon to Champagny, Schönbrunn, 21 August 1809, qtd. in *Correspondance...*, 374.

³⁷ Björnstjerna, 85.

Post-Napoleonic Political Unrest and the Formation of the State of Belgium 1813-1850: A Conceptual Approach

by Alasdair White

In October 1813, following the collapse of all negotiations between France and her enemies, the Allied armies of Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Austria, with a combined strength of around 380,000 men and 1500 guns, faced the French and her allies whose combined forces was approximately 225,000 men and 700 guns. The main confrontation took place at Leipzig from 16-19 October and resulted in complete defeat for Napoleon: a defeat that led directly to his abdication and subsequent exile to Elba in April 1814.

Even before Napoleon set sail for his new island kingdom, the Austrian Foreign Minister, Metternich, had started the process of dismembering the French Empire, returning Europe to the *ancien regime* of absolute monarchies, and destroying of the gains of the Enlightenment.¹ This unedifying process was to culminate in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna. Amongst the winners in this deplorable display of threats, land-grabs, and the exercise of raw power, was the politically insignificant but strategically important Willem Frederick of Orange-Nassau, Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands.

Metternich, Hardenberg and Humbolt of Prussia, together with Nesselrode of Russia, saw the Austrian Netherlands, essentially what is now Belgium and Luxembourg, as naturally belonging to Germany, thus managing to ignore the fact that the population spoke Flemish (an older version of Dutch) in the north and French in the south and shared nothing either linguistically or culturally with Germany and anyway saw themselves as naturally part of France. But the British representatives, Cathgate, Stewart and Aberdeen, managed to steer them away allowing, Castlereagh, the English Foreign Minister, to pursue an independent policy to keep the Netherlands in the English sphere of influence.

The main British concerns were that Holland should be enlarged so that the Scheldt Estuary was protected by a state sympathetic to England and thus Britain would have a continental gateway. This was also a matter of national security, as Antwerp could easily be used offensively against Britain. Castlereagh's plan was to reinstate Willem Frederik, Prince of Orange-Nassau, as the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands, and then to enlarge that predominantly protestant country with the addition of the almost entirely catholic

¹ See Adam Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace: The Fall of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna* (New York: Harper Press, 2007).

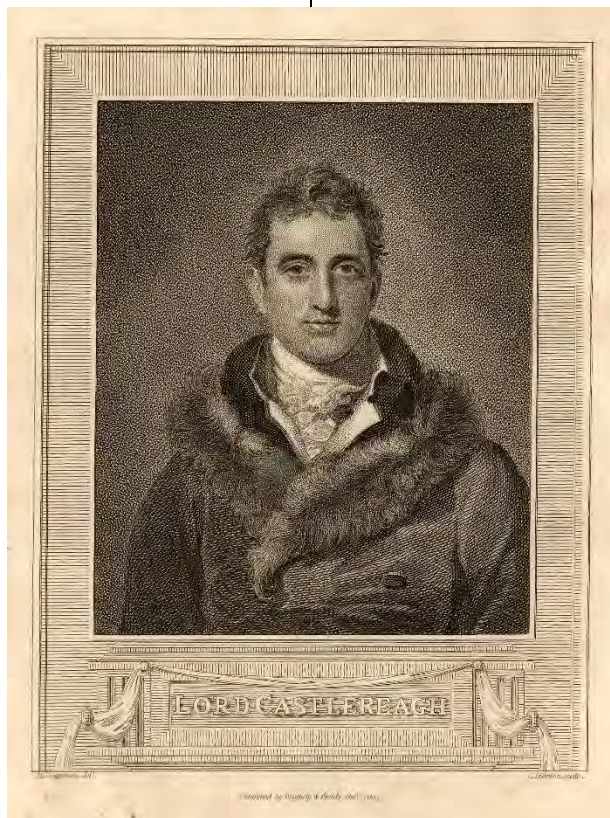
provinces of the Austrian Netherlands to the south, thus creating a country that wrapped round the Scheldt Estuary and provided a buffer state between France and Prussia. That a predominantly protestant north and predominantly catholic south were unlikely to get on did not seem to occur to him.

In December 1813, Castlereagh had arrived in the Netherlands on his way to Vienna and took the opportunity of enacting a *fait accompli* by encouraging the Sovereign Prince to occupy the Belgian provinces as the French had abandoned them. Willem Fredrick obliged, and promptly proclaimed himself the Sovereign Prince of the United

Netherlands, and, on 16 March 1815, as the Congress of Vienna finally came to its inglorious end, he proclaimed himself as King Willem 1st of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands and Grand Duke of Luxembourg (once he had ceded his German lands to Prussia and the Duke of Nassau).

This odd marriage of convenience between a dutch-speaking, predominantly protestant north and a flemish and french-speaking, predominantly catholic south

was always going to be subject to cultural, religious, linguistic, legal and political stress. It wasn't helped by the fact that King Willem sought to suppress long established rights and privileges in the southern provinces and to increase taxation revenue from there. It did at first look as though Willem had grasped the key socio-political realities of the Enlightenment when he requested that the States General in the Netherlands draw up a constitution but this was only applied to the protestant north, leaving him to rule the southern Belgium provinces as an absolute monarch: this in itself may have caused Metternich and his cohorts in the reactivated *ancien regime* bloc to allow Willem's *de facto* land-grab to be legitimised.



And then Napoleon returned to France and rules of the game changed.

From the perspective of Belgium, there was little change except that the area once again became the preferred arena of war for the Great Powers and culminated with the ultimate defeat of Napoleon on 18 June 1815. But, as the armies marched westwards and attention once again focused on France, the realities of the time came into play.

In April 1815, the volcanic Mt Tambora in Indonesia had erupted in one of the largest eruptions of the last 10,000 years, initiating a catastrophic global climate deterioration with worldwide temperatures falling by 0.4-0.7°C, resulting in poor harvests in 1815 and creating what became known as the 'Year without a Summer' in 1816, ushering in what Gillian D'Arcy Wood called a

... three-year period of severe climate deterioration of global scale ... With Plummeting temperatures, and disruption to major weather systems, human communities across the globe faced crop failures, epidemic disease, and civil unrest on a catastrophic scale.²

Wood goes on to explain that with up to 130 days of rain in 1816, crops failed across Europe, resulting in major food shortages, and an increased death rate from malnutrition and starvation. In desperation, the rural poor flocked to the towns and cities, thus shifting the social dynamics and reproducing the socio-economic conditions that had triggered the French Revolution 25 years previously. In Belgium, cool summer temperatures and heavy winter rain caused the 1816 and 1817 harvests of potatoes, wheat and oats to fail and the worst famine of the 19th century was only just averted. Across Europe, riots broke out, often brutally repressed, and typhus, a disease closely correlated with famine and poverty, became endemic from



² Gillian D'Arcy Wood, *1816, The Year without a Summer*, BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History, Ed. Dino Franco

Felluga, *Extension of Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*. Web. [accessed 22/10/2015]

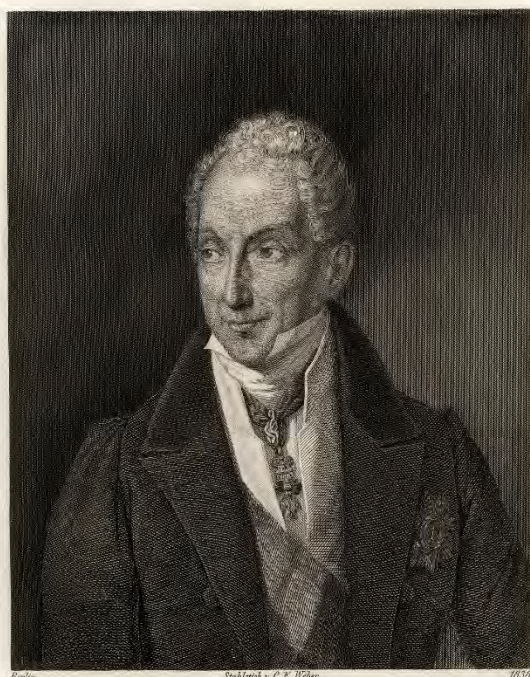
1816-1819. An estimated 200,000 people across the continent died, either of starvation or disease. Conditions and harvests did not return to any semblance 'normality' until after 1819.

In this catastrophic economic and agricultural crisis, Belgian land owners, like Count François Xavier Jean-Marie de Robiano, who in 1816, had bought the heavily battle-damaged château and farm of Hougoumont on the Waterloo Battlefield, turned to their monarch for help. Having written on 19 February 1817 to Willem I of the Netherlands,³ requesting 59,000 francs (568,170 euros today) in war reparations and receiving nothing, de Robiano started the clear felling of the south wood. The entire wood had been felled, cleared and ploughed into arable land by 1820.⁴ But with no reparations forthcoming from the state, de Robiano made no attempt to re-build or

restore any of the buildings along the north and east walls of the farm complex, nor did he attempt to rebuild the destroyed manor house. He simply repaired the other farm buildings, including the great barn and the buildings around the upper courtyard, roofed them mainly in cheap local terracotta tiles rather than expensive Ardenne slate, appointed a tenant farmer, and turned his attention and ambitions elsewhere.⁵ Similar stories abound across central and northern Belgium.

In 1819, once the impact of the Mt Tambora eruption had waned, harvests returned to some form of normality and there are reports that potatoes, wheat, oats and rye grew abundantly in the land

that now contained so much animal matter and fertile deposit in the form of blood and dead bodies. But the return to rural fecundity and tranquillity was not to last.



C.W.N.L. FÜRST VON METTERNICH
Kaiserl. Oesterreich. Staats-Kanzler

Verlag der Buchhandlung in Berlin

³ A copy of this letter, which is in French, is in the private collection of Comté Guibert d'Oultremoent, de Robiano's descendent and last owner of Hougoumont. Seen by the author in July 2015 and a photographic copy is in the author's possession.

⁴ The cadastral map of 1820, which is for taxation purposes, attests to this. This map is in

the private collection of Comté Guibert d'Oultremoent, de Robiano's descendent and last owner of Hougoumont. Seen by the author in July 2015 and a copy is in the author's possession.

⁵ White, Alasdair, *Of Hedges Myths and Memories: a historical reappraisal of the château/ferme d'Hougoumont*, White & MacLean, 2016

Receiving no support from their monarch, and with no tax relief forthcoming nor relief from the arbitrary removal of what they considered their ancient rights, the politically active middle classes and land owners turned their attention to the ideals of the Enlightenment and, noting that the kingdom's constitution was not being applied to the Belgian provinces, began the process of creating political change. At first this was all talk in the gentleman's clubs such as the very active and fashionable freemason lodges. An examination of the membership roles shows that the main Brussels lodges attracted many from the old Belgian families together with the aspiring liberals. The Governor of the Southern Provinces, Willem Frederik George Lodewijk, Prince of Orange, the heir to Willem I of the Netherlands and best known until then for serving under the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo, was an active freemason in Brussels together with his younger brother, Frederick.⁶

Among the other classes, especially the urbanising artisans, merchants, and the new industrial entrepreneurs, the restrictive practices of the Dutch King and the removal of ancient rights associated with trade and commerce fermented a growing sense of frustration. Things were made worse by the growing power of the coal miners of the Borinage (the area around the town of Mons) and the increasing poverty of the labouring classes as agriculture became even more

mechanised and the migration of rural workers to the towns and cities increased.

The ruling political classes, and especially those aligned closely with the Dutch King, failed to recognise the social and proto-revolutionary pressures that were building up, pressures that arose out of the shifts in the social, demographic and political landscape at all levels. However, the politically active middle ranks of land owners, men like Count de Robiano, were more attuned to the changing dynamics and many entered the political arena. De Robiano became an active member of the anti-Dutch political grouping and took a seat in the legislative council and a prominent role in drafting legislation and policy for the Belgian Provinces, policy and legislation that was promptly ignored by the Prince of Orange or dismissed by the Dutch States General and the King.

This uneasy state of affairs, with its steady shift towards Enlightenment principles, resulted in growing unrest and, when coupled with very real social problems associated with poverty and food insecurity, a breakdown of law and order. Interestingly, the military, those responsible for the maintenance of law and order, failed to take strong measures to quell the unrest and a number of officers found reasons for doing nothing.

Things were coming to a head.

⁶ In the Regular Grand Lodge of Belgium, Brussels, there is an original certificate recording the attendance of members at the meeting at which

the Prince of Orange and his brother Frederick became masons in Lodge l'Union

On 25 August 1830, bloody riots erupted and Brussels became ungovernable,⁷ forcing the Prince of Orange to leave the city. The Prince negotiated with the burghers of Brussels and recognised the need for a major reform but his father rejected this and sent in troops to retake the city resulting in bloody street fighting from 23-26 September with the burghers in the ascendant. The Dutch troops were forced to withdraw northwards. This had an immediate impact on the fortunes of the Hougoumont farm as its owner, François Xavier Jean-Marie de Robiano, took the opportunity to advance his position and became a member of the revolutionary 1830-1831 National Congress.

On 4 October 1830, a declaration of independence was made and, on 20 December of the same year, a conference in London brought together the five major European powers of Austria, Great Britain, France, Russia and Prussia, each of whom recognised the outcome of the revolution and ‘permanently guaranteed Belgian independence.’⁸ On 4 June 1831, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was chosen as the new state’s

constitutional ruler and he took the oath of office on 21 July 1831.⁹

King Willem I of the Netherlands, however, refused to accept the situation and invaded Belgium in August 1831 in what became known as the Ten-Days Campaign. The Dutch had some initial success before France stepped in and a French army under Marshal Gérard brought order to the country, finally forcing the Dutch out in December 1832.

With the formation of the new Belgian State, de Robiano became the Provincial Governor of Antwerp before becoming a Senator, a post he held until his death in 1836. As a full-time politician in a new state, de Robiano devoted almost all of his time to his new career, thereby enriching himself, and establishing his relatives as one of the leading families of the post-revolutionary Belgium.

With Belgian GDP (gross domestic product) rising by 1.1% in the period 1820-1850¹⁰ compared to 1% for Britain, 1.1% for France and <1% for the rest of the region, the country had a rapidly industrialising and urbanising population

⁷ There are a number of romantically minded historians who try to link this unrest with the performance of David Auber’s opera *La muette de Portici*, about repression of the Neoplatans, which was performed that evening at the *La Monnaie*, the Brussels opera house. For simple, practical and logistical reasons, this is unsustainable as the unrest started before the performance ended and involved miners from the *Borinage* the coal mining area around Mons, some 70 kms away who must have set off on their journey to Brussels four days previously. The unrest was, almost certainly, pre-planned and well executed.

⁸ It was the German Kaiser’s breach of the final 1839 version of this declaration and guarantee that was the reason why WWI started when the Germans invaded Belgium in 1914.

⁹ 21 July is, as a result, Belgium’s National Day on which there are parades, a military display and a public holiday.

¹⁰ Eric Vanhaute et al., *The European subsistence crisis of 1845-1850: a comparative perspective*, University of Ghent, 2006. Delivered at 2006 International Economic History Association congress in Helsinki. www.helsinki.fi/iehc2006/papers3/Vanhaute.pdf. A copy is in the author’s possession.

that created a food security crisis in which supply was barely matching demand. Agriculture was of growing importance but investment into agricultural development was low and, lacking evidence to the contrary, it seemed that Hougoumont was no exception. The formal garden become overgrown and heavily wooded and it seems probable that the orchards, now less productive with ageing trees and reduced demand, were uprooted and turned into arable land.

The Dutch formally accepted the loss of their southern provinces and signed the London Treaty in 1839. This led directly to constitutional changes in the Netherlands and resulted in Willem choosing to abdicate as King: he had chosen to remarry and his bride-to-be was Henriette d'Oultremont, who was paradoxically, both a Belgian and a Roman Catholic. On 7 October 1840, he was succeeded by his son, the Prince of Orange, as King Willem II.

This didn't solve the problems for Belgium but it did revive the economy and by the beginning of the 1840s cereal production and potatoes to feed urbanised masses accounted for some 14% of Belgian arable land. Then, in 1845, came the first wave of *phytophthora infestans* or potato blight. This infection reduced the potato yield by 87%

in 1845 and a further 43% in 1846, a devastating amount that led to an estimated 40-50,000 deaths in Flanders and northern Wallonia.¹¹ This was coupled with a dramatic drop in rye yield (-50%) and a less severe drop in wheat yield (-10%).¹² In other northern European countries, notably Ireland where one million deaths occurred and over two million people emigrated, famine and severe food shortages occurred and this continued until 1849 and later.

This quick review of the post-Napoleonic history of what is now Belgium suggests strongly that it was a pragmatic combination of the food insecurity, industrial development coupled with the urbanisation of the population, and the desire for social change that triggered the Belgian Revolution of 1830 and the subsequent establishment of the state of Belgium. Suggestions that the Belgian population, fuelled by revolutionary ardour and the ideas of the Enlightenment, rose up and overthrew an absolute monarch seem misplaced and I contend that a less romanticised evidence-based approach to history gives a better understanding of events.

¹¹ Eric Vanhaute et al. - *ibid*

¹² Eric Vanhaute et al. - *ibid*

Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna and the Abolition of the Slave Trade

by William L. Chew III

Last year's tragic events in Charlottesville, Virginia (highlighting the resurgence of American white supremacists during the Trump presidency) and Kanye West's (an African-American rapper and seemingly unlikely Trump supporter) a-historical, insulting and downright weird suggestion that black slavery may have been a matter of "choice" reminded us yet again that slavery as an institution and that the slave-trade, its prime logistical enabler, are still far from being "ancient history," of interest only to historians in their much-maligned so-called ivory towers. And so, it seems apropos and of fresh relevance to turn to a relatively ignored aspect of Napoleonic history and that of the Vienna Congress: the abolition of the slave trade as an eventual precursor of the abolition of the institution itself.

When he came to power, Napoleon appears to have been open-minded towards the institution, though probably intellectually opposed to it, given his known readings of the philosophes. As a pragmatist, however, he was quite aware of the social disturbances and economic disruption caused in the French colonies by the Convention's emancipation and abolition decree of 4 February 1794. He was,

furthermore, under the strong influence of his first wife Josephine's so-called "parti créole," which lobby group desired a return to the *ancien régime* status quo. For Napoleon then, scholars tend to agree, pragmatism trumped ideology, and thus the economic interests of France took precedence over the humanitarian ideals of the Enlightenment, eventually prompting him to re-introduce both the institution and the trade.¹

His first official pronouncement on the matter came soon after 18 Brumaire, when he promised delegates from St. Domingue that black liberty and equality in the islands would be maintained. An important impulse leading Napoleon to reconsider the slavery issue, however, was the Peace of Amiens (25 March 1802), in which Britain returned the captured French islands of Martinique and St. Lucia (Article III), where they as occupiers had maintained slavery in the interim.² Indeed, as early as November 1801, Napoleon had informed the *Corps Législatif* that Guadeloupe would remain free, while slavery was to be retained in Martinique. On 27 April 1802 then, Napoleon submitted a proposal to Second Consul Jean Jacques Régis de Cambacérès designed to institute a two-

¹ *Dictionnaire Napoléon*, ed. Jean Tulard (Paris: Fayard, 1987), 673; and Lawrence C. Jennings, *French Anti-Slavery. The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in France, 1802-1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 4.

² For the full treaty text see "Treaty of Amiens," *The Napoleon Series*, http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/government/diplomatic/c_amien.html [Accessed 21 February 2018].

tier colonial system (slave and free), which however ran contrary to the will of the French assembly, itself apparently moving rapidly towards a complete restoration of slavery. At the same time, several factors contributed to the strengthening of anti-abolitionist opinion, including significant publicity given to black-on-white violence in St. Domingue, and the pro-slavery writings of prominent anti-Enlightenment authors such as Pierre Victor Malouet, Bory de Saint-Venant and François René de Chateaubriand in his famous *Génie du Christianisme* (soon to become the conservative manifesto of the Restoration with its paternalist celebration of the alliance of throne and altar).³

Cambacérès, against Napoleon's proposal, developed his own plan for the return of slavery in the colonies, except Guadeloupe, Guyana and St. Domingue. This was considered unconstitutional by the Senate because of the notion of dual status, and sent it back to the First Consul, who was advised to adopt a uniform slavery-only régime. He did so on 12 May 1802, even making Guillemain de Vaivre (previously intendant of St. Domingue during the *ancien régime*) its new governor.⁴ Napoleon's restitution of slavery also prohibited mixed marriages between slaves and non-slaves and forbade slaves from entering the metropolis. It did, however, confirm the status of freedmen who had



S. A. S. M. LE DUC DE PARME,
Prince Archi-Chancelier de l'Empire, né à Montpellier (Hérault) le 15 8^{bre} 1753.

³ *Dictionnaire Napoléon*, 673; and Jennings, 4.

⁴ Jean Tarrade, "Les Colonies et les principes de 1789: Les assemblées révolutionnaires face au

problème de l'esclavage," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 76 (1989): 12.

served the Republic, e.g. as military volunteers. These included black soldiers who had fought valiantly against the British in 1794 and continued to fight with distinction in Europe and Egypt, where the ranking cavalry general was a black from St. Domingue.⁵

There has been some scholarly debate on Napoleon's motivation to return to a uniform slave regime. According to Serge Daget, "He had been advised to do so by colonial 'experts' allegedly acting from the most *philanthropic* [my italics] motives, namely to restore tranquility to the disordered colonies."⁶ Jean Martin has argued that

Napoleon's policy on slavery has generally been judged reactionary [...] by a posterity with little concern for placing itself in the mentality of the era. In fact, the First Consul was certainly, in this matter, manipulated as much by his entourage as by a part of the political personnel.⁷

After the re-introduction of slavery, Napoleon was able, through his control of public opinion (primarily through censorship of the press) to virtually eradicate abolitionist writing and play into the hands of the colonial lobby. Hardly any abolitionist activism survived. A brief exception was the continued publication,

by the Abbé Grégoire, a member, along with Lafayette and Condorcet, of the *Société des Amis des Noirs*, of abolitionist writings criticizing the slave trade, but only because of his connections to Joseph Fouché, minister of police and Napoleon's press watchdog. Grégoire's more radical attack on the institution itself, published in 1810, however, was immediately suppressed. Napoleonic authorities even actively promoted the publication of anti-abolitionist writings. The overall impact of this repression of abolitionism was that the few surviving abolitionists were forced to return to the old, pre-1789, moderate strategy of focusing their efforts on abolition of the trade, deemed the single most inhumane aspect of the institution as a whole and pragmatically more easily attainable than complete abolition, a strategy which continued long after Napoleon's demise.⁸ Yet British pressure on France after the Emperor's abdication in Fontainebleau in 1814 injected a new dimension into the issue, as revealed in the First Peace of Paris.

First Peace of Paris

Soon after Napoleon's departure, British abolitionist Zachary Macaulay traveled to France on a fact-finding mission to gauge public opinion on abolition of the trade, reporting back to Foreign Secretary Castlereagh that it would take a prolonged

⁵ Louis-Fr. Tigrane "Histoire méconnue, histoire oubliée, que celle de la Guadeloupe et son armée pendant la période révolutionnaire," *Revue historique* 282 (1989): 167-86.

⁶ Serge Daget, "A Model of the French Abolitionist Movement and its Variations," *Anti-*

Slavery, Religion and Reform: Essays in Memory of Roger Anstey, eds. Christine Bolt and Seymour Drescher (Folkestone: Dawson, 1980), 68.

⁷ *Dictionnaire Napoléon*, 673.

⁸ Jennings, 4-5.

press campaign to win over the French people. Diplomatic pressure, therefore, should focus on swaying the government. Politically, he argued, forced abolition was not a good policy, because it would destabilize the Restoration government, in which analysis he concurred, ironically, with Talleyrand. The Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, also came to believe that too much pressure on France would do more harm than good. Meanwhile, in the lead-up to peace negotiations, British abolitionists began to exert their own pressure on Continental monarchs and statesmen. William Wilberforce directly lobbied Alexander I, Talleyrand, Lafayette and Louis XVIII in support of abolition, and Thomas Clarkson even presented the French king with a translation of one of his pamphlets.⁹

The slave trade was a highly emotive issue in Britain and the public was strongly

against allowing France to continue with it. British abolitionists pressured their own negotiators at Paris not to return any of the captured French colonies unless the defeated nation promised not to resume the trade. Thus, Wilberforce suggested to Liverpool and Castelreagh a clear *quid-pro-quo* position to force

France to abolish the trade, using her colonies as leverage. Indeed, he warned Liverpool that there would be trouble in Parliament if the negotiations with France were not successful on this count. On 27 June 1814, therefore, Wilberforce moved in the House of Commons that the government pursue abolition of the trade, with France. The motion and a similar one in the House of Lords passed with massive support. Subsequently, even the Prince Regent

appealed directly to Louis XVIII on the matter.¹⁰

Yet there were dangers in Britain putting



⁹ Martha Putney, "The Slave Trade in French Diplomacy from 1814 to 1815," *Journal of Negro History* 60 (1975): 412; and Jerome Reich, "The Slave Trade at the Congress of Vienna: A Study in English Public Opinion," *Journal of Negro History* 53 (1968): 129-33.

¹⁰ Gregor Dallas, *1815 The Roads to Waterloo* (London: Pimlico, 2001), 72-73, 126, and 195; *Dictionnaire Napoléon*, 1651; Putney, 412; and Reich, 129-31.

too much pressure on France. Louis XVIII might be discredited with the population, and France might be thrown into the arms of Spain and Portugal, thereby strengthening the slaving powers overall. As early as the peace negotiations conducted at the Congress of Châtillon during February and March, the allies presented to Caulaincourt, Napoleon's emissary, their proposal regarding abolition of the trade. The resulting French response immediately indicated the sensitivity of the issue regarding Gallic national honor—touchy under the best of circumstances. The Duke of Wellington, then British ambassador to France, carried out the negotiations under severe pressure from abolitionists and public opinion back home. Wellington had been instructed by Castlereagh to work hard for abolition of the trade by personally lobbying Louis XVIII and Talleyrand, specifically sounding out the latter on the idea of boycotting nations who continued trading in spite of an agreement not to do so.¹¹

The First Peace of Paris was signed on 30 May 1814 between France and the victorious Allies. Terms pertaining to the slave trade are contained in the section entitled “Additional Articles between France and Great Britain,” itself numbering five articles concerning several matters not treated in the main text.¹² Article I deals with the slave trade. In it,

France agreed with the British that the traffic be described as “repugnant to the principles of natural justice and of the enlightened age in which we live.” She undertook to abolish the trade within five years, during which grace period “no Slave Merchant shall import or sell Slaves, except in the Colonies of the State of which he is a subject,” thereby effectively restricting her slave traders to traffic with the French colonies. France, finally, pledged to collaborate with Britain, at the upcoming Congress of Vienna, “to induce all the Powers of Christendom to decree the abolition of the Slave Trade, so that the said Trade shall cease universally.” This provision particularly targeted the first Atlantic colonial powers, Portugal and Spain, themselves major slave-traders.

British public opinion, and much of Parliament, severely castigated Castlereagh for not obtaining the trade's outright abolition. He was most heavily criticized by Wilberforce, and the treaty provoked widespread abolitionist rage since it not only restored France to her colonial possessions in the West Indies, but also permitted her to continue importing slaves, albeit for a fixed duration.¹³ According to Martha Putney, much of the British public felt the terms of the peace with regard to the trade were a “reflection on the honor

¹¹ Putney, 411 and 414; Harold Nicolson, *The Congress of Vienna. A Study in Allied Unity: 1812-1822* (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1946), 214; and Reich, 133.

¹² Clive Parry, ed., *Consolidated Treaty Series*, vol. 65 (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, 1969), 193-94.

¹³ Nicolson, 212; and Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776-1848* (London: Verso, 1988), 320.

and integrity of Great Britain.”¹⁴ Thus, British abolitionists called loudly for continued pressure on France (and other slave-trading nations), though they had to avoid appearing unpatriotic in criticizing the slavery aspect of the treaty, which overall was wildly popular in Britain.¹⁵ At the end of the day, Castlereagh had difficulties justifying the treaty to the abolitionists.¹⁶ Robin Blackburn has concluded, not without reason, that he “justified the colonial and slave-trading clauses of the Paris Treaty on the grounds that they were calculated ‘fully to open to France the means of peaceful occupation, and to transform her from a conquering and military to a commercial and pacific nation.’”¹⁷ They were, in other words, designed to be *statesmanlike*, not punitive. Still, the terms provided by the additional article were widely considered a victory for France, because it gave her five years to abolish the trade, five years in which she could revive it and replenish her colonies with a fresh supply of forced labor.¹⁸ Not surprisingly then, following these unsatisfactory results, abolitionists worked hard to get better results at Vienna, and both Clarkson and Wilberforce lobbied the Russian and Prussian sovereigns personally for support.¹⁹

The Congress of Vienna and the Slave Trade

Britain went to Vienna with highly

ambitious aims—a universal, legally binding and enforceable abolition of the slave trade—though such aims proved ultimately unattainable given the opposition among Continental slaving nations. She herself had, in the Slave Trade Act, abolished the odious commerce in 1807, but the end of the Napoleonic Wars and high European tariff walls gave the Continental colonial powers an economic edge, and since the strong abolitionist movement made a repeal of the abolition act impossible, Britain had no choice but to move towards a possible universal abolition, ergo her stance at Vienna. As long as the institution of slavery existed, which Britain herself did not abolish until 1833, only a universal, legally binding and enforceable abolition of the trade made sense, because it only took one renegade state to continue the trade.²⁰

British negotiations were largely determined by a combination of public opinion, diplomatic-political considerations and French realities on the ground. Public pressure on Castlereagh, in the shape of a really significant mass movement including influential abolitionist politicians among both Tories and Whigs, was immense. Before his departure for Vienna, the Commons were deluged with some 800 abolitionist petitions, which according to Wellington only served to strengthen French resolve to oppose British pressure.

¹⁴ Putney, 415.

¹⁵ Reich, 130.

¹⁶ Serge Daget, “L’Abolition de la traite des Noirs en France de 1814-1831,” *Cahiers d’Etudes Africaines* 11 (1971): 18.

¹⁷ Blackburn, 320.

¹⁸ Putney, 414.

¹⁹ Reich, 130.

²⁰ Helmut Berding, “Die Ächtung des Sklavenhandels auf dem Wiener Kongress 1814/15,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 219 (1974): 273-78.

Castlereagh was also quite aware of anti-abolitionist sentiment in the French legislature and that French slavers were preparing to resume the trade in the traditional slaving ports of Bordeaux and Nantes.²¹ And he realized France's cooperation was the key to success on the general trade abolition policy, because Spain and Portugal would likely follow her lead. Thus, he made the trade issue a number-one priority at Vienna, devoting more effort to it than to any other issue.²² Indeed, Anglo-French diplomatic correspondence reveals the issue of the slave trade as the highest British, but lowest French priority.²³

From the outset, Wellington and Castlereagh approached Talleyrand with the idea of an international league of the Pentarchy, given the reciprocal right of search-and-seize, to suppress the international Atlantic slave trade. On 26

August, Wellington demanded a strict French law designed to prevent completely the slave trade between Cap Blanc and Cap Formose, on the Gulf of Bénin, which amounted to an interdiction north of the equator and west of 25° longitude. The proposed law would provide for a reciprocal right-of-search for warships of both nations. Talleyrand appeared agreeable to these demands. But there was friction between the ministry of the Navy, under pressure from the shipping lobby, and the foreign ministry, which felt foreign policy had priority. The Navy Minister, Ferrand, finally gave in to Talleyrand and drafted, by 5 November, a comprehensive law in

15 articles very similar to the British Abolition Act. But Ferrand was replaced as minister on 3 December, his proposal was never implemented until 1831, and Napoleon would soon return with his own ideas.²⁴



²¹ Berding, 273; and Putney, 417 and 421.

²² Putney, 416 and 423. Castlereagh faced strong opposition from Spain and Portugal and both bartered for a quid pro quo. Ultimately, a treaty with Spain was signed in September 1817, in which it promised to abolish the trade by 30 May 1820 and received £400,000. A comparable

agreement with Portugal gave that country £300,000 (Nicolson, 215).

²³ Dallas, 118-19.

²⁴ Serge Daget, "Traites des Noirs, relations internationales et humanitarisme, 1815-1850," *Relations internationales* 60 (Winter 1989): 415; and "L'Abolition de la traite des Noirs en France de 1814-1831," 19. See also Putney, 417.

Another tack tried by Britain to obtain immediate French abolition of the trade was suggested by Clarkson, i.e. offer them an island in the West Indies, and at various times, St. Lucia, Tobago, or Trinidad were considered. Liverpool felt the offer of an island or cash in exchange for immediate abolition would be politically desirable as a

means of placating British

abolitionists, even if the offer were refused. So, he provided

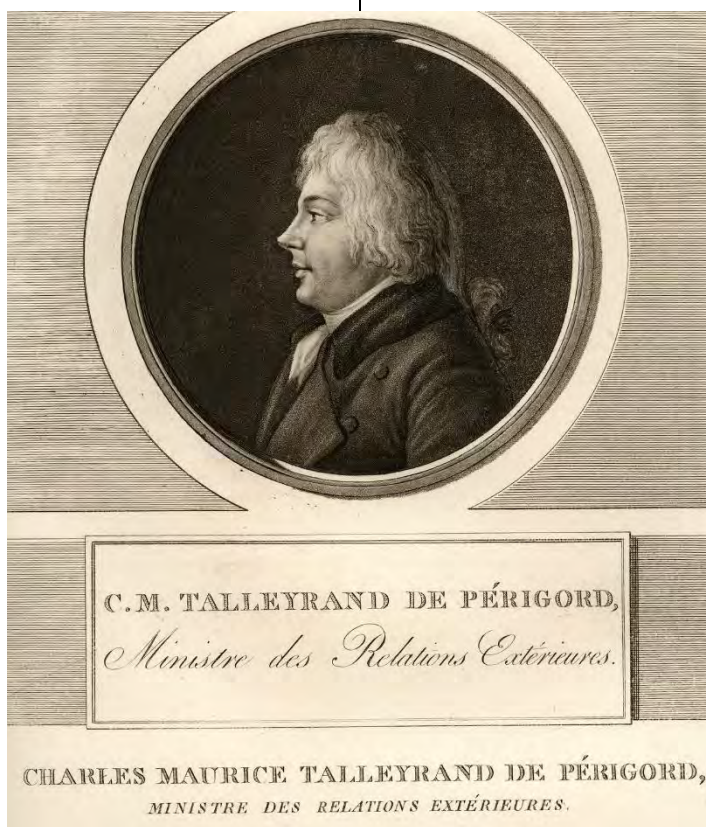
Wellington with a certain amount of bait, allowing his chief negotiator to offer three million pounds sterling, or even Trinidad, as an incentive for immediate abolition.

The offer was officially made in September, but

Talleyrand kept stonewalling. Wellington believed French public opinion precluded accepting such a deal. Indeed, the highly effective gambit of France (as of the other slaving powers, Spain and Portugal) was to string Britain out on the slave trade as long as possible, in the hope of gaining maximum concessions, knowing that her government was under great public pressure. At one point, Talleyrand briefly considered accepting a singular British proposal linking the trade issue with French interests in Italy, where the re-

establishment of the Bourbons in Naples was desired, for which plan Talleyrand needed support. In fact, Talleyrand, well aware of the passionate British public opinion fueled by the abolitionists, had never planned to make any significant concession on the trade, but intentionally misled Castlereagh on the matter, so as to

gain Britain's support for other, more important questions. Thus, he had led the British to believe that France might be willing to immediately abolish the trade, if given sufficient territorial compensation. On 5 November, almost six weeks after the Congress had begun, Talleyrand finally refused the offer of



an island or cash for immediate abolition, while still pledging French support for the British efforts vis-à-vis the Spanish and Portuguese.

A stalemate having been reached, it was Talleyrand, then, who on December 10 moved that a committee of eight, composed of the Big Five, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, be appointed to explore the

problem of abolition.²⁵ The first meeting already indicated divisions, because Spain and Portugal argued that only the four colonial powers should participate, while Britain argued that the issue was universal. On 16 January 1815 all powers except Spain and Portugal agreed to meet to further discuss the issue. Negotiations proceeded at an excruciating pace. Castlereagh kept the pressure on Talleyrand for immediate or rapid abolition. Talleyrand held out the possibility of reducing the five-year period for substantial financial compensation, but immediate abolition was non-negotiable. On 20 January, the committee agreed to draft a declaration to condemn the trade, all powers pledging either to abolish it immediately or as soon as possible. Spain and Portugal agreed to support this only if the declaration included a clause giving each nation the freedom to set its own final date of abolition. On 28 January, the committee discussed and amended the draft declaration over Spanish and Portuguese protests at the initial strength of the language. The penultimate meeting of 4 February was divided between the Continental powers who approved the idea of a permanent slave commission and the notion of boycotting transgressors, and Spain and Portugal who strongly attacked the boycott as an infringement of sovereignty. On 8 February, the committee finally adopted the revised declaration with Castlereagh, who had desperately wanted immediate and total abolition of the trade in exchange for a return of colonies,

accepting the French promise to abolish the trade in five years.²⁶

The Final Act of the Vienna Congress numbered 121 articles, of which 107 dealt mainly with territorial reorganization, and ten with international relations such as the free navigation of international rivers. An annex to the Act included a series of 17 further “treaties, conventions, declarations, regulations and other particular acts” confirmed as part of the settlement as a whole, to include, most importantly, the Constitution of the German Confederation; the regulations pertaining to diplomatic precedence; and the Declaration of the Powers on the Abolition of the Negro Trade. This “*Déclaration des Puissances sur l’Abolition de la Traite des Nègres*,” annexed as Act XV, was signed on 8 February 1815 by the representatives of Britain, Russia, Sweden, France, Portugal, Spain, Prussia and Austria; respectively Castlereagh, Stewart, Wellington, Nesselrode, Löwenhielm, Talleyrand, Gomez Labrador, Palmella, Saldanha, Lobo, Humboldt, and Metternich. These were the same as the signatories of the First Peace of Paris.²⁷

The Declaration begins by stating that the signatories of that treaty were now initiating action targeting the final abolition of the slave trade, stressing that Britain and France had, in a separate article of the peace, engaged to urge all the Christian powers, at Vienna, to “declare ... the universal and definitive abolition of the

²⁵ Nicolson, 212.

²⁶ Reich, 136-39.

²⁷ *Actes du Congrès de Vienne* (Bruxelles: Chez Weissenbruch, 1819), 10-98 and 312.

Negro Trade.” The authors recognized, in oblique diplomatic terms, that economic circumstances contributing to the genesis and maintenance of the trade had so far prevented its abolition, or “have been able to cover up, to a certain point, what was odious in its conservation.” The Declaration exaggerates somewhat in stating that by the time of writing “the public voice has been raised in all civilized countries to demand that it be suppressed as soon as possible.” It further noted that, since the extent and abuses of the trade were widely known and publicly condemned by many, numerous European governments, including those of the great powers, had either abolished the trade or resolved, by legislation, treaty, or other formal obligation, to do so.

The trade itself is termed “a scourge that has for so long desolated Africa, degraded Europe and afflicted humanity.” It had been “perceived by just and enlightened men of all times as repugnant to the principles of humanity and universal morality.” The signatories in this “Solemn declaration of principles” therefore pledged to work towards a total abolition of the trade by all Christian powers. To that end, they declared

in the face of Europe that, regarding the universal abolition of the Negro Trade as a measure particularly worthy of their attention, in line with the spirit of the age and the noble principles of their August Sovereigns, they are moved by the sincere desire to bring about the most rapid and efficacious execution of this measure

with all the means at their disposal, and to act, in the application of these means, with all the zeal and perseverance that they owe such a grand and beautiful cause.

The authors, however, make an important qualification to this high-sounding declaration of intent. Sovereigns had to consider the situation of their subjects and proceed to abolish the trade in their own time, but with all due haste – which would be the subject of further negotiations between the powers. In other words, the sovereigns “will not pursue [abolition] without just consideration for the interests, habits and even prejudices of their subjects”; and “this general Declaration shall not prejudice the date that each particular Power might envisage as the most convenient for the definitive abolition of the trade in Negroes.” These caveats having been made, the declaration’s closing sentence hopefully stated that “the final triumph [of abolition] will constitute one of the most beautiful monuments of the age that embraced and gloriously brought it to an end.”

How significant then, in the end, was Vienna for the cause of abolitionism, given the complex dynamics on the political-diplomatic, economic, and national honor levels involving the premier abolitionist nation, Britain, and the slaving powers France, Spain and Portugal? For many years, the historiography of the Congress treated the issue as marginal to its main territorial and political problems. Since then, scholarship has focused mainly on debating its supposed failure or success (as

measured by British goals), its determinant factors, and long-term impact. Most historians initially considered the Declaration a failure, as it provided for no clear legal framework and enforcement mechanism. Some even saw its high-sounding humanitarian rhetoric as a cynical mask designed to camouflage a harsh economically-determined reality.²⁸ Other scholars took a more nuanced and indeed optimistic view.

Thus, Jerome Reich has convincingly argued that though Castlereagh did not realize the high aim of total and immediate abolition of the trade, his gains were nonetheless significant, given the hard position of the slaving powers. Nor had he been able to obtain the overly ambitious goal of universal search-and-seize, though subsequent bi-lateral treaties with Spain and Portugal did give the British navy the right to search suspicious vessels, for which she employed two squadrons based in the West Indies and on the African coast. This “interference” by the British was, of course, strongly resented by many of the involved, on grounds of national honor.²⁹ Still, a general condemnation in principle was proclaimed and the trade limited to the south Atlantic; a permanent regulatory commission established; and a group of

nations pledged to boycott transgressors. These gains would not have been possible without intense abolitionist pressure, for economic interests alone could never have achieved them.³⁰ Indeed, historians of intellectual history and international law alike argue that the humanitarian movement provided the primary impulse for abolition of the trade.³¹ Robin Blackburn put it like this: “Though vague as to implementation, the declaration against the slave trade helped to confer moral prestige on the actions of the authors of the treaty. Spain, Portugal, Sweden and France all subscribed to the declaration but took no effective measures to prevent their nationals engaging in the traffic. Nevertheless, the British abolitionists appear to have achieved a notable victory.”³² Historians of the Marxist school, finally and not surprisingly, and even some non-Marxists like Max Weber and Eric Williams have argued the primacy of socio-economic factors in assessing the perceived relative weakness of the declaration, and its moral and humanitarian tenor never figured in their explanation.³³

Some scholars of international law take a long-term view and stress the critical nature of the declaration within the causal

²⁸ Berding, 269.

²⁹ In the follow-up to the Congress, Britain continued bi-lateral negotiations with those powers to enforce the declaration, with some limited success. An 1817 treaty with Portugal abolished the northern (but not southern) Atlantic trade, while a treaty with Spain of the same year scheduled her end of the trade by 1820, to include British compensation payments to the Spanish government. (Blackburn, 321). Baron von

Humboldt, who with Count Hardenberg represented Prussia at Vienna, testified that the continuation of the slave trade was perceived as a national point of honor for the French (Putney, 422).

³⁰ Reich, 142-43.

³¹ Berding, 272.

³² Blackburn, 321.

³³ Berding, 270.

chain leading to real abolition, consisting of purely humanitarian abolitionist movements through international condemnation and individual state abolition to universal abolition. Helmut Berding, one of them, sees the declaration as pre-figuring modern and contemporary anti-slavery conventions such as the Geneva Anti-Slavery Convention of 1926 and that of the United Nations of 1956.³⁴ Meanwhile, barely three weeks after the signing of the *Déclaration des Puissances*, Napoleon reappeared on the scene, landing in the south of France and commencing his Hundred Days with a volte-face on the slavery issue.

Epilogue: The Hundred Days and the Second Peace of Paris

On 29 March 1815, nine days after his arrival in the Tuileries, Napoleon issued a decree containing five articles for the immediate and complete abolition of the slave trade, which not only banned French traders, but also foreigners from importing slaves into the French colonies.³⁵ This action has engendered considerable academic controversy as to its precise motivation. Most scholars agree that it was a transparent ploy designed to win over the British.³⁶ Indeed, according to the *éminence grise* of Napoleonic scholarship, Jean Tulard, it was even a political move

designed to split Britain off the coalition.³⁷ Some speculate that an ulterior motive may have been to punish those French slaving ports whose attitude had been too historically Anglophile for the emperor's taste.³⁸ Jean Martin is less cynical, indeed singularly positive, affirming that "The 1815 decree regarding the [slave] trade is a measure that it is fitting to give the Napoleonic regime credit for [...]."³⁹ In the event, the British were not fooled by a possible Napoleonic subterfuge, and they immediately pressured Louis XVIII to uphold the ban, informing him that they would not recognize his authority in the liberated areas if he refused, so the hapless king agreed, not surprisingly.⁴⁰

The Second Peace of Paris, finally, was signed on 20 November 1815. As in the preceding First Peace, the issue of the slave trade was addressed in one of the three articles appended to the main treaty.⁴¹ The additional article in question makes reference to deliberations undertaken at the Congress of Vienna and resulting in the Declaration of 4 February 1815 regarding the abolition of the trade. Signed by the respective British (Castlereagh and Wellington) and French (Richelieu) representatives, it dealt with their continued attempts at effecting the abolition of the trade. It further noted that both France and Britain had in fact already

³⁴ Berding, 266.

³⁵ "Napoleon's Decree Abolishing the Slave Trade, 29 March 1815." *The Napoleon Series*, http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/government/legislation/c_slavery2.html [Accessed February 20, 2018].

³⁶ Putney, 424.

³⁷ *Dictionnaire Napoléon*, 868.

³⁸ Daget, "L'Abolition de la traite des Noirs en France de 1814-1831," 22 and n. 1

³⁹ *Dictionnaire Napoléon*, 673.

⁴⁰ Reich, 140.

⁴¹ Parry, 301-32.

abolished the trade, and that the present article “shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty signed this day.”⁴² More specifically, it set out that the High Contracting Parties, France and Britain “engage to renew conjointly Their efforts, with the view of securing final success to those principles which They proclaimed in the Declaration of the Fourth of February, and of concerting, without loss of time, through their Ministers at the Courts of London and of Paris, the most effectual measures for the entire and definitive abolition of a commerce so odious, and so strongly condemned by the laws of religion and nature.”⁴³ This was, in fact, the declaration signed on 8 February 1815, annexed to the General Treaty of the Vienna Congress as Act XV.

Thus, Louis XVIII and the French government, once-again restored by the

grace of the allies, under British diplomatic pressure decided they had better follow the abolitionist sentiments of that nation and agreed to declaring the French colonial slave trade illegal. The French colonial lobby, however, remained powerful and exercised a considerable influence on the government, so that, in the end, very little was done to implement the ban, and clandestine trading continued. Indeed, the French planters, newly restored to their islands, had a pent-up demand for slaves with which to restock their plantations. Britain, for her part, was left with little else to do than, in a follow-up to the Second Peace of Paris, convoke a further conference of the powers at London on 26 August 1816, which failed miserably, for Britain was, for the moment, unable to gain any further concessions from France on abolition of the odious trade.⁴⁴

⁴² Parry, 306.

⁴³ Parry, 306.

⁴⁴ Blackburn, 320 and 475; and Daget, “L’Abolition de la traite des Noirs en France de 1814-1831,” 24.

Paul L. Dawson. *Waterloo: The Truth at Last. Why Napoleon Lost the Great Battle.*

Barnsley, UK: Frontline Books an imprint of Pen & Sword Books Ltd, 2018. ISBN: 978-1-52670-245-6. \$35.51/ £18.73.

A Review by Alasdair White

Once in a while a book is published, the central hypothesis of which changes the paradigm of a subject and causes a fundamental rethink amongst the experts, neatly dividing them into ‘those that are ready for the change’ and those that ‘totally reject the change’. Such books appear infrequently in any field of study but amongst the plethora of books about the Battle of Waterloo they are a real rarity. One such book is *Waterloo: The Truth at Last—Why Napoleon Lost the Great Battle* by Paul L. Dawson.¹

The title, clearly and obviously a marketing ploy, is misleading and does not deliver on the expectations it raises. This is a serious history backed up by a depth of research which the author has attempted to analyse, following a well-understood and respected procedure. It is not a populist, lightweight, gung-ho panegyric to Wellington (as the title implies) nor another deconstruction of Napoleon (also implied by the title). Dawson is a highly proficient and respected military historian of the Napoleonic era and

his interpretation of the information he presents is thoughtful and profound. It also challenges a number of the myths and legends about the battle, and this will cause raised hackles among the many who think they already know the “truth” about Waterloo.

What Dawson has done is to research and collate contemporary data from the muster roles of the French army as they apply to the 1815 Belgium campaign, and particularly for the period 17-25 June 1815. The findings presented include the number of French dead, and this results in a very different picture to that proposed by both Anglophile and Francophile historians.

As with any research, everything is really bound up in the interpretation and whilst Dawson is not suggesting that the basic events of the battle are somehow wrong, many of the myths and legends are examined, found wanting, and are debunked. And more importantly, the “why” of the military decisions and

¹ Other reviewers have offered their thoughts on Dawson’s narrative and interpretation and I shall leave readers to make up their own mind as to whether their arguments, or those of Dawson, are made convincingly. Similarly, one needs to remember that both Jonathan Abel and Gareth Glover, the two reviewers given below, are historians and authors who have their own take on

the story: <https://networks.h-net.org/node/12840/reviews/1887229/abel-dawson-waterloo-truth-last-why-napoleon-lost-great-battle> and <https://projecthougomont.com/review-of-paul-dawsons-book-on-waterloo/>

movements come in for a very critical analysis. The result in each case is, of course, Dawson's personal opinion and interpretation, but he does back up most of his findings with the use of memoirs (contemporaneously written and those written later) and, of course, the data. What is so interesting, however, is that the hard muster-roll data is used both to support the analysis and also to critically assess the memoirs and other documentary evidence.

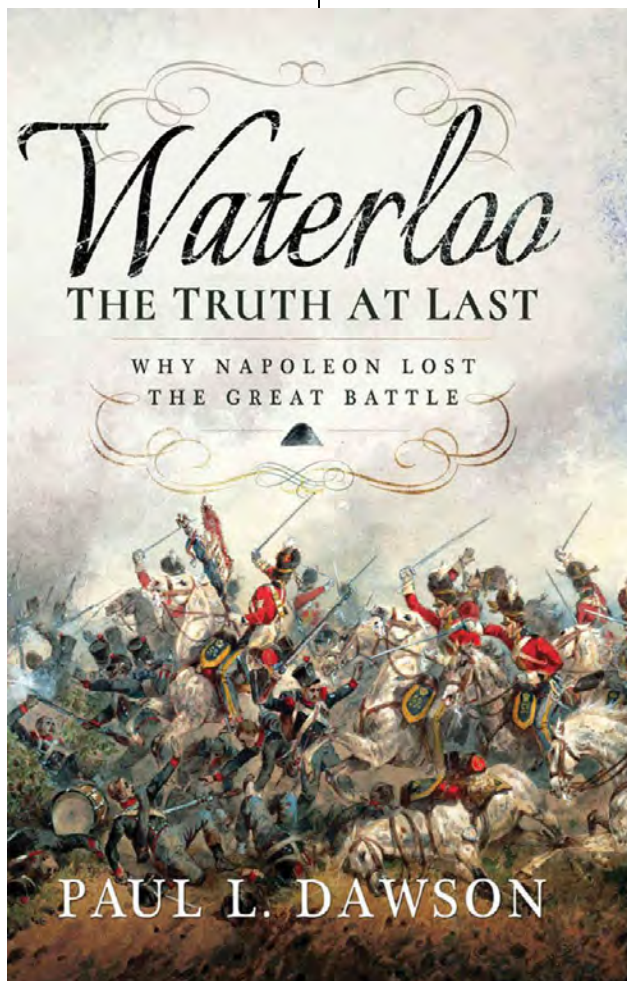
Some of the results are startling. Take for example the total losses experienced by the French at Waterloo—killed, wounded beyond further duty, prisoners, and missing/presumed deserted. Scott Bowden in his 1983

book, *Armies at Waterloo*, quoted by Adkin in his 2001 work *The Waterloo Companion*, proposes that the French suffered 46,656 losses at Waterloo and during the retreat (18-26 June 1815). Dawson, on the other hand, using the *Control Nominatif Troupe* reports, which contain the muster lists for each regiment involved, concludes the actual figure is 23,087 of which just 1,093 were killed, 4,620 wounded, 10,183 taken

prisoner, while 7,102 went missing (deserted?), leaving 89 who might have been killed, wounded, or deserted. This compares very favourably with the Allied and Prussian losses for the same period, which Adkin quotes as 24,000 in round numbers. Adkin's figures suggest that around 4,700 Allies and Prussians died and that around 16,000 were wounded. However, he offers no supporting evidence or data for these assumed Allied and Prussian losses.

If we assume Dawson is right for the French and that Adkin is for the Allies and Prussians, then the following conclusions look logical: 1) a total of 5,793 from all sides were killed during the battle, 2) 20,620 were wounded, 3) Allied and Prussian losses

were higher than French losses, both in terms of numbers killed and numbers wounded—this might, of course, be logical as the Allied forces were very static and thus easier targets than the French, who were more mobile. One thing that is immediately obvious, though: The battle of Waterloo was nowhere near as bloody or deadly as historians have made out. And that is one of the main hypotheses of the book. Clearly,



an historian now needs to investigate the Allied losses with the same vigour and production of data that Dawson has done for the French.

The book, however, is flawed in a number of ways. The way the data is presented in the tables is not consistent and the column headings suggest different assumptions are in play in some cases (probably because differing sources are being used), but it would have been a far better book and far easier to use if the order of the data columns was the same across all the tables. And finally, on the subject of the presentation of data, it would have been useful if the author had included the opening muster figure for 17/18 June in the tables as this would have made the whole dataset more meaningful and avoided what was a frustrating and often fruitless search of the text to find these critical numbers in a consistent format. As a result of this presentational error, it is unclear whether Dawson actually has an accurate number of French troops on the battlefield on Sunday, 18 June 1815.

From the perspective of evidence-based analysis, there is a highly disturbing number of errors in the tables of data suggesting very careless editing and checking, either by the author or the publisher. Of particular note is the table on page 469 which starts Chapter 25 entitled "The Analysis": Only *one* of the cross totals is correct (although all the vertical totals are). This means that the final total is not 21,517 as printed, but rather 21,067. It is easy to see how this would have occurred as data has to be transferred from other

spreadsheets, but to get the totals wrong suggests careless manipulation of the data being presented (or phrased another way, perhaps the author didn't know how to run totals in a spreadsheet!). Although this sort of issue should not raise concerns over the validity of the data nor over the interpretation offered by the author, it is, nonetheless, worrying and unfortunate in a book so painstakingly researched and put together.

As a person carrying out research on a regular basis, for me the most irritating thing about this book is not whether I agree or disagree with the author's interpretation, nor his occasional lapses in the accuracy of his technical terms, but rather it is the completely unusable nature of the 26-page index in which people mentioned in the text are entered in the index under their rank and not under their family name. This makes finding other references to the same person a real chore if the reader has not noted down the man's rank.

Finally, as a declaration of interest, I know and have enjoyed many discussions, both face-to-face and by email, with Paul Dawson who I consider to be a dedicated and highly proficient historian. He and I explored the data and his interpretation of what subsequently became Chapters 2, 3 and 10 concerning Hougoumont, making extensive use of my knowledge of Hougoumont and the surrounding grounds. We also discussed the subject of memories, how they were formed and why they are unreliable once immediate proximity to the cause of the memory ceases. Dawson has

made extensive use of my input and my monograph, *Of Hedges, Myths and Memories: A Historical Reappraisal of the Château/Ferme d'Hougoumont*, published in 2016, for his introduction but,

unfortunately, the citation and reference have been omitted.

Historic Documents

Napoleon's Administration of the Kingdom of Italy: Decree of 28 June 1805

Translated by Alain Borghini

Order of the Day and News from Tyrol 13 November 1805

Translated by Dr. Bill Chew III

Armistice 6 December 1805 and Proclamation 3 December 1805

Translated by Dr. Bill Chew III

Official News 1806 and 1807

Translated by Dr. Bill Chew III

Prelude to Eylau: Bennigsen's Report to the Czar 31 January 1807

Translated by Prince Gregory Troubetzkoy

Napoleon's Divorce Law 15 December 1809

Translated by Dr. Susan Conner and Jamie A. Aumend

The Campaign of 1809: 26th Bulletin 9 July 1809 and Armistice 12 July 1809

Translated by Dr. Bill Chew III

Napoleon's Marriage to Marie Louise: Bulletin of Laws 25 March 1810

Translated by Dr. Susan Conner and Jamie A. Aumend

La Belle Assemblée 1810 – 1814

English Language Document

Napoleon's Administration of the Kingdom of Italy

J. David Markham

On May 26th, 1805, Napoleon was crowned King of Italy in Milan. He immediately undertook the administration of his new kingdom. Many of his decrees and laws were very important, others decidedly less so. This decree establishing the administration of the lottery probably falls into the latter category, but it does demonstrate the level of Napoleon's involvement. The translation is by Alain Borghini.

The engraving from my collection and is from the period.





NAPOLEONE

Per la grazia di Dio e per le Costituzioni,
Imperatore de' Francesi e Re d' Italia

DECRETA

Art. I.

L' Amministrazione del Lotto sarà composta come segue:
Un Direttore generale
Un Segretario
Un Cassiere.

Art. II.

Il Direttore generale, il Ragionato, il Cassiere sono altresì incaricati specialmente dell'amministrazione, conti e cassa del Lotto nel Dipartimento dell'Olona.

Art. III.

Il Ministro delle Finanze è incaricato dell'esecuzione del presente Decreto, che sarà pubblicato ed inserito nel Bollettino delle Leggi.

Piacenza 28 Giugno 1805.

NAPOLEONE.

Per l'Imperatore e Re
Il Consigliere Segretario di Stato
L. VACCARI.

NAPOLEON

By the mercy of God and by the Constitutions,
Emperor of the French and King of Italy

DECREES

Art. I

The administration of the Lottery will be made by:

A General director

A Secretary

A Cashier

Art. II

The General director, the Secretary and the Cashier are members of the
administration on Lottery in the department of Olona.

Art. III

The Minister of Finance is charged of the application of this decree, which
will be issued in the Bulletin of the Laws.

Piacenza June 28th 1805

NAPOLEON

For the Emperor and King

The Councilor Secretary of State

L. Vaccari

At the print shop Velandini (Price 3 soldi)

Order of the Day and News from Tyrol

J. David Markham

The War of the Third Coalition against Russia and Austria was Napoleon's finest campaign and assured him a place in the pantheon of great commanders. Napoleon managed to march his entire army from the English Channel to Germany, in secret, no less. Almost a quarter million men made the journey, catching the opposing forces by complete surprise. He quickly gained the surrender of the city of Ulm by 'the unfortunate General Mack.' He then moved to capture Vienna and sent forces into the Tyrol (southwestern Austria) to fight against forces of Austrian Arch-Duke John, who was moving north after hearing of Ulm and Vienna. Of course, a few weeks later Napoleon would gain his greatest victory at the Battle of Austerlitz.

This document outlines Napoleon's concerns regarding the occupation of Vienna. He encourages good treatment of Austrians in the city, clearly wanting to win 'the hearts and souls' of the people there. He also lauds his soldiers, while reminding them not to get overconfident.

The document also includes news from Tyrol, reporting on their success in dealing with Austrian forces there and in Italy.

Dr. Bill Chew III has translated the document into English and German. The snuffbox from my collection has a hand painted image of Napoleon being given news by an aide.



V I E N N E.

GRANDE ARMÉE IMPÉRIALE FRANÇAISE.

ÉTAT MAJOR GÉNÉRAL (*).

Au Quartier-général impérial à Vienne, le 23 brumaire an 14.

ORDRE DU JOUR

L'EMPEREUR témoigne sa satisfaction au 4.^e régiment d'infanterie légère, au 9.^e de ligne, au 9.^e d'infanterie légère, au 32.^e de ligne pour l'intrépidité qu'ils ont montrée au combat de Dirnstheim, où leur fermeté a conservé la position qu'ils occupaient, a forcé l'ennemi à quitter celle qu'il avait sur le Danube.

S. M. témoigne sa satisfaction au 17.^e régiment de ligne, et au 30.^e, qui, au combat de Lambach, ont tenu tête à l'arrière-garde russe, l'ont entamée et lui ont fait 400 prisonniers.

L'Empereur témoigne également sa satisfaction aux grenadiers d'Oudinot, qui, au combat d'Amstetten, ont repoussé de ses belles et formidables positions les corps russes et autrichiens, et ont fait 1500 prisonniers, dont 600 russes.

S. M. est satisfaite des 1.^{er}, 16.^{er} et 22.^{er} régimens de chasseurs, 9.^e et 10.^e régiment de hussards pour leur bonne conduite dans toutes les charges qui ont eu lieu depuis l'Inn jusqu'aux portes de Vienne, et pour les 800 prisonniers russes faits à Stun.

Le prince Murat, le maréchal Lannes, la réserve de cavalerie avec leurs corps d'armée, sont entrés à Vienne le 22, et se sont emparés le même jour du pont sur le Danube, ont empêché qu'il ne fut brûlé, l'ont passé sur-le-champ, et se sont mis à la poursuite de l'armée russe.

Nous avons trouvé dans Vienne plus de 2000 pièces de canon, une salle d'armes garnie de 100,000 fusils, des munitions de toutes espèces, enfin de quoi former l'équipage de campagne de trois ou quatre armées.

Le peuple de Vienne a paru voir l'armée avec amitié.

L'Empereur ordonne que l'on porte le plus grand respect aux propriétés, et que l'on ait les plus grands égards pour les peuples de cette capitale, qui a vu avec peine la guerre injuste qu'on nous a faite, et qui nous témoigne, par sa conduite, autant d'amitié qu'il montre de haine contre les russes, peuple qui, par ses habitudes et ses mœurs barbares, doit inspirer le même sentiment à toutes les nations policées.

S. M. dans la tournée qu'elle a faite à deux heures du matin aux avant-postes, a remarqué beaucoup de négligence dans le service, et s'est aperçue qu'il ne se faisait pas avec cette exactitude rigoureuse qu'exigent les ordonnances et les réglemens militaires. Avant la pointe du jour, les généraux, les colonels doivent se trouver à leurs avant-postes, et la ligne doit se tenir sous les armes jusqu'à la rentrée des reconnaissances; on doit toujours supposer que l'ennemi a manœuvré pendant la nuit pour attaquer à la pointe du jour. L'Empereur rappelle donc aux soldats, que cette trop grande confiance, en donnant lieu à des surprises, leur a été souvent funeste; plus on obtient de succès, moins on doit se livrer à une dangereuse sécurité; il faut, au contraire, mettre la plus grande exactitude et la plus grande régularité dans tous les détails du service.

Le Major-général, M.^e BERTHIER.

Pour copie conforme:

Le commandant général, faisant fonctions de Gouverneur général, grand-officier de la Légion d'honneur,
Signé, le Général MENOÜ.

Pour copie conforme:

Le Préfet du Département de la Stura,
P. ARBORIO.

* Cet ordre du jour qui confirme l'entrée de S. M. l'Empereur des Français et roi d'Italie dans la capitale de l'Empereur d'Allemagne, est arrivé par le quartier-général de maréchal Ney, qui se trouve actuellement à Trente. Il est probable que les Courriers porteurs des Bulletins, qui donnent les détails de ce grand événement, ont été retardés par les neiges, ou interceptés. Ces Bulletins seront postés aussitôt qu'ils arriveront.

GRANDE ARMÉE IMPÉRIALE FRANÇAISE.

NOUVELLE OFFICIELLE DU TYROL.

Le Tyrol est totalement évacué par les troupes autrichiennes. Le maréchal Ney, commandant le 6.^e corps de la grande armée, après avoir forcé le passage du Schnitz, et après avoir fait beaucoup de prisonniers aux corps commandés par l'archiduc Jean et le prince de Rohan, a établi son quartier-général, le 20 novembre, à Botzen, ayant poussé jusqu'à Trente son avant-garde qui s'y trouvait encore hier 27.

Le corps ennemi aux ordres du prince de Rohan, fort de 4 à 5 mille hommes, dirigeait sa fuite à travers les montagnes sur Bassano pour chercher à gagner de là Venise; le lieutenant-général Saint-Cyr, qui en est prévenu, aura manœuvré pour lui couper la communication. Une division du corps du maréchal Ney poursuivait, l'épée dans les reins, le corps ennemi de l'archiduc Jean, et le poussait vivement sur Clagenarth où devait se trouver le corps du général Marmont, qui était, le 20 novembre, à Léoben et à Judenburg.

Le maréchal Augereau ayant eu connaissance que le général Saint-Juhen, qui défendait le Brenner, avait été forcé par une brigade du corps d'armée du maréchal Ney d'évacuer cette position, s'approcha de Feldkirch, et força les généraux Zelatschitz et Walckemh à capituler. La capitulation rendit prisonniers de guerre les corps sous les ordres de ces deux généraux formant environ 8 à 10 mille hommes.

Pour copie conforme:

Le commandant général, faisant fonctions de Gouverneur général, grand-officier de la Légion d'honneur, *signé, le Général MENOÜ*

Pour copie conforme:

Le Préfet du Département de la Stura,
P. ARBORIO.

Vienna, Imperial French Grand Army
General Staff (*)
At the Imperial General HQ in Vienna, 23 brumaire, Year 14

Order of the day

The Emperor expresses his satisfaction to the 4th regiment of light infantry, the 100th of the line, the 9th light infantry, the 32nd of the line, for the intrepidity that they displayed at the battle of Dürrenstein, where their firmness in holding the position that they occupied compelled the enemy to abandon it on the Danube.

His Majesty expresses his satisfaction to the 17th and 30th regiments of the line, which at the combat of Lambach made headway against the rearguard of the Russians, defeated them and took 400 prisoners.

His Majesty also expresses his satisfaction to Oudinot's grenadiers, who, at the battle of Amstetten drove the Austrians and Russians from their excellent and formidable positions and took 1,500 prisoners, of whom 600 were Russians.

His Majesty is satisfied with the 1st, 16th, and 22nd regiment of chasseurs, with the 9th and 10th regiments of hussars, for their good conduct in all the charges which have taken place from the Inn to the gates of Vienna, and for the eight hundred Russians taken prisoner at Stein.

Prince Murat, Marshal Lannes, the cavalry reserve, and their army corps entered Vienna the 13th, took possession of the bridge over the Danube the same day, prevented it from being burned, crossed it immediately and set out in pursuit of the Russian army.

We found in Vienna more than 2000 pieces of cannon, an arsenal containing one hundred thousand muskets, ammunition of all kinds; finally, everything to equip three or four armies for a campaign.

The people of Vienna appear to view the army with friendship.

The Emperor orders the greatest respect for estates, and that the greatest respect should be shown for the inhabitants of this capital, who view with pain the unjust war that has been made, and who show to us by their conduct as much friendship as they show hatred against the Russians, a people who by their barbarous habits and manners should inspire all civilized nations with the same sentiments.

His Majesty has, during the round he made at 2 A.M. to visit the advance-posts, remarked much negligence in the exercise of their duties, and taken note of the fact that these were not conducted with the rigorous exactitude required by military orders and regulations. Before the break of dawn, generals and colonels must be present at their advance-posts, and the line must remain under arms until the return of the reconnaissance; or must always assume that the enemy has maneuvered, during the night, so as to be in a position to attack at the break of day. The Emperor, therefore, would like to remind his soldiers, that a too great confidence, in giving rise to surprises, has often proven fateful; the greater successes one obtains, the less one should give way to a dangerous feeling of security; one must, quite to the contrary, apply the greatest exactitude and regularity to all details of one's duty.

The Major-General, Marshal Berthier

CC:

**The commanding general and acting Governor-general, grand office of the Legion of Honor,
Signed, General Menou**

CC:

**Prefect of the Department Stura,
P. Arborio**

(*) This order of the day, which confirms the entry of H.M. the Emperor of the French and king of Italy, into the capital of the Emperor of Germany, has arrived via the HQ of Marshal Ney, who at this moment is at Trento. The Couriers carrying the Bulletins providing the details of this great event have probably been slowed down by the snow, or intercepted. These Bulletins will be published as soon as they arrive.

**Imperial French Grand Army
Official News from Tyrol**

The Tyrol has been completely evacuated by the Austrian troops. Marshal Ney, commander of the 6th corps of the grand army, after having forced the passage of the Scharnitz, and having taken many prisoners from the corps commanded by the archduke John and the prince of Rohan, has established, on 20 November, his HQ at Bolzano, having pushed his advance guard as far as Trento, where it still was yesterday, the 23rd.

The enemy corps, under the orders of the prince of Rohan, some 4 to 5 thousand men strong, made its escape-route across the mountains, towards Bassano, in an attempt, from there, to reach Venice; lieutenant-general Saint-Cyr, having been warned about this, will have maneuvered to cut off Rohan's communications. A division of Marshal Ney's corps was in pursuit, hard on the heels of the enemy corps under archduke John, and forcefully pushed it to Klagenfurth, where general Marmont's corps, which on 10 November was at Leoben and Judenburg, was to be expected.

Marshal Augereau, having been informed that general Saint-Julien, who was defending the Brenner, had been forced by a brigade of marshal Ney's army-corps to evacuate his position, approached Feldkirch, and forced the generals Zelatschitz and Walskenth to capitulate. The capitulation took as prisoners of war the corps under the command of these two generals, numbering some 8 to 10 thousand men.

CC:

**The commanding general and acting Governor-general, grand office of the Legion of Honor,
Signed, General Menou**

CC:

Prefect of the Department Stura,
P. Arborio

Wien

Kaiserliche-Französische Grosse Armee
Generalstab

Im kaiserlichen Hauptquartier zu Wien, den 23. brumaire, Jahr 14

Tagesbefehl

Der Kaiser bezeugt seine Zufriedenheit mit dem 4. leichten Infanterieregiment, dem 9. Linienregiment, dem 9. leichten Infanterieregiment, sowie dem 32. Linienregiment für die Furchtlosigkeit, die sie beim Kampf um Dirnstheim gezeigt haben, wo die Standhaftigkeit, mit der sie ihre Position verteidigten den Feind dazu zwangen diejenige, die er auf der Donau innehielt, aufzugeben.

S.M. bezeugt seine Zufriedenheit mit dem 17. und 30. Linienregiment die, im Kampf um Lambach, gegen die russische Nachhut standhielten, dieselbe angegriffen und 400 Gefangenen genommen hat.

Der Kaiser bezeugt ebenfalls seine Zufriedenheit mit den Grenadieren von Oudinot, die im Kampf um Amstetten die russischen und österreichischen Korps von ihren schönen und gewaltigen Stellungen verdrängt und dabei 1500 Gefangene, wovon 600 Russen, genommen haben.

S.M. ist mit den 1., 16. und 22. Chasseurregimenten sowie den 9. und 10. Hussarenregimenten, wegen ihrer guten Haltung während allen Chargen vom Inn bis an die Tore Wiens und für die 800 russischen Gefangenen bei Stun zufrieden.

Der Fürst Murat, Marschall Lannes und die Kavalleriereserve mit ihren Armeekorps sind am 22. in Wien eingezogen und haben sich am selben Tag der Donaubrücke bemächtigt und verhindert, dass diese in Feuer gesetzt wurde, um sie dann sofort zu passieren und das russische Heer zu verfolgen.

Wir haben in Wien mehr als 2000 Kanonen und einen Waffensaal mit 100,000 Gewehren und allerlei Munition ausgestattet gefunden, was insgesamt ausgereicht hätte um drei oder vier Armeen im Feld auszustatten.

Das Wiener Volk ist in Erscheinung getreten um die Armee mit Freundschaft anzusehen.

Der Kaiser befiehlt eine Haltung des grössten Respekts gegenüber des Besitzes und dass man die grösste Rücksicht gegenüber der Bevölkerung dieser Hauptstadt, die mit Schmerz den ungerechten Krieg, den man uns gemacht hat, angesehen, bezeuge und die uns, durch seine Haltung, soviel Freundschaft wie es den Russen – ein Volk dass, mit seinen Gewohnheiten und barbarischen Sitten, das gleiche Gefühl bei allen zivilisierten Völkern anregen muss – Hass bezeugt hat.

S.M. hat während ihres Rundgangs um 2 Uhr morgens bei den Vorposten viel Nachlässigkeit beim Dienst beobachtet und bemerkt, dass dieser nicht mit der rigorosen Exaktheit, die militärische Anordnungen und Dienstregeln verlangen durchgeführt wurde. Vor Tagesanbruch müssen Generäle und Oberste unbedingt bei ihren Vorposten anwesend sein und die Linie bis zur Rückkehr der Aufklärer unter den Waffen stehen, oder sie muss

immer davon ausgehen, dass der Feind während der Nacht eine Truppenbewegung durchgeführt hat, um bei Tagesanbruch angreifen zu können. Der Kaiser erinnert die Soldaten daran, dass ein zu grosses Vertrauen, in dem es für Überraschungen sorgen kann, ihnen oft verhängnisvoll geworden war; je mehr Erfolg man hat, desto weniger darf man sich dem Gefühl einer gefährlichen Sicherheit hingeben; man muss, im Gegenteil, sich mit grösster Exaktheit und Regelmässigkeit allen Einzelheiten des Dienstes widmen.

Der General-Major Marshal Berthier

Beglaubigt:

Für den befehlhabenden General, zur Zeit stellvertretender General-Gouverneur, Gross-Offizier der Ehrenlegion, gezeichnet,
General Menou

Beglaubigt:

Der Prefekt des Departements Stura,
P. Arborio

*Dieser Tagesbefehl, der den Einzug S.M. des Kaisers der Franzosen und Königs von Italien in der Hauptstadt des Kaisers von Deutschland bestätigt, ist über das Hauptquartier des Marshalls Ney, das sich zur Zeit in Trento befindet, angekommen. Wahrscheinlich wurden die Kuriere, die die Bulletins, die Einzelheiten zu diesem grossen Ereignis überbringen, durch den Schnee aufgehalten oder abgefangen. Diese Bulletins werden, sobald sie angekommen sind, veröffentlicht.

Große kaiserlich-französische Armee

Offizielle Nachricht aus Tirol

Die österreichischen Truppen haben Tirol vollständig geräumt. Marschall Ney, Befehlshaber des 6. Korps der Grossen Armee hat, nachdem er den Durchgang von Scharnitz erzwungen und viele Gefangenen bei den durch den Erzherzog Johann und den Fürsten von Rohan befehligten Korps gemacht, am 20. November bei Bozen sein Hauptquartier aufgeschlagen, nachdem er seine Vorhut bis nach Trento, wo sie sich noch bis gestern, den 23., befand, vorgedrängt hat.

Das feindliche, vom Fürsten von Rohan befehligte und 4 bis 5 Tausend Mann starke Korps richtete sein Flucht über die Berge nach Bassano, um von dort aus Venedig zu erreichen; der Generalleutnant Saint-Cyr, davon unterrichtet, wird manövriert haben, um diesen die Verbindung abzuschneiden. Eine Division des Korps unter Marshall Ney nahm die Verfolgung dicht auf den Fersen des feindlichen Korps unter Erzherzog Johann auf und stiess dieses kräftig in Richtung Klagenfurt, wo das Korps des Generals Marmont, der am 10. November in Leoben und Judenburg gewesen, zu erwarten war.

Marshall Augereau, der davon Kenntnis genommen hatte, dass General Saint-Julien, der den Brenner verteidigte, durch eine Brigade des Armeekorps unter Marshall Ney gezwungen wurde, diese Stellung zu räumen, näherte sich Feldkirch und zwang die

Generäle Zelatschitz und Walskent zu kapitulieren. Die Kapitulation nahm die Korps unter den Befehl dieser beiden Generäle als Kriegsgefangene, d.h. etwa 8 bis 10 Tausend Mann.

Beglaubigt:

Für den befehlhabenden General, zur Zeit stellvertretender General-Gouverneur, Gross-Offizier der Ehrenlegion, gezeichnet, General Menou

Beglaubigt:

**Der Prefekt des Departements Stura,
P. Arborio**

Armistice and Proclamation After Austerlitz

J. David Markham

The Battle of Austerlitz, fought on 2 December, 1805, is usually considered Napoleon's finest victory. Napoleon defeated the combined forces of Austria and Russia and forced Austria to sign an armistice just a few days later. Indeed, the battle is often called the Battle of the Three Emperors, as all three emperors were at the scene. The day after the battle Napoleon issued one of his most famous proclamations, declaring 'Soldiers! I am pleased with you!'

Here we provide a printed document containing both the armistice and the proclamation. Dr. Bill Chew III has translated it into both English and German.

We feature here a most unusual snuffbox of the battle. The snuffbox is made of a wood similar to walnut, and lined with tortoise shell. There is an identical box in the collections of the British Museum, and it is also featured in one or more reference books. The box has a title at the base: *Allegorie sur la bataille des tris Empereurs*. [Allegory on the battle of the three Emperors]. Two additional inscriptions read: *Il a vu sans effroi leur violens efforts* [He has seen without dread their violent efforts] and, in Latin, *Immotus concurrere vidit* [He saw them charge, unmoved].

This fine snuff box has an allegorical scene on the lid. The scene, illuminated by a garlanded sunhead, shows a crowned French eagle perched on a prostrate double-headed Austrian eagle. The French eagle has seized a Russian double-headed eagle by one claw, has knocked off his crown and is proceeding to pull the feathers out of his wings. On the left, a Prussian lion (labeled Prussians) is slinking off, tail between its legs. Across the channel, England, in the form of a complacent bulldog (labeled English), watches. The British fleet floats in front of him, and the Tower of London is behind him.

This box is especially unique as it has a secret compartment that opens to reveal an image of the Emperor. This places the box as being made during the Restoration, as images of Napoleon were forbidden.



Armistice concluded between Their Imperial Majesties
of France and Austria.

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, and His Majesty the Emperor of Germany, desiring to come to final negotiations to put an end to the war which desolates their two states, have previously agreed upon the commencement of an armistice, which will last until the conclusion of a definitive peace or the rupture of the negotiations; and in that case, the armistice shall not cease for fifteen days after the rupture; and the cessation of the armistice shall be announced to the plenipotentiaries of both powers, at the headquarters of their respective armies.

The conditions of the armistice are:

Article I. The line of the two armies shall be, in Moravia, the Circle of Iglau, the Circle of Znaïm, the Circle of Brünn, the part of the Circle of Olmütz on the right bank of the little river of Trezeboska, before Priesnitz, to the spot where that river empties into the Mark; and the right bank of the Mark to the junction of that bank with the Danube, Pressburg being included.

No French or Austrian troops shall on any occasion be stationed within five or six leagues of Halitch, on the right bank of the Mark.

The line of both armies shall include in the territory to be occupied by the French army, all Upper and Lower Austria, Tyrol, the State of Venice, Corinthia, Styria, Carniola, the country of Görlitz and Istria; finally, in Bohemia, the Circle of Montabaur, and the whole space to the east of the route from Tabor to Lima.

Article 2. The Russian army shall evacuate the states of Austria and Austrian Poland; that is to say, Moravia and Hungary, within the period of fifteen days, and Galicia within a month. The routes shall be prescribed to the Russian army, that it may be always known where they are, as well as to prevent any misunderstanding.

Article 3. There shall be in Hungary no *levée en masse* or insurrection, and in Bohemia no extraordinary recruiting for troops, nor shall any foreign army be permitted to enter the territory of the House of Austria.

The negotiators for both powers shall meet at Nicolsburg, for proceeding directly to the opening of negotiations, in order to effect, without delay, the re-establishment of peace and good harmony between the two emperors.

The duplicates of this instrument are hereby signed by us, Marshal Berthier, Minister of War, Major-General of the *Grande Armée*, Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and Prince Jean of Lichtenstein, Lieutenant-General and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, etc.

At Austerlitz, 15 Frimaire year 14 (6 December 1805)

Signed: Marshal Berthier and Jean, Prince of Lichtenstein, Lieutenant-General

**Proclamation
Headquarters at Austerlitz
3 December 1805**

Soldiers! I am pleased with you. On the day of Austerlitz, you have justified what I expected from your intrepidity. You have decorated your eagles with an immortal glory. In less than four hours an army of 100,000 men, commanded by the Emperors of Russia and Austria, has been cut down or dispersed. Those who escaped your iron have drowned in the lakes. Forty flags, the standards of the Russian Imperial Guard, 120 pieces of cannon, twenty generals and more than 30,000 prisoners are the results of this day, to be celebrated forever. That infantry, so vaunted, and superior to you in numbers, could not resist your impact, and henceforth you have no rivals to fear. Thus, in two months the third coalition is conquered and dissolved. Peace can no longer be at a great distance; but, as I promised to my people before crossing the Rhine, I will only make a peace that gives you some guarantees and assures some recompenses to our allies. Soldiers! When the French people placed the Imperial Crown on my head, I entrusted you to keep it always in a high state of glory, which alone could give it value in my eyes; but at that moment our enemies thought to destroy and demean it; and that Iron crown, which was gained by the blood of so many Frenchmen, they would have compelled me to place on the head of our cruelest enemies; an extravagant and foolish proposal, which you have ruined and confounded the very day of the anniversary of your Emperor's coronation. You have taught them that it is easier for them to defy us and to threaten us than to vanquish us. Soldiers! When everything necessary to the happiness and prosperity of our country will have been achieved, I will lead you back to France. There you will be the objects of my most tender solitudes. My people will see you again with joy, and it will be enough for you to say: "I was at the battle of Austerlitz," for them to reply, "There is a brave man!"

Napoleon

**Waffenstillstand
abgeschlossen
zwischen ihren kaiserlichen Majestäten von Frankreich und Österreich**

Seine Majestät der Kaiser der Franzosen und Seine Majestät der Kaiser von Deutschland, endgültige Verhandlungen wollend mit der Absicht den Krieg, der die beiden Staaten verwüstet zu beenden, sind im vorherigen Einverständnis übereingekommen einen Waffenstillstand zu beginnen, der bis zum endgültigen Frieden andauern soll, oder bis zum Abbruch der Verhandlungen, in welchem Fall der Waffenstillstand nicht früher als 15 Tage nach diesem Abbruch beendet wird. Das Ende des Waffenstillstands wird den Bevollmächtigten beider Mächte sowie den Hauptquartieren beider Armeen mitgeteilt.

Die Bedingungen des Waffenstillstands sind wie folgt:

Erster Artikel

Die Linie der beiden Armeen verläuft in Mähren entlang des Kreises Iglau, des Kreises Znaim, des Kreises Brunn, den Teil des Kreises Olmütz, auf dem rechten Ufer des kleinen Flusses von Treze-Botta vor Prosmitz bis zum Ort wo sie sich in die March ergießt, und das rechte Ufer der March bis zur Mündung dieses Flusses in die Donau, einschließlich Pressburg.

Nichtsdestotrotz werden weder französische noch österreichische Truppen innerhalb eines Strahls von 5 bis 6 Meilen um Hofitsch herum am rechten Ufer der March aufgestellt.

Des weiteren wird die Linie der beiden Armeen im von der französischen Armee zu besetzendem Gebiet, ganz Unter- und Oberösterreich, Tirol, Venezien, Kärnten, die Steiermark, die Krain, die Grafschaft Gorizia und Istrien; schließlich in Böhmen der Kreis Montabor, und das ganze Gebiet östlich der Straße von Tabor nach Linz beinhalten.

Artikel II

Die russische Armee wird die Staaten Österreich, sowie das österreichische Polen, d.h. Mähren und Ungarn innerhalb 15 Tagen, und Galizien innerhalb eines Monats räumen.

Die Marschordnung der russischen Armee wird abgesteckt, damit man immer weiß, wo sie sich befinde, um jegliches Missverständnis zu vermeiden.

Artikel III

Es wird in Ungarn keinerlei Massenaushebung von Truppen oder Aufstand stattgegeben, und in Böhmen keinerlei aussergewöhnlichen Truppenaushebung. Kein fremdes Heer wird auf dem Boden des Hauses Österreich zugelassen.

Unterhändler beider Seiten werden sich in Nikolsburg treffen um umgehend Verhandlungen zu eröffnen damit der Friede und das gute Einverständnis beider Kaiser schleunig wiederhergestellt werde.

In doppelter Ausfertigung von uns ausgestellt und unterzeichnet Marshal Berthier, Kriegsminister, Generalmajor der Grossen Armee, Bevollmächtigter Seiner Majestät Kaiser der Franzosen und König Italiens, und Fürst Johann von Lichtenstein, Generalleutnant, Bevollmächtigter Seiner Majestät Kaiser von Österreich, König von Ungarn, usw. Zu Austerlitz, den 13. frimaire Jahr 14 (6. Dezember 1805)

Unterzeichnet – Marshal Berthier, und Johann, Fürst von Lichtenstein, Generalleutnant

Für die Richtigkeit des Originals:
Kriegsminister und Generalmajor,
unterzeichnet Marshal Berthier

Beglaubigt:

Für den befehlhabenden General, zur Zeit stellvertretender General Gouverneur der Departements jenseits der Alpen, im Turnus

Durch Befehl:

Der zweite Sekretär des Generalgouvernements,
gezeichnet Dauzers.

Beglaubigt
Der Prefekt des Departements Stura,
P. Arborio

Proklamation
Seiner Majestät, Kaiser der Franzosen, König von Italien,
an die Grosse Armee

Soldaten!

Ich bin mit Euch zufrieden. Ihr habt während des Tags bei Austerlitz alles bewiesen, was ich von eurer Unerschrockenheit erwartete; ihr habt Eure Adler mit unsterblichem Ruhm bedeckt. Eine Armee von 100.000 Mann, befehligt von den Kaisern von Russland und Österreich, ist in weniger als vier Stunden aufgerieben oder verstreut worden. Wer euren Degen entkam, ertrank in den Seen. Vierzig Fahnen, die Standarten der russisch-kaiserlichen Leibgarde, 120 Kanonen, zwanzig Generäle und mehr als 30,000 Kriegsgefangene sind die Ausbeute dieses auf immer berühmten Tages. Ihre so gerühmte Infanterie hat trotz der Überzahl eurem Ansturm nicht standhalten können, und von nun an habt Ihr keine Gegner mehr zu fürchten. So wurde diese dritte Koalition in zwei Monaten besiegt und aufgelöst. Der Frieden kann nicht mehr lange auf sich warten lassen. Aber wie ich meinem Volk schon vor der Überschreitung des Rheins versprochen habe, werde ich nur einen Frieden schließen, der uns Garantien gibt und unseren Alliierten Entschädigungen sichert.

Soldaten! Als das französische Volk mir die kaiserliche Krone auf das Haupt setzte, habe ich auf Euch vertraut, um sie auf immer in jenem leuchtenden Ruhm zu halten, welcher in meinen Augen allein ihren Wert ausmacht. Aber im selben Augenblick dachten unsere Feinde daran, sie zu zerstören und zu entehren! Und diese Eisenkrone, erobert mit dem Blut so vieler Franzosen, wollten sie mich zwingen einem unserer grausamsten Feinde aufzusetzen! Tollkühne Projekte, welche Ihr am Jahrestag der Krönung Eures Kaisers vernichtet und verhindert habt! Ihr habt sie gelehrt, dass es viel leichter ist uns zu trotzen und bedrohen den uns zu besiegen.

Soldaten, sobald alles für das Schicksal und den Wohlstand unserer Heimat Notwendige vollbracht sein wird, werde ich Euch nach Frankreich zurückführen. Dort werdet Ihr zum Objekt meiner zärtlichsten Fürsorge werden. Mein Volk wird Euch mit Freude wiedersehen, und es wird genügen zu sagen: Ich war bei der Schlacht von Austerlitz dabei, damit man antwortet: Siehe da, ein tapferer Mann.

Von unserem kaiserlichen Lager in Austerlitz, den 12 frimaire, Jahr 14.

NAPOLÉON
Auf Befehl des Kaisers
Der General-Major Marshal Berthier

Beglaubigt,
Für den befehlhabenden General, zur Zeit stellvertretender General-Gouverneur der
Departements jenseits der Alpen, im Turnus

Durch Befehl,
Der zweite Sekretär des General-Gouvernements Gezeichnet,
Dauzers

Beglaubigt,
Der Prefekt des Departements Stura,
P. Arborio

Official News of the Grand Army 1806 and 1807

J. David Markham

The campaign of 1806 and 1807 was one of the most important campaigns in the Napoleonic period. It included the siege of Magdeburg, the defeat of General Blücher, the Battle of Pultusk, the fall of Königsberg, the battles of Eylau and Friedland and the ultimate defeat of the Prussians and Russians. The public was kept informed of these events through a number of methods. The official bulletins are well known, as are press reports in the *Moniteur* and elsewhere. Lesser known are the short pamphlets known as 'Official News' or 'Official News of the Grand Imperial army.'

We offer here a selection of six of these documents ranging from the beginning to the end of the campaign. They offer unique insight as to what the general public was being told of military events. Like the more famous bulletins, they tend to give a positive view of events, but in this case the positive take was justified by the actual results.

The period engraving from my collection shows Napoleon entering Berlin on 27 October 1806.



NOUVELLES OFFICIELLES.

Berlin , 2 novembre 1806.

LE maréchal Davoust a pris Custrin; la garnison était de 4,000 hommes; 90 pièces de gros canons étaient sur les remparts. La ville renfermait des magasins immenses. Placée au milieu des marais sur le bord de l'Oder, c'est une excellente forteresse.

M.^r le maréchal Ney fait en règle le siège de Magdebourg.

M.^r le grand-duc de Berg a rencontré une colonne de 4,000 hommes, commandée par le général prussien Bila; il l'a fait attaquer par la brigade de dragons aux ordres du général Bousard, qui l'a jettée dans la petite ville d'Anclam, où elle a capitulé. Parmi ces troupes, se trouvait le régiment des hussards de la garde du roi, qui, après la guerre de 7 ans, avait obtenu pour récompense de sa bravoure, des pelisses de peau de tigre.

M.^r le maréchal Davoust ayant passé l'Oder à Francfort, est en Poméranie.

Pour copie conforme:

Le Commandant général des départemens au-delà des Alpes, faisant fonction de Gouverneur général, grand-officier de la légion d'honneur,

Signé le Général MENOÜ.

TURIN, CHEZ CHARLES BOCCA, AU SALON LITTÉRAIRE.

Official News

Berlin, November 2, 1806

Marshal Davoust has taken Custrin [Küstrin, Kostrzyn Nad Odra]; the garrison numbered 4,000 men; 90 large cannons were on the ramparts. The town contained immense magazines. Situated in the middle of the swamps bordering the Oder, it is an excellent fortress.

Marshal Ney is systematically laying siege to Magdeburg.

The Grand Duke of Berg encountered a column of 4,000 men, commanded by the Prussian General Bila; he had it attacked by the brigade of dragoons under General Boussard, who threw it into the little town of Anclam [Anklam], where it capitulated. Amongst these troops was the regiment of Hussars of the king's guards which, after the 7 years' war, had received as a mark of its bravery, pelisses of tiger-skin.

Marshal Davoust, having crossed the Oder at Francfort [Frankfurt], is in Pomerania.

Certified copy:

Commanding general of the trans-Alpine departments, acting Governor-general, grand officer of the legion of honor,

Signed, General MENOUE

Turin, at the offices of Charles Bocca, at the literary salon

NOUVELLES

OFFICIELLES

DE LA GRANDE ARMÉE.

Berlin, 10 novembre 1806.

APRÈS la capitulation du prince de Hohenlohe, le général Blücher se réunit à la division du duc de Weymar, à celle du fils du duc de Brunswick, et à différentes petites colonnes dispersées; il avait ainsi sous ses ordres, une infanterie considérable, une cavalerie et une artillerie suffisantes.

Il a manœuvré pendant quelque tems pour éviter les marches combinées du grand-duc de Berg, du maréchal prince de Ponte-Corvo, et du maréchal Soult. Successivement prévenu sur *Anclam*, sur Rostock, et dans un mouvement rétrograde qu'il tenta sur l'Elbe, il se résolut à gagner la mer, et à marcher sur Lubeck.

Le 4 novembre, il prit position à Crevismüssen, où le prince de Ponte-Corvo culbuta son arrière-garde, et prit 1000 hommes et 7 pièces de canon.

Le maréchal Soult marcha sur Ratzeburg; le prince de Ponte-Corvo par *Rhena* et Schoenberg. Le grand-duc de Berg avançait avec sa cavalerie entre ces deux corps.

L'ennemi s'était fortifié à Lubeck, il avait relevé l'ancienne enceinte, fait des redoutes, réparé des bastions, placé des batteries; mais dans la journée du 6, la cavalerie du grand-duc parut dans la plaine.

Le maréchal Soult arriva à la porte de Müssen, le prince de Ponte-Corvo à la porte de la Trave, et la ville fut attaquée, escaladée et prise d'assaut. On a pris 4000 hommes, 60 pièces de canon, plusieurs généraux, et grand nombre d'officiers.

Les restes du corps prussien composé au moins de 8000 hommes, se formèrent à *Schwartau*. Le 7, ils furent cernés par le grand-duc de Berg. Le général Blücher, le fils du duc de Brunswick et tous les généraux se présentèrent alors aux vainqueurs, demandèrent à capituler, et défilèrent devant l'armée française.

L'affaire de Lubeck a valu 12,000 prisonniers, dont 2000 de cavalerie, beaucoup de drapeaux et tout ce qui restait de l'artillerie prussienne.

Le prince de Ponte-Corvo dans son mouvement avait enlevé à Schlukup, sur la Trave, un corps de 1,500 suédois qui évacuaient le Lawenburg, et qui étaient au moment de s'embarquer.

Le maréchal Ney continuait le siège de Magdebourg. Les habitans étaient mécontents; le 8, le général Kleist, commandant, a demandé à capituler. Il y a dans cette place 16,000 hommes de troupes, une artillerie immense, des magasins considérables et beaucoup de caisses des corps.

Plusieurs corps de l'armée française sont déjà sur la Wistule.

Certifié conforme:

Le Commandant général des départemens au-delà des Alpes, faisant fonction de Gouverneur général, grand-officier de la légion d'honneur,

Signé le Général MENOÜ.

TURIN, CHEZ CHARLES BOCCA, AU SALON LITTÉRAIRE.

Official News of the Grand Army

Berlin, November 10, 1806

After the capitulation of Prince Hohenlohe, General Blücher joined the division of the Duke of Weimar, that of the son of the Duke of Brunswick, and various small dispersed columns; he thus had under his command a considerable infantry, and a sufficient cavalry and artillery.

For a time he maneuvered, so as to avoid the combined marches of the Grand Duke of Berg, the Marshal Prince of Ponte-Corvo and Marshal Soult. Successively anticipated at Anklam, Rostock, or in a retrograde movement which he attempted on the Elbe, he decided to reach the sea, and march on Lübeck.

On 4 November, he took up position at Crevismüssen [Grevesmühlen? or Müssen?], where the Prince of Ponte-Corvo brought down his rear-guard, taking 1,000 men and 7 cannon.

Marshal Soult marched on Ratzeburg; the Prince of Ponte-Corvo to Schönberg via Rhena. The Grand Duke of Berg with his cavalry advanced between these two corps.

The enemy had taken up a fortified position at Lübeck, where he had restored the previous surrounding wall, built redoubts, repaired bastions, emplaced batteries; but on the day of the 6th, the Grand Duke's cavalry appeared on the plain.

Marshal Soult arrived at the Müssen Gate, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo at the Trave Gate, and the town was attacked, scaled and stormed. We captured 4,000 men, cannon, several generals and a large number of officers.

The remainder of the Prussian corps, composed of at least 8,000 men, took up formation at Schwartau [today "Bad Schwartau"]. On the 7th, they were encircled by the Grand Duke of Berg. General Blücher, the son of the Duke of Brunswick and all the generals then presented themselves to the victors, asked to capitulate, and filed past the French army.

The Lübeck affair brought 12,000 prisoners, of which 2,000 cavalry, many flags and all that was left of the Prussian artillery.

With his movement, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo had taken, at Schlutup, on the Trave River, a corps of 1,500 Swedes who were evacuating the Lauenburg and on the point of embarking.

Marshal Ney continued the siege of Magdeburg. The inhabitants were discontented; on the 8th, General Kleist, the commandant, asked to capitulate. In this place are 16,000 troops, an immense artillery, considerable magazines, and many corps lockers.

Certified copy:

Commanding general of the trans-Alpine departments, acting Governor-general, grand officer of the legion of honor,

Signed, General MENOU

Turin, at the offices of Charles Bocca, at the literary salon

NOUVELLES OFFICIELLES

DE LA

GRANDE ARMÉE IMPÉRIALE.

Berlin, le 12 novembre 1806.

LES troupes du général Blucher qui ont capitulé, n'étaient portées qu'à 12,000 hommes; elles sont au nombre de vingt-un mille prisonniers, parmi lesquelles 5,000 hommes de cavalerie, montés.

On n'avait évalué la garnison prisonnière de Magdebourg qu'à 16,000 hommes; elle est de vingt généraux, 800 officiers, et 22,000 hommes, dont deux mille artilleurs.

Ainsi jusqu'à ce jour, on a pris à l'armée prussienne 140,000 hommes, sans compter les morts, 250 dra-

peaux, 800 pièces de campagne sur le champ de bataille, et 4,000 pièces tant à Berlin, que dans les places qui se sont rendues.

Certifié conforme,

A Turin, le 21 novembre, 1806.

*Le Commandant général, faisant fonctions de Gouverneur
général, Grand Officier de la Légion d'Honneur,*

Signé, le Général MENOUE.

TURIN, CHEZ CHARLES BOCCA, AU SALON LITTÉRAIRE.

Official News of the Grand Imperial Army

Berlin, November 12, 1806

The troops of General Blücher that have capitulated had only been estimated at 12,000 men; in actual fact they number twenty-one thousand prisoners, amongst which 5,000 cavalrymen, mounted.

The prison-garrison of Magdeburg had only been estimated at 16,000 men; it actually numbers twenty generals, 800 officers, and 22,000 men, including two thousand artillerymen.

Therefore, to this day, of the Prussian army, 140,000 men have been captured, without counting the dead, 250 flags, 800 campaign-pieces on the battlefield and 4,000 pieces at Berlin, or the places that surrendered.

Certified copy:

In Turin, 21 November, 1806. Commanding general, acting Governor-general, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor,

Signed, General MENOUE

Turin, at the offices of Charles Bocca, at the literary salon

NOUVELLES OFFICIELLES.

Camp de Pultusk, le 30 décembre 1806.

LE maréchal Lannes a eu le 28, à Pultusk, une affaire très-brillante. Il commandait 18,000 hommes. Il avait en tête 50,000 russes; il les a battus complètement; leur a tué 1200 hommes, et fait 3000 prisonniers.

Le maréchal a été atteint d'une balle à l'épaule; le général Treilhard a été blessé, ainsi que le général Wedel.

M. le maréchal Augereau commandait à Golymin; il a également attaqué, culbuté et battu complètement un corps considérable de russes. Le résultat a été aussi brillant qu'à Pultusk. Le maréchal a eu un cheval tué sous lui.

Les chemins sont affreux. L'ennemi avec des débris d'armée se retirait sur Ostrolenka.

Pultusk est au nord-est de Warsovie sur la Narew.
Golomin ou Golymin , nord-ouest de Pultusk.
Ostrolenka sur la Narew , nord-est de Pultusk.

Certifié véritable ,

A Turin , le 15 janvier , 1807.

*Le Commandant général , faisant fonctions de Gouverneur
général , Grand Officier de la Légion d'Honneur ,*

Signé , le Général MENOUE.

TURIN , CHEZ CHARLES BOCCA , AU SALON LITTÉRAIRE.

Official News

Camp at Pultusk, December 30, 1806

Marshal Lannes had, on the 28th, at Pultusk, a very brilliant affair. He commanded 18,000 men. He was faced with 50,000 Russians; he defeated them completely; killed 1,200 of their men and made 3,000 prisoners.

The marshal was hit in the shoulder by a bullet; General Treilhard was wounded, as also General Wedel.

Marshal Augereau commanded at Golymin; he also attacked, brought down and completely defeated a considerable corps of Russians. The outcome was just as brilliant as at Pultusk. The marshal had a horse killed under him.

The roads are terrible. The enemy, with the debris of his army, has withdrawn to Ostrolenka.

Pultusk is to the north-east of Warsaw, on the River Narew. Golomin or Golymin, north-west of Pultusk. Ostrolenka on the Narew, north-east of Pultusk.

Certified as true:

In Turin, 15 January, 1807. Commanding general, acting Governor-general, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor,

Signed, General MENOUE

Turin, at the offices of Charles Bocca, at the literary salon

NOUVELLES OFFICIELLES

DE LA GRANDE ARMÉE.

*Arnsdorf près Liebstadt, Prusse royale ,
le 6 février, au matin.*

L'EMPEREUR est parti d'Allenstein le 3 février, et est venu coucher à deux lieues de là, dans le petit village de Gedkendorf.

Il en est parti le lendemain pour Scholitten, où il est venu coucher. Le 5, il est arrivé à Arnsdorf.

L'ennemi a été rencontré, le 3, en avant de Gedkendorf; mais la nuit il a opéré sa retraite. Il est poursuivi. Un corps de vingt-mille hommes est coupé. Il n'en échappera pas un. Six mille sont déjà pris.

L'ennemi fuit dans le plus grand désordre, ne sachant où il va. Il a déjà perdu 30 pièces de canon, plusieurs drapeaux, tous ses bagages, et une énorme quantité de caissons.

Les deux grands dépôts de Guttstadt, et de Liebstadt, sont pris. L'Empereur se porte à merveille; le tems est superbe; le froid de 1 à 3 degrés. Le soleil paraît toute la journée. L'armée est pleine d'ardeur et de vigueur.

Certifié véritable,

A Turin, le 22 février 1807.

*Le Commandant général, faisant fonctions de Gouverneur
général, Grand Officier de la Légion d'Honneur,*

Signé, le Général MENOÜ.

TURIN, CHEZ CHARLES BOCCA, AU SALON LITTÉRAIRE.

Official News of the Grand Army

Arnsdorf near Liebstadt, royal Prussia, February 6, in the morning

The Emperor left Allenstein [Olsztyn] on 3 February, and slept two leagues from there, in the little village of Gedkendorf.¹

He left there the following morning for Scholitten, where he slept. He arrived at Arnsdorf on the 5th.

The enemy was encountered on the 3rd, in front of Gedkendorf; but that night he made his retreat. He was pursued. A corps of twenty-one thousand men was cut off. Not one escaped. Six thousand have already been taken.

The enemy is fleeing in the greatest disorder, having no idea where he is going. He already lost 30 cannon, several flags, all of his baggage, and an enormous quantity of caissons.

The two great depots of Guttstadt [i.e. Dobre Miasto] and Liebstadt have been taken. The Emperor is in the best of spirits; the weather is superb; the cold at 1 to 3 degrees. The sun appears the whole day long. The army is full of enthusiasm and vigor.

Certified as true:

In Turin, 22 February, 1807. Commanding general, acting Governor-general, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor,

Signed, General MENOUE

Turin, at the offices of Charles Bocca, at the literary salon

¹Neither Gedkendorf nor Scholitten have proven identifiable.

NOUVELLE OFFICIELLE

DE LA GRANDE ARMÉE
IMPÉRIALE.

Vélau, le 16 juin 1807.

KØNIGSBERG a capitulé. Le maréchal Soult y est entré ce matin. On n'a point encore de détails. On sait seulement qu'on y a trouvé de grands magasins, un nombre considérable de malades et de blessés, et cent ou cent-cinquante mille fusils anglais récemment arrivés pour l'armée russe.

L'armée a passé, ce matin, la Prégel sans éprouver la moindre résistance.

Certifié véritable :

A Turin, le 3 juillet 1807,

*Le Commandant et Gouverneur général,
Grand Officier de la Légion d'honneur,
LE GÉNÉRAL MENOÙ,*

TURIN, CHEZ CHARLES BOCCA, IMPRIMEUR DU GOUVERNEMENT GÉNÉRAL.

Official News of the Grand Imperial Army

Velau [Znamensk], 16 June, 1807

Königsberg has capitulated. Marshal Soult entered there this morning. We don't have any further details. We only know that they found large magazines there, a considerable number of sick and wounded, and one hundred or one hundred-fifty thousand English guns, recently arrived for the Russian army.

This morning, the army crossed the Pregel [Pregolya] without meeting the least resistance.

Certified as true:

In Turin, 3 July, 1807. Commanding general, acting Governor-general, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor,

Signed, General MENOUE

Turin, at the offices of Charles Bocca, Printer of the General Government

Prelude to Eylau: Bennigsen's Report to the Czar
J. David Markham

Baron Levin August von Bennigsen (1745-1826) was a Hanoverian noble who served as a court page and army officer. In 1773 he entered the Russian army and by 1806 he was the over-all Russian commander, and expected to make periodic reports to the Czar. One such report, a letter written in his own hand, is in the J. David Markham Collection. Written sometime after he fought in the Battle of Pultusk (26 December 1806) and a week before the battle of Eylau (8 February 1807) where he would meet Tsar Alexander in person, it shows the rather optimistic view of the Russian commander. This letter is translated below. Note that French was often the official language for many military documents. My friend Prince Gregory Troubetzkoy provided this translation and, indeed, gave me the document, which he had purchased in 1969. This translation was published in the very first issue of *Napoleonic Scholarship* dated April 1997, but without the entire original document and without the ability to widely distribute it to scholars. We include it here with the complete document. The engraving is from my collection.



Precis

Des opérations de l'armée Russe, depuis son arrivée dans l'ancienne Prusse, jusqu'au ~~19.~~^{31.} Janvier 1807.

Les avis, qui m'arrivoient de toute part, en entrant dans cette province, m'annonçaient, que j'y trouverais deux Corps Français; l'un, commandé par le Maréchal Ney, occupait les positions de l'Allé et poussait ses avant-postes à Bischofsstein, Seebourg et même jusqu'à Rößel. L'autre, sous les ordres de Bernadotte, pillait Elbingen et faisait mine de se porter sur Königsberg. Je commençai par faire chasser tous les détachements de cavalerie du Corps de Ney, qui se trouvaient sur la rive droite de l'Allé. On fit beaucoup de prisonniers à cette occasion, entre-autre un escadron du 3^{ème} hussards, son Commandant le Capitaine St Aubain le-Brun et deux officiers, que le Prince Smirny Galitzin fit enlever dans le village de Langheim. Le 10. je me disposai à faire attaquer les endroits situés sur l'Allé, mais l'ennemi n'y tint pas, et j'effectuai le passage de cette rivière, sans rencontrer le moindre obstacle. Le Maréchal Ney se retira en désordre sur Allenstein. Je continuai à faire des démonstrations vis-à-vis de lui, et me portai, avec toutes nos forces, vers les positions prises par le Maréchal Bernadotte. Le 12. le Général Barclay de Tolly envoya à Passenheim un escadron du régiment d'Houm hussards, avec une soixantaine de Cosaques. Ce détachement y rencontra 2. escadrons de cavalerie française, les attaqua, les détruisit entièrement, et fit prisonniers 29. Dragons et

les Capitaines Dervaux et Cachelat. Le même jour, le Général Marcaff, avec l'avantgarde, surprit, à Lipotadt, un détachement composé de 3. régimens de cavallerie et de quelques centaines de fantassins. Il n'eût pas un meilleur sort. Nous fîmes 270. prisonniers et 18. officiers, parmi lesquels le Lieutenant Colonel Fabre; 300. Français restèrent sur la place. Le lendemain il y eût un engagement plus conséquent: Le Maréchal Bernadotte ayant eû vent de l'approche de l'armée Russe, arriva avec toutes ses forces à Mohrungen, y établit son quartier général et se porta à $\frac{1}{2}$. lieue au devant de la ville, sur le chemin de Lipotadt. Le Général Marcaff attaqua ce corps avec des forces trop inégales, pour pouvoir compter sur des avantages. Il fut repoussé, mais ayant ensuite été rejoint par la Division de cavallerie du Général Anrep, l'ennemi jugea devoir se retirer. Dans cette action très sanglante, les Français perdirent plus de 1000. hommes et deux Drapeaux. Nous avons eû 700. hommes de tués et de blessés. Mais la perte la plus sensible, que nous ayons faite, et celle du brave Général Anrep, tué par un tirailleur, de la manière la plus malheureuse, et regretté de toute l'armée.

Tandis que cette affaire eût lieu en avant de Mohrungen, le Prince Michel Dolgorouky se porta, avec son régiment de Dragons, sur les derrières de l'ennemi, et se glissa dans son quartier général. Il y enleva les équipages du Maréchal, ses gens, sa vaisselle, des femmes, une caisse considérable contenant

les contributions d'Elbingen, et fit en outre encore au de là de 400. prisonniers. Le nombre de ceux-ci s'accroît à tout instant, et il ne se passe pas de jour, où il ne nous en arrive pas au moins une cinquantaine. Trois généraux Français sont déjà en notre pouvoir. Les Généraux Foultrier et Lasseur ont été pris par nos troupes; le même le Général de Division Victor, par la garnison Prussienne de Colberg.

Après ces différens combats, qui tous se sont décidés en faveur de notre armée, je l'ai fait avancer jusqu'ici, et lui ai fait prendre, dans ces environs, une position concentrée. L'aile droite est appuyée à la Vistule. Après dix sept marches consécutives, j'ai cru devoir m'arrêter un moment. Mais demain j'irai de nouveau en avant, et ferai attaquer le corps Du Maréchal Ney. En attendant j'ai réussi à chasser les ennemis de cette province, à couvrir Königsberg, et à produire, dans une partie de l'armée Française, une consternation et un désordre, dont les effets sont déjà très visibles. Tels sont les brillans résultats, aux quels nous a conduits la marche vers la Prusse Royale, et la persévérance et le courage, avec lesquels les troupes de Sa Majesté Impériale ont exécuté cette opération fatigante. L'ennemi surpris dans ses cantonnemens, vaincu dans toutes les occasions, s'est retiré avec une précipitation et un désordre, qui ne dénotent que trop la position déplorable où il se trouve.

Il me reste encore à faire mention de l'armée Prussienne,

qui est sous mes ordres, et à lui rendre la justice qui lui est due.
Nos succès semblent l'avoir électrisée; elle commence à se
relever un peu, et à sortir de l'abattement dans lequel ses
malheurs l'avaient plongée. La garnison de Dantzig entre-autre,
a remporté un avantage sur l'avantgarde des insurgés polonais,
qui, attaquée près de Dirschau, fut battue et perdit quelques
canons et sa caisse militaire.

Au quartier général de Mohrungen ce 19 Janvier 1807.

Don De Bennigsen.

Outline

Of the operations of the Russian army, from its arrival in the former Prussia, until January 31, 1807.

The information which I received from every quarter upon entering this province, made me aware that I would find two French corps, one commanded by Marshal Ney had occupied positions on the Alle river and pushed its forward observation posts to Bishofstein, Seebourg and even Rossel. The other, under the command of Bernadotte, was pillaging Elbingen and appeared to be about to move on Königsberg. I began by chasing away all the detachments of the cavalry of Ney's corps, which were to be found on the right bank of the Alle. We took many prisoners, among others a squadron of the 3rd hussar regiment, its commander, Captain St. Aubain le-Brun and two officers that Prince Dimitri Galitzin captured in the village of Langheim. On the 10th I was making preparations to attack the various points on the Alle, but the enemy did not linger there and I made the crossing of this river without meeting the least obstacle. Marshal Ney fell back in disorder to Allenstein. I continued to make demonstrations in his direction and turned with all our forces towards the positions taken up by Marshal Bernadotte. The 12th General Barclay de Tolly sent to Passenheim a squadron of Issoum hussars with about sixty Cossacks. This detachment met there 2 squadrons of French cavalry, attacked them, destroyed them utterly and took 29 dragoon prisoners and the Captains Dervaux and Cachelot. The same day, General Marcoff, with the advance guard, surprised at Lipstadt a detachment composed of 3 regiments of cavalry and several hundred infantry. It did not fare any better. We took 270 prisoners and 18 officers, among which was Lieutenant Colonel Fabre; 300 Frenchmen fell on the spot.

The next day there was a an engagement of greater consequence: Marshal Bernadotte got wind of the approach of the Russian army, came with all his forces to Mohrungen, established his headquarters there and moved 1/2 a league ahead of the town, on the road to Lipstadt. General Marcoff attacked this corps with forces too unequal to hope for an advantage. He was pushed back, but then having been reinforced by the cavalry of General Anrepp, the enemy decided to disengage. In this very bloody encounter the French lost over 1,000 men and two flags. We had 700 killed and wounded. But the most keen loss that we sustained was that of the brave general Anrepp, killed by skirmishers, in the most unhappy manner and regretted by the whole army.

While this affair took place in front of Mohrungen, Prince Michael Dolgoruky struck, with a regiment of dragoons, in the rear of the enemy lines, and sneaked into their headquarters. He captured the wagons of the Marshal, his men, his dishes, the women and a sizable strong box containing contributions levied in Elbingen, and captured over 400 prisoners. The number of these grows constantly and not a day goes by that we don't get at least fifty more. Three French generals are already in our hands. Generals Foultrier and Lasseur have been taken by our troops. The third, the division General Victor, by the Prussian garrison of Colberg.

After these different engagements, which were all decided in favor of our army, I brought it here and had it take up a concentrated position in this general area. The right wing is anchored on the Vistula. After seventeen consecutive marches, I deemed it necessary to stop for a moment. But tomorrow I will go forward, and will attack Marshal Ney's corps. In the meantime I have managed to chase the enemy from this province, to cover Königsberg, and to produce consternation and

disorder in this portion of the French army, which are already very apparent. Such are the brilliant results to which we have been led to in our march toward East Prussia, and the perseverance and courage with which His Imperial Majesty's troops have executed this exhausting operation. The enemy surprised in its quarters, defeated in every occasion, has withdrawn with a hurry and disorder, which underline only too well the deplorable situation in which it is now.

It remains yet for me to mention the Prussian army, which is under my orders, and to give it its just due. Our successes seem to have electrified it, it is beginning to perk up somewhat and come out of the depression in which its reverses had plunged it momentarily. The garrison of Danzig has moreover gotten the upper hand over the advance guard of the Polish insurgents, who, having been attacked near Dirschau were beaten and lost several canons and its war-chest.

At the General Headquarters of Mohrungen this 31st of January 1807

Baron de Bennigsen

Napoleon's Divorce from Josephine

J. David Markham

Napoleon always said that whatever he did he did for the good of France. One of the most important things he could do for France would be to provide for an heir to the throne. But try as they might, he and Josephine were never able to have a child. By 1809 it had become clear that the fault was not Napoleon's. He had fathered an illegitimate child or two, most notably with his 'Polish wife' Marie Walewska. Thus, in November he told Josephine that he was going to divorce her. It was an emotional scene, as one might expect.

Bureaucracy being what it is, a regular ceremony was required. On 15 December, in the emperor's study, accompanied by assorted officials and family, they each read prepared statements affirming their desire to divorce. Napoleon affirmed his love for Josephine but pointed out that, at the age of forty, he felt his biological clock was running out. Josephine acknowledged that love and their mutual devotion, and also her understanding that the needs of France must prevail.

On the 16th, the Senate considered the statements and decreed that their marriage was dissolved. Josephine was treated well, retaining her title, getting an income of two million francs and the right to live in Malmaison.

The Senate decree also said that the Bulletin of the Laws should reflect this decision and be widely distributed. The document offered here is that copy of the Bulletin of the Laws containing that decree. The translation was done by Dr. Susan Conner and Jamie A. Aumend.

The snuffbox from my collection is of burl wood with a signed painting of Josephine on a 75 mm ivory medallion, ca. 1820.



BULLETIN DES LOIS.

N.^o 253.

(N.^o 484c.) *SÉNATUS-CONSULTE* portant dissolution du mariage contracté entre l'Empereur Napoléon et l'Impératrice Joséphine.

Du 16 Décembre 1809.

NAPOLÉON, par la grâce de Dieu et les constitutions, EMPEREUR DES FRANÇAIS, ROI D'ITALIE, PROTECTEUR DE LA CONFÉDÉRATION DU RHIN, MÉDIATEUR DE LA CONFÉDÉRATION SUISSE, &c. &c. &c., à tous présens et à venir, SALUT.

Le Sénat, après avoir entendu les orateurs du Conseil d'état, a décrété et nous ORDONNONS ce qui suit :

*EXTRAIT des Registres du Sénat conservateur,
du samedi 16 Décembre 1809.*

LE SÉNAT CONSERVATEUR, réuni au nombre de membres prescrit par l'article 90 de l'acte des constitutions en date du 13 décembre 1799;

Vu l'acte dressé le 15 du présent mois par le prince archichancelier de l'Empire, dont la teneur suit :

L'AN 1809 et le quinzième jour du mois de décembre, à

1. *IV.^e Série.*

N

neuf heures du soir, nous *Jean-Jacques-Régis Cambacérès*, prince archichancelier de l'Empire, duc de Parme, exerçant les fonctions qui nous sont attribuées par le titre II, art. 14, des statuts de la famille impériale, et en vertu des ordres qui nous ont été adressés par sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, dans sa lettre close en date de ce jour, dont la teneur suit :

« Mon cousin, notre intention est que vous vous ren-
 » diez aujourd'hui, 15 décembre, à neuf heures du soir,
 » dans notre grand cabinet du palais des Tuileries, assisté
 » du secrétaire de l'état civil de notre famille impériale,
 » pour y recevoir de notre part et de celle de l'Impératrice,
 » notre chère épouse, une communication de grande impor-
 » tance. A cet effet, nous avons ordonné que la présente
 » lettre close vous soit expédiée. Sur ce, nous prions Dieu
 » qu'il vous ait, mon cousin, en sa sainte et digne garde.
 » A Paris, le 15 décembre 1809 ». Et au dos est écrit :
 » A notre cousin le prince archichancelier, duc de Parme. »

Nous nous sommes rendus dans la salle du trône, au palais des Tuileries, assistés de *Michel-Louis-Étienne Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angely*, comte de l'Empire, ministre d'état, secrétaire de l'état de la famille impériale.

Un quart d'heure après, nous avons été introduits dans le grand cabinet de l'Empereur, où nous avons trouvé sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi avec sa Majesté l'Impératrice, et accompagné de leurs Majestés les rois de Hollande, de Westphalie et de Naples, de S. A. I. le prince vice-roi, des reines d'Espagne, de Naples, de Hollande et de Westphalie, de MADAME, et de S. A. I. la princesse Pauline.

Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi a daigné nous adresser la parole en ces termes :

« Mon cousin le prince archichancelier, je vous ai
 » expédié une lettre close en date de ce jour, pour vous

» ordonner de vous rendre dans mon cabinet, afin de vous
 » faire connaître la résolution que moi et l'Impératrice, ma
 » très-chère épouse, nous avons prise. J'ai été bien aise que
 » les rois, reines et princesses, mes frères et sœurs, beaux-
 » frères et belles-sœurs, ma belle-fille, et mon beau-fils,
 » devenu mon fils d'adoption, ainsi que ma mère, fussent
 » présens à ce que j'avais à vous faire connaître.

» La politique de ma monarchie, l'intérêt et le besoin
 » de mes peuples, qui ont constamment guidé toutes mes
 » actions, veulent qu'après moi je laisse à des enfans, hé-
 » ritiers de mon amour pour mes peuples, ce trône où la
 » Providence m'a placé. Cependant, depuis plusieurs années,
 » j'ai perdu l'espérance d'avoir des enfans de mon mariage
 » avec ma bien-aimée épouse l'Impératrice *Joséphine*; c'est
 » ce qui me porte à sacrifier les plus douces affections de
 » mon cœur, à n'écouter que le bien de l'État et à vouloir la
 » dissolution de notre mariage.

» Parvenu à l'âge de quarante ans, je puis concevoir
 » l'espérance de vivre assez pour élever dans mon esprit et
 » dans ma pensée les enfans qu'il plaira à la Providence de
 » me donner. Dieu sait combien une pareille résolution
 » a coûté à mon cœur; mais il n'est aucun sacrifice qui soit
 » au-dessus de mon courage, lorsqu'il m'est démontré qu'il
 » est utile au bien de la France.

» J'ai le besoin d'ajouter que, loin d'avoir jamais eu à
 » me plaindre, je n'ai au contraire qu'à me louer de l'at-
 » tachment et de la tendresse de ma bien-aimée épouse :
 » elle a embelli quinze ans de ma vie; le souvenir en res-
 » tera toujours gravé dans mon cœur. Elle a été couronnée
 » de ma main : je veux qu'elle conserve le rang et le titre
 » d'Impératrice; mais sur-tout, qu'elle ne doute jamais de
 » mes sentimens, et qu'elle me tienne toujours pour son
 » meilleur et son plus cher ami. »

Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi ayant cessé de parler, sa

Majesté l'Impératrice-Reine a pris la parole en ces termes :

« Avec la permission de notre auguste et cher époux ,
 » je dois déclarer que , ne conservant aucun espoir d'avoir
 » des enfans qui puisse satisfaire les besoins de sa poli-
 » tique et l'intérêt de la France , je me plais à lui donner
 » la plus grande preuve d'attachement et de dévouement
 » qui ait jamais été donnée sur la terre. Je tiens tout de
 » ses bontés ; c'est sa main qui m'a couronnée ; et , du haut
 » de ce trône , je n'ai reçu que des témoignages d'affection
 » et d'amour du peuple français.

» Je crois reconnaître tous ces sentimens en consentant
 » à la dissolution d'un mariage qui désormais est un obs-
 » tacle au bien de la France , qui la prive du bonheur
 » d'être un jour gouvernée par les descendans d'un grand
 » homme , si évidemment suscité par la Providence pour
 » effacer les maux d'une terrible révolution , et rétablir
 » l'autel , le trône et l'ordre social. Mais la dissolution de
 » mon mariage ne changera rien aux sentimens de mon
 » cœur : l'Empereur aura toujours en moi sa meilleure amie.
 » Je sais combien cet acte , commandé par la politique et
 » par de si grands intérêts , a froissé son cœur ; mais l'un
 » et l'autre nous sommes glorieux du sacrifice que nous
 » faisons au bien de la patrie. »

Sur quoi , leurs Majestés impériales et royales nous ayant demandé acte de leurs déclarations respectives , ainsi que du consentement mutuel qu'elles contiennent et que leurs Majestés donnent à la dissolution de leur mariage , comme aussi du pouvoir que leurs Majestés nous confèrent de suivre par-tout où besoin serait , et près de qui il appartiendrait , l'effet de leur volonté , nous prince archichancelier de l'Empire , déférant aux ordres et réquisitions de leurs Majestés , avons donné le susdit acte et dressé en conséquence le présent procès-verbal pour servir et valoir ainsi que de droit , auquel procès-verbal

leurs Majestés ont apposé leur signature, et qui, après avoir été signé par les rois, reines, princesses et prince présens, a été signé par nous et contre-signé par le secrétaire de l'état de la famille impériale, qui l'a écrit de sa main.

Fait au palais des Tuileries, les jour, heure et an que dessus.

Signé NAPOLÉON.
JOSÉPHINE.

MADAME.

LOUIS.

JÉRÔME NAPOLÉON.

JOACHIM NAPOLÉON.

EUGÈNE NAPOLÉON.

JULIE.

HORTENSE.

CATHERINE.

PAULINE.

CAROLINE.

CAMBACÉRÈS, *Prince Archichancelier.*

Le C.^{te} REGNAUD DE SAINT-JEAN-D'ANGELY.

Vu le projet de sénatus-consulte rédigé en la forme prescrite par l'article 57 de l'acte des constitutions du 4 août 1802;

Après avoir entendu, sur les motifs dudit projet, les orateurs du Conseil d'état, et le rapport de sa commission spéciale nommée dans la séance de ce jour;

L'adoption ayant été délibérée au nombre de voix prescrit par l'article 56 de l'acte des constitutions du 4 août 1802,

DÉCRÈTE :

ART. 1.^{er} Le mariage contracté entre l'Empereur *Napoléon* et l'Impératrice *Joséphine*, est dissous.

2. L'Impératrice *Joséphine* conservera les titre et rang d'Impératrice-Reine couronnée.

3. Son donaire est fixé à une rente annuelle de deux millions de francs sur le trésor de l'État.

4. Toutes les dispositions qui pourront être faites par l'Empereur en faveur de l'Impératrice *Joséphine*, sur les fonds de la liste civile, seront obligatoires pour ses successeurs.

5. Le présent sénatus-consulte sera transmis, par un message, à sa Majesté impériale et royale.

Les président et secrétaires, *signé* CAMBACÉRÈS, prince archichancelier de l'Empire, *président*; le général BEURNONVILLE, SEMONVILLE, *secrétaires*. Vu et scellé, *le chancelier du Sénat*, *signé* C.^{te} LAPLACE.

MANDONS et ordonnons que les présentes, revêtues des sceaux de l'État, insérées au Bulletin des lois, soient adressées aux Cours, aux Tribunaux et aux autorités administratives, pour qu'ils les inscrivent dans leurs registres, les observent et les fassent observer; et notre Grand-Juge Ministre de la justice est chargé d'en surveiller la publication.

Donné en notre palais impérial des Tuileries, le 16 Décembre 1809.

Signé NAPOLÉON.

Vu par nous Archichancelier de l'Empire,

Signé CAMBACÉRÈS.

<i>Le Grand-Juge Ministre de la</i>	<i>Par l'Empereur :</i>
<i>justice,</i>	<i>Le Ministre Secrétaire d'état,</i>
<i>Signé</i> DUC DE MASSA.	<i>Signé</i> H. B. DUC DE BASSANO.

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BULLETIN DES LOIS.
No. 253.

(N°. 4840.) *Senatus-Consultum* concerning the dissolution of the marriage between Emperor Napoleon and Empress Josephine.

16 December 1809

NAPOLEON, by the grace of God and the Constitutions, EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, KING OF ITALY, PROTECTOR OF THE CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE, MEDIATOR OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION, etc., etc., etc., and to all who are present and who will be present, greetings:

The Senate, after having heard the proclamations of the Council of State, has decreed and we ORDAIN the following:

*Extract from the Registers of the Conservative Senate,
from Saturday, 16 December 1809.*

THE CONSERVATIVE SENATE, having a quorum mandated by article 90 of the Constitution of 13 December 1799;

Acknowledges the act executed on the 15th of the present month by the prince arch-chancellor of the Empire, of which the terms follow:

The year 1809 and the 15th day of the month of December, at

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nine o'clock in the evening, I, *Jean-Jacques-Regis Cambaceres*, arch-chancellor of the Empire, duke of Parma, exercising the functions which have been granted to me by Title II, art. 14, of the statutes of the Imperial Family, and by virtue of the orders which have been given to me by his Majesty the Emperor and King, in his enclosed letter of this date, sets forward the following terms:

“My cousin, our intention is that you will come today, 15 December, at nine o'clock in the evening, to the Emperor's Study in the Tuileries palace, assisted by the Secretary of Civil State of our Imperial Family, to receive here on my part and on the part of the Empress, my dear wife, a communication of great importance. To that effect, I have ordered that this enclosed letter be expedited to you. To this end, we pray to God that he has you, my cousin, under his holy protection. At Paris, 15 December 1809.” And on the back was written: “To our cousin the prince arch-chancellor, duke of Parma.”

I went to the Throne Room, in the Tuileries Palace, joined by *Michel-Louis-Etienne Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angely*, count of the Empire, minister of State of the Imperial Family.

A quarter of an hour later, we were admitted to the Emperor's Study, where we found his Majesty, the Emperor and King, with her Majesty the Empress, in the company of their Majesties the kings of Holland, of Westphalia, and of Naples, of the prince viceroy, the queens of Spain, Naples, Holland and Westphalia, of Napoleon's mother, and the princess Pauline.

His Majesty, the Emperor and King, addressed us in this manner:

"My cousin, the prince arch chancellor, I expedited the letter dated today, to order you

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to come to my study, for the purpose of informing you of the resolution that the Empress, my dearest wife and I, we have written. I was pleased that the kings, queens, and princesses, my brothers and sisters, my brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, my daughter-in-law, and my son-in-law, having become my adopted son, as well as my mother, are present for all I have to make known."

"The politics of my monarchy, the interests and needs of my people, have constantly guided all my actions. They desire that after me, I leave this throne, where Providence has placed me, to my children. They are the inheritors and proof of my love for my people. However, for several years, I have lost hope of having children from my marriage to my beloved wife the Empress Josephine. It is this which brings me to sacrifice my heart's softest affections, to hear only the welfare of the State, and to desire the dissolution of our marriage."

"Reaching the age of forty, I can perceive in my spirit and thoughts the hope of living long enough to raise the children that will please Providence to bestow upon me. God knows how such a solution cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice greater than my courage, when it has been shown to me to be beneficial to the wellbeing of France."

"I must add that, far from ever having a cause for complaint, on the contrary, I have only felt the attachment and tenderness of my beloved wife: she has enriched fifteen years of my life; the memories will always remain engraved on my heart. She was crowned by my hands: I want her to retain the rank of Empress; but above all, that she never doubts my sentiments, and that she holds me always as her best and dearest friend."

His Majesty the Emperor and King, having ceased to speak, her

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Majesty the Empress-Queen spoke in this manner:

"With the permission of my esteemed and dear husband, I must declare that, having no hope of having children which could satisfy the political needs and interests of France, it pleases

me to give him the greatest proof of my affection and devotion that has ever been given on this earth. I hold all of his goodness; it was his hand that crowned me; and, from the heights of this throne, I have only received the testimonies of affection and love from the French people.”

“I see all of these reasons and acknowledge to consent to the dissolution of a marriage which henceforth would be an obstacle to the wellbeing of France, which would deprive it of being, one day, governed by the descendants of a great man, obviously chosen by Providence to erase the ills of a terrible revolution, and to reestablish the altar, the throne, and the social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will change nothing in the affections of my heart: the Emperor will always have me as his best friend. I know how much this act, required by politics and such important interests has hurt his heart; but we are both proud of the sacrifice that we are making for the wellbeing of our country.”

On that, their imperial and royal Majesties, having required that we act on their respective statements, as well as the mutual consent that they hold and that their Majesties have given to the dissolution of their marriage, similarly of the power that their Majesties have conferred on us to follow up everywhere would be needed, and what would appear to be their willingness, I, prince arch chancellor of the Empire, deferring to the orders and requirements of their Majesties, gave the above act and ordered in consequence the present proceedings to serve as an account as well as the law, to which

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their Majesties affixed their signatures, and which, having been signed by the kings, queens, princesses, and a prince who were present, having been signed by me and counter-signed by the secretary of state of the imperial family, which was written by his hand.

Concluded at the Tuileries Palace, the day, hour and year stated above.

Signed NAPOLEON
JOSEPHINE

MADAME (Napoleon’s mother)
LOUIS
JEROME NAPOLEON
JOACHIM NAPOLEON
EUGENE NAPOLEON
JULIE
HORTENSE
CATHERINE
PAULINE
CAROLINE
CAMBACERES, *Arch chancellor*
Count REGNAUD DE SAIND-JEAN-D’ANGELY

Seeing the work of the Senatus-Consultum drafted in the form required by article 57 of the Constitution of 4 August 1802;

After having heard, on the merits of this proposal, the speakers of the Council of State, and the report of its appointed special commission in today's session;

The adoption having been acknowledged by the number of voices prescribed in article 56 of the Constitution of 4 August 1802,

DECREE:

ART. 1. The marriage contracted between Emperor *Napoleon* and Empress *Josephine* is dissolved.

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2. Empress *Josephine* will retain the title and rank of crowned Empress-Queen.
3. Her salary is fixed at an annual sum of two million francs from the State treasury.
4. All of the provisions which could be made by the Emperor to support Empress *Josephine* from the state funded endowment will be deemed compulsory to be followed by his successors.
5. The present Senatus-Consultum will be transmitted, by a message, to his royal and imperial Majesty.

The president and secretaries, signed CAMBACERES, prince, arch chancellor of the Empire, *president*; Generals BEURNONVILLE, SEMONVILLE, secretaries. Attested and sealed, *Chancellor of the Senate*, signed Count LAPLACE.

[We] mandate and order that the present decree, with the seal of the State affixed, inserted in the Bulletin of Laws, be delivered to the Courts, to Tribunals and other administrative authorities, that they be inscribed in their registers, observe them, and make them be observed; and our Minister of Justice is charged with overseeing the publication.

Given in our imperial palace of the Tuileries, 16 December 1809.

Signed NAPOLEON

Observed by our Arch Chancellor of the Empire

Signed CAMBACERES.

By the Emperor:

Minister of Justice

Minister Secretary of State

Signed Duke of Massa.

Signed H. B. Duke of Bassano

The Campaign of 1809

J. David Markham

In July of 1809 French and Austrian forces clashed Near Vienna. Napoleon won the battle of Wagram (July 4-5) and pursued the defeated and split Austrian forces, led by Archduke Charles, northward. There, near the town of Znaim (now in the Czech Republic), the Austrians were forced to sue for an armistice. By October, the War of the Fifth Coalition was over and Napoleon was, once again, triumphant.

We present two very interesting documents here. The first is the 26th Bulletin of the Army of Germany, dated 9 July 1809 at Wolkersdorf (in Austria). This bulletin gives interesting details about the campaign in the days after Wagram. We hear of some military action, but also that the heat was excessive (26 C, or 79 F, which may not seem that hot unless you are wearing a full uniform and carrying a pack and musket). We also learn that Napoleon had his priorities straight as he announces with glee that wine is in great abundance and is not of bad quality! The bulletin is published in Italian and French. We have translated it into English and also into German.

The second document is the actual armistice, dated Znaym (Znaim), 12 July 1809. In it we learn details of who will evacuate where and other such stuff, as well as the fact that the armistice was for one month and either side could recommence hostilities upon giving 15 days advance notice. The document is in Italian and French and we provide an English translation. Translations of both documents were by Dr. Bill Chew III.

The clock from my collection is a French bronze and Carrara marble clock showing Napoleon resting on the eve of Wagram.



BULLETTINO XXVI.

DELL' ARMATA D' ALEMAGNA

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Wolkersdorf, le 9 juillet 1809.

La retraite de l'ennemi est une déroute. On a ramassé une partie de ses équipages. Ses blessés sont tombés en notre pouvoir: on en compte déjà au-delà de 12,000; tous les villages en sont remplis. Dans cinq de ses hôpitaux seulement, on en a trouvé plus de 6,000.

Le duc de Rivoli, poursuivant l'ennemi par Stokreau, est déjà arrivé à Hollabrunn.

Le duc de Raguse l'avait d'abord suivi sur la route de Brünn, qu'il a quittée à Wolkersdorf pour prendre celle de Znaim. Aujourd'hui à 9 heures du matin, il a rencontré à Laa, une arrière-garde qu'il a culbutée, et à laquelle il a fait 900 prisonniers. Il sera demain à Znaim.

Le duc d'Auerstaedt est arrivé aujourd'hui à Nicolsbourg.

L'Empereur d'Autriche, le prince Antoine, une suite d'environ 200 calèches, carrosses et autres voitures ont couché, le 6, à Erensbuon, le 7, à Hollabrunn, et le 8, à Znaim, d'où ils sont partis le 9 au matin; selon les rapports des gens du pays qui les conduisaient, leur abbattement était extrême.

L'un des princes de Rohan a été trouvé blessé sur le champ de bataille. Le feld-marchal lieutenant Wussakowicz est parmi les prisonniers.

L'artillerie de la garde s'est couverte de gloire. Le major d'Aboville qui la commandait, a été blessé. L'Empereur l'a fait général de brigade. Le chef d'escadron d'artillerie Grenner a eu un bras emporté. Ces intrépides canonniers ont montré toute la puissance de cette arme terrible.

Les chasseurs à cheval de la garde ont chargé, le jour de la bataille de Wagram, trois carrés d'infanterie qu'ils ont enfoncés. Ils ont pris 4 pièces de canon. Les chevaux légers polonais de la garde ont chargé un régiment de lanciers. Ils ont fait prisonnier le prince d'Auersperg, et pris 2 pièces de canon.

Les hussards Saxon d'Albert ont chargé les cuirassiers d'Albert, et leur ont pris un drapeau. C'était une chose fort singulière de voir deux régiments appartenant au même colonel combattre l'un contre l'autre.

Il paraît que l'ennemi abandonne la Moravie et la Hongrie et se retire en Bohême.

Les routes sont couvertes de gens de la Landwehr et de la levée en masse qui retournent chez eux.

Les pertes que la désertion ajoute à celles que l'ennemi a éprouvées en tués, blessés et prisonniers, concourent à l'augmentation de cette armée.

Les nombreuses lettres interceptées font un tableau frappant du mécontentement de l'armée ennemie et du désordre qui y règne.

A praser que la monarchie autrichienne est sans espérance, ce serait mal connaître le caractère de ceux qui l'ont gouvernée, que de ne pas s'attendre qu'ils s'humilient comme ils le firent après la bataille d'Austerlitz. A cette époque, ils étaient comme aujourd'hui, sans espoir, et ils épuisèrent les protestations et les sermens.

Pendant la journée du 6, l'ennemi a jeté sur la rive droite du Danube quelques centaines d'homme des postes d'observation. Ils se sont embarqués après avoir perdu quelques hommes tués, ou faits prisonniers.

La chaleur a été excessive ces jours-ci. Le thermomètre a été presque constamment à 26 degrés.

Le vin est en très-grande abondance. Il y a tel village où on en a trouvé jusqu'à trois millions de pintes. Il n'a heureusement aucune qualité malsaine.

Vingt villages, les plus considérables de la belle plaine de Vienne, et tels qu'on en voit aux environs d'une grande capitale, ont été brûlés pendant la bataille. La juste haine de la nation se prononce contre les hommes criminels qui ont attiré tous ces malheurs sur elle.

Le général de brigade Larocche est entré, le 28 juin, avec un corps de cavalerie à Nuremberg, et s'est dirigé sur Baireuth. Il a rencontré l'ennemi à Besenetheim, l'a fait charger par le premier régiment provisoire de dragons, a sabré tout ce qui s'est trouvé devant lui, et a pris deux pièces de canon.

Pour copie conforme,
Le Ministre de la Guerre
Signé, COMTE D'HUNEBOURG.

Wolkersdorf 9 luglio 1809.

La ritirata del nemico è una rotta. Si è raccolta una parte de' suoi equipaggi. Sono caduti in nostro potere i suoi feriti, e già se ne contano al di là di 12,000; tutti i villaggi ne sono ripieni. In cinque dei suoi spedali solamente se ne sono trovati più di 6,000.

Il Duca di Rivoli inseguendo il nemico è già arrivato a Hollabrunn.

Il Duca di Ragusi l'avea seguito da principio sulla strada di Brünn, che egli ha lasciata a Wolkersdorf per prender quella di Znaim. Oggi a ore 9 di mattina, ha incontrata a Laa una retroguardia che egli ha rovesciata, e le ha fatti 900 prigionieri. Ei sarà domani a Znaim.

Il Duca d'Auerstaedt è arrivato oggi a Nicolsbourg.

L'Imperatore d'Austria, il Principe Antonio, con un seguito di circa 200, tra calessi, carrozze ed altre vetture hanno riposato il 6. a Erensbuon, il 7. a Hollabrunn, e l'8 a Znaim, donde sono partiti la mattina del 9; secondo i rapporti della gente del paese che gli conduceva, il loro abbatimento era estremo.

È stato trovato tra i feriti sul campo di battaglia uno de' principi di Roano. Il tenente Feld-Maresciallo Wussakowicz è tra i prigionieri.

L'artiglieria della guardia si è coperta di gloria. Il maggior d'Aboville che comandava è rimasto ferito. L'Imperatore l'ha fatto general di brigata. Il capo squadrone d'artiglieria Grenner ha perduto un braccio. Quest' intrépido cannoneiro hanno mostrato tutta la possanza di quest' arme terribile.

I cacciatori a cavallo hanno caricato, nella giornata della battaglia di Wagram, tre quadrati d'infanteria, e gli hanno penetrati, prendendo loro 4 pezzi di cannoni. I cavalli leggeri polacchi della guardia han dato la carica ad un reggimento di lancieri. Hanno fatto prigioniero il principe d'Auersperg e presi due cannoni.

Gli usseri Sassoni d'Albert hanno caricato i corazzieri Albert, e loro han preso una bandiera. Ella era una cosa ben singolare il vedere due reggimenti appartenenti ad un sol colonnello combattere l'uno contro l'altro.

Sembra che il nemico, abbandonando la Moravia e l'Ungheria, si ritiri in Boemia.

Sono ricoperte le strade di uomini della Landwehr e della leva in massa che ritornano alle lor case.

Le perdite che la diserzione aggiunge a quelle che il nemico ha fatte in morti, feriti, e prigionieri, contribuiscono all'ammientamento di questa armata.

Le numerose lettere intercettate fanno un quadro ben esprime del malcontento dell' armata nemica e del disordine che vi regna.

Ora che la Monarchia Austriaca è senza speranza, sarebbe un conoscere assai male il carattere di coloro che l'han governata, il non aspettarsi che eglino si umilieranno come fecero, dopo la battaglia d'Austerlitz. A quell' epoca erano senza speranza, come oggi, ed esaurirono le proteste, e i giuramenti.

Durante la giornata del 6. il nemico ha gettato sulla dritta del Danubio alcune centinaia di posti d' osservazione. Sonosi essi imbarcati, dopo aver perduto alcuni uomini, uccisi o prigionieri.

Il caldo è stato in questi giorni eccessivo. Il termometro è rimasto costantemente a 26. gradi.

Il vino è in grande abbondanza. Vi è un certo villaggio in cui se ne sono trovate fino a tre milioni di pinte. Esso per buona sorte non ha alcuna qualità malsana.

Venti villaggi, i più considerabili del bel piano di Vienna, e di quella specie che vedonsi nelle vicinanze di una gran capitale, sono stati bruciati durante la battaglia. Il giusto odio della nazione inveisce contro gli uomini colpevoli che hanno attirato sopra di lei tante disgrazie.

Il gen. di brigata Larocche è entrato il 28. giugno con un corpo di cavalleria in Norimberga, dirigendosi sopra Baireuth. Ha incontrato il nemico a Besenetheim, lo ha fatto caricare dal primo reggimento provvisorio di dragoni, ha passato a fil di spada tutto ciò gli si è trovato innanzi, ed ha preso due pezzi di cannone.

Per copia conforme
Il Ministro della Guerra
Firmato COMTE D'HUNEBOURG

Twenty-Sixth Bulletin
Of the Army of Germany
Wolkersdorf
9 July 1809

The enemy retreated in the utmost disorder. We have collected a part of its equipment. Its wounded has fallen into our hands; we have already counted more than 12,000; all the villages are filled with them. In five of its hospitals alone we have found more than 6000.

The Duke de Rivoli, pursuing the enemy by Stokerau, has already arrived at Hollabrünn.

The Duke of Ragusa had at first followed him on the road to Brünn, which he left at Wolkersdorf, in order to take that of Znaim. At nine o'clock this morning, he met a rearguard at Laa, which he routed: he took 900 of them prisoners. Tomorrow he will be at Znaim.

The Duke of Auerstädt has arrived today at Nicolsburg.

The Emperor of Austria and Prince Anthony, with a suite of about 200 chariots, coaches and other carriages, slept on the 6th at Erensbrünn, the 7th at Hollabrünn, the 8th at Znaim, from where they set out the 9th in the morning. According to the relation of the country people who conducted them, their dejection was extreme.

One of the princes of Rohan was found wounded on the battlefield. Lieutenant Field Marshal Wussakowicz is among the prisoners.

The artillery of the Guard covered itself with glory. Major Aboville, who commanded, was wounded. The Emperor has made him General of Brigade. The chief of a squadron of artillery, Grenner, has lost an arm. These intrepid artillerymen displayed all the power of this terrible weapon.

The horse chasseurs of the Guard charged and drove back on the day of the battle of Wagram three squares of infantry. They took four pieces of cannon. The light-horse Poles of the Guard charged a regiment of lancers. They took the Prince of Auersperg prisoner, and captured two pieces of cannon.

The Saxon hussars of Albert charged the cuirassiers of Albert, and took their flags. It was a very singular thing to see two regiments belonging to the same colonel fighting against each other.

It appears that the enemy is abandoning Moravia and Hungary, and is retiring into Bohemia.

The roads are covered with the men belonging to the *Landwehr*, and the mass uprising, who are returning to their houses.

The losses, which desertion is adding to those the enemy has sustained in killed, wounded and prisoners, are concurring to annihilate its army.

The numerous letters that have been intercepted are a striking picture of the discontent of the hostile army, and the disorder that reigns in it.

Now that the Austrian monarchy is without hope, it would evince being ill acquainted with the character of those who govern it, not to expect that they will humiliate themselves as they did after the battle of Austerlitz. At that epoch, they were, as now, without hope, and they exhausted all protestations and oaths.

During the day of the 6th, the enemy sent a few hundred men to the right of the Danube to make observations. They re-embarked after having lost a few men killed or taken prisoners.

The heat was excessive on these days. The thermometer was almost constantly at 26 degrees.

Wine is in great abundance. In one village 3,000,000 pints were found. Happily, it is not of bad quality.

Twenty of the most considerable villages in the beautiful plain of Vienna, such as are seen in the neighborhood of a great capital, have been burnt during the battle. The just hatred of the nation is loud against the criminal men who have drawn upon it all these calamities.

General of Brigade Laroche entered Nuremberg on the 28th of June with a corps of cavalry, and proceeded towards Bayreuth. He met the enemy at Besenheim, charged it with the first provisional regiment of dragoons, sabered all who opposed him, and took two pieces of cannon.

CC:

The Minister of War

Signed, Count of Hunebourg

BULLETIN XXVI. DER ARMEE DEUTSCHLANDS

Wolkersdorf,
9 Juli 1809

Die Flucht des Feindes ist in eine Niederlage umgeschlagen. Wir haben einen Teil der Fuhrwerke eingesammelt. Seine Verwundete sind in unserer Gewalt: wir haben schon über 12,000 gezählt; alle Dörfer sind voll von ihnen. In nur fünf seiner Spitäler hat man von ihnen über 6,000 angetroffen.

Der Herzog von Rivoli, den Feind über Stockerau verfolgend, ist schon in Hollabrunn angekommen.

Der Herzog von Ragusa ist ihm erst auf der Straße nach Brünn gefolgt, die er aber in Wulkersdorf verlassen hat um diejenige nach Znaim aufzunehmen. Heute hat er um 9 Uhr morgens in Laa eine Nachhut angetroffen, über den Haufen geworfen, und 900 Gefangene genommen. Morgen wird er in Znaim sein.

Der Herzog von Auerstaedt ist heute in Nikolsburg eingetroffen.

Der Kaiser von Österreich, der Fürst Antoine, ein Gefolge von etwa 200 Kaleschen, Karossen und anderes Gefährt haben am 6. in Erensbrunn, am 7. in Hollabrunn, am 8. In Znaim übernachtet, von wo aus sie am 9. morgens aufgebrochen sind; den Berichten der Menschen aus der Gegend, die sie leiteten, folgend, waren sie äußerst niedergeschlagen,

Einer der Fürsten von Rohan wurde verletzt auf dem Schlachtfeld aufgefunden. Der Leutnant Feldmarschall Wussakowicz befindet sich unter den Gefangenen.

Die Garde-Artillerie hat sich mit Ruhm bedeckt. Major d'Aboville, der sie befehligte, wurde verwundet. Der Kaiser hat ihn zum Brigade-General befördert. Der Befehlshaber des Artillerie-Geschwaders hat einen Arm verloren. Diese furchtlosen Kanonniere haben

die ganze Gewalt dieser schrecklichen Waffe vor aller Augen vorgeführt.

Die berittenen Jäger der Garde haben am Tag der Schlacht von Wagram chargiert und sind dabei in vier Infanteriecarrés eingedrungen. Sie haben 4 Kanonen genommen. Die leichten polnischen Reiter der Garde haben ein Lanzerregiment chargiert. Sie haben den Fürsten von Auersberg gefangengenommen, sowie 2 Kanonen.

Die sächsischen Hussaren von Albert haben die Kürassiere von Albert chargiert und ihnen eine Fahne abgenommen. Dies war eine ganz aussergewöhnliche Sache, zuzusehen, wie zwei demselben Obersten unterstellten Regimenter sich gegenseitig bekämpften.

Es scheint so, dass der Feind Mähren und Ungarn räumt und sich nach Böhmen zurückzieht.

Die Strassen sind mit Leuten der Landwehr und der Massenaushebung, die alle nach hause kehren, bedeckt.

Die Verluste des Feindes, die die Desertion denjenigen, die er durch Gefallene,

Verwundete und Gefangengenommene erlitten hat, zugefügt, tragen zur Vernichtung dieser Armee bei.

Zahlreiche abgefangene Briefe zeichnen ein frappantes Bild der Unzufriedenheit des feindlichen Heeres sowie der in ihm herrschenden Unordnung.

Jetzt, wo sich die österreichische Monarchie ohne Hoffnung befindet, würde es eine grobe Fehleinschätzung des Charakters derjenigen, die sie regierten, bedeuten, wenn man nicht erwarten würde, dass sie, wie nach der Schlacht bei Austerlitz, sich selbst demütigen werden. Damals waren sie, wie jetzt, ohne Hoffnung und sie erschöpften sich in Beteuerungen und Gelöbnissen.

Im Tagesverlauf des 6. hat der Feind am rechten Ufer der Donau einige Hundertschaften Beobachtungsposten aufgeworfen. Nachdem sie einige Verluste an Gefallenen oder Gefangenen erlitten haben, haben sie sich zurückgezogen.

Die letzten Tagen ist die Hitze übertrieben gewesen. Das Thermometer stand fast andauernd bei 26 Grad.

Wein gibt es in grossem Überfluss. In einem bestimmte Dorf hat man über drei Millionen Pinten angetroffen. Zum Glück hat er keine übelthuende Qualität.

Zwanzig Dörfer, die belangreichsten der Ebene rund um Wien, wie man sie eben um eine große Hauptstadt herum sieht, wurden während der Schlacht in Brand gesetzt. Der gerechte Hass der Nation äussert sich gegen die verbrecherischen Männer, die all dieses Unglück auf sie gebracht hat.

Der Brigadegeneral Laroche ist am 28. Juni mit einem Kavalleriekorps in Nürnberg eingeritten und dann Richtung Bayreuth weitergezogen. Er ist dem Feind in Betzenstein begegnet, hat ihn durch das erste provisorische Dragonerregiment chargieren lassen, hat alles was sich vor ihm befand abgesäbelt und zwei Kanonen genommen.

Als richtige Abschrift bestätigt,
Der Kriegsminister
Unterzeichnet, Graf von Hunebourg

NOUVELLES DE L'ARMÉE D'ALLEMAGNE.

Znaïm, le 12 juillet

Le 11 juillet, à midi, l'Empereur était vis-à-vis de Znaïm. L'armée continuait sa marche victorieuse. Plusieurs actions brillantes avaient eu lieu. On en rendra compte dans le 26 et le 27 bulletin.

Le même jour 11, à minuit, l'armistice suivant a été signé chez le prince de Neufchâtel.

Le prince de Lichtenstein a été présenté à l'Empereur, dans sa tente, à deux heures du matin.

SUSPENSION D'ARMES

Entre les armées de S. M. l'Empereur des Français et Roi d'Italie, et de S. M. l'Empereur d'Autriche,

ARTICLE PREMIER.

Il y aura suspension d'armes entre les armées de S. M. l'Empereur des Français et Roi d'Italie, et de S. M. l'Empereur d'Autriche.

1. La ligne de démarcation sera, du côté de la Haute Autriche, la frontière qui sépare l'Autriche de la Bohême, le Cercle de Znaïm, celui de Brünn, et une ligne tracée de la frontière de la Moravie sur Raab, qui commencera au point où la frontière du Cercle de Brünn touche la March et en descendant la March jusqu'au confluent de la Taya, de là à Saint Johann, et la route jusqu'à Presbourg, Presbourg, et une demi-lieu autour de la ville, le grand Danube jusqu'à l'embouchure de la Raab, Raab et une lieu autour. La Raab jusqu'à la frontière de la Styrie, la Styrie, la Carniole, l'Istrie et Fiume.

2. Les citadelles de Brünn et de Gratz seront évacuées immédiatement après la signature de la présente suspension d'armes.

3. Les détachements des troupes autrichiennes qui sont dans le Tyrol et le Vorarlberg, évacueront les deux pays: le fort de Sassenburg sera remis aux troupes françaises.

4. Les magasins de subsistance et d'habillement qui se trouveroient dans le pays qui doit être évacué par l'armée autrichienne, et qui lui appartiennent, pourront être évacués.

5. Quant à la Pologne, les deux armées prendront la ligne qu'elles occupent aujourd'hui.

6. La présente suspension d'armes durera un mois, et avant de recommencer les hostilités, on se prévendra quinze jours d'avance.

7. Il sera nommé des commissaires respectifs pour l'exécution des présentes dispositions.

8. A dater de demain, 13, les troupes autrichiennes évacueront les pays désignés dans la présente suspension d'armes, et se retireront par journées d'étape.

Le fort de Brünn sera remis, le 14, à l'armée française, et celui de Gratz, le 16 juillet.

Fait et arrêté entre nous soussignés chargés de pleins pouvoirs de nos souverains respectifs le présent armistice, S. A. S. le prince de Neufchâtel, major-général de l'armée française, et monsieur le Baron de Wimpffen général-major et chef d'état-major de l'armée autrichienne.

Au camp devant Znaïm le 12 juillet 1809.

Signé: ALEXANDRE — WIMPFEN.

Pour copie conforme:

Par ordre de S. A. I. LA GRANDE DUCHESSE DE TOSCANE,
Le Secrétaire des commandements,

Signé: LAMBERT.

Pour Ampliation,

Le Préfet du Département de la Méditerranée
CAPELLLE.

NOTIZIE DELL'ARMATA D'ALLEMAGNA.

Znaïm, li 12 luglio 1809.

Gli 11 luglio, a mezzogiorno, l'Imperatore ed il Principe di Znaïm. L'armata continuò la sua vittoriosa marcia. Molte brillanti azioni avevano avuto luogo. Se ne darà contezza nei bollettini numero 26 e 27.

Lo stesso giorno 11, a mezzanotte, il seguente armistizio è stato segnato presso il principe di Neufchâtel.

Il principe di Lichtenstein è stato presentato all'Imperatore nella sua tenda, a due ore del mattino.

SOSPENSIONE D'ARMI

Fra le armate di S. M. l'Imperatore de' Francesi e Re d'Italia, e di S. M. l'Imperatore d'Austria.

ARTICOLO PRIMO

Vi sarà sospensione d'armi fra le armate di S. M. l'Imperatore de' Francesi e Re d'Italia, e di S. M. l'Imperatore d'Austria.

1. La linea di demarcazione sarà dalla parte dell'alta Austria, la frontiera che separa l'Austria dalla Boemia, il circolo di Znaïm, quello di Brünn ed una linea condotta dalla frontiera di Moravia sopra Raab, che comincerà dal punto ove la frontiera del circolo di Brünn tocca la March, fino al confluyente della Taya, di là a S. Johann, e la strada fino a Presburgo; Presburgo, ed una mezza lega intorno alla città, il gran Danubio fino allo sbocco della Raab, Raab col circondario di un'ora di cammino; la Raab fino alla frontiera della Stiria, la Stiria, la Carniola, l'Istria e Fiume.

2. La cittadella di Brünn e di Gratz saranno evacuate immediatamente dopo la segnatura della presente sospensione d'armi.

3. I distaccamenti delle truppe austriache che sono nel Tirolo e nel Vorarlberg evacueranno questi due paesi; il forte di Sassenburg sarà consegnato alle truppe francesi.

4. I magazzini di viveri e di vestiario che si trovassero nel paese che deve essere evacuato dall'armata austriaca, e che le appartengono, potranno essere evacuati.

5. Quanto alla Polonia le due armate prenderanno la linea che occupano presentemente.

6. La presente sospensione d'armi durerà un mese, ed avanti di ricominciare le ostilità se ne darà avviso quindici giorni prima.

7. Saranno nominati dei commissari rispettivi per l'esecuzione delle presenti disposizioni.

8. A dattare da domani 13, le truppe austriache evacueranno i paesi indicati nella presente sospensione d'armi, e si ritireranno per giornate di tappa.

Il forte di Brünn sarà consegnato il dì 14 all'armata francese, e quello di Gratz il dì 16 luglio.

Fatto e concluso il presente armistizio fra Noi sottoscritti incaricati dei pieni poteri dei nostri Sovrani rispettivi, S. A. S. il principe di Neufchâtel, maggiore generale dell'armata francese, ed il sig. barone di Wimpffen, generale maggiore e capo dello stato maggiore dell'armata austriaca.

Dal campo avanti Znaïm, li 12 luglio 1809.

Firmati: ALESSANDRO — WIMPFEN

Per Copia conforme

Per ordine di S. A. I. LA GRANDE DUCHESSE DI TOSCANA,
Il Segretario dei comandamenti,

Sottoscritto LAMBERT.

Per ampliazione

Il PREFETTO del Dipart. del Mediterraneo
CAPELLLE.

News from the Army of Germany

Znaym, July 12

On July 11, at noon, the Emperor was opposite Znaym.¹ The army was continuing its victorious march. Many brilliant actions had taken place. We reported on these in the 26th and 27th bulletins.

The same day, the 11th, at midnight, the following armistice was signed at the Prince of Neufchâtel's.

The Prince of Lichtenstein was presented to the Emperor, in his tent, at two in the morning.

Armistice

**Between the armies of H. M. the Emperor of the French and King of Italy,
and of H. M. the Emperor of Austria,**

Article One.

There shall be an armistice between the armies of H. M. the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and of H. M. the Emperor of Austria.

2. The line of demarcation will be, on the side of Upper Austria, the frontier separating Austria from Bohemia, the district of Znaym, that of Brünn,² and a line drawn from the frontier of Moravia at Raab,³ beginning at the point where the frontier of the Brünn district touches the [river] March,⁴ then descending the March to the confluent of the Taya, [i.e. Thaya] from there to Saint [i.e. Sankt] Johann, and the road to Pressburg,⁵ Pressburg, and a half league around the city, the great Danube to the mouth of the Raab,⁶ Raab and a league around it. The Raab to the frontier of Styria, Styria, Carniola, Istria and Fiume.⁷

3. The citadels of Brün and Gratz [i.e. Graz] shall be evacuated immediately after the signing of the present armistice.

4. The Austrian troop detachments currently in Tyrol and Vorarlberg will evacuate those two regions: the fort of Sachsenburg shall be returned to the French troops.

5. The stores of victuals and clothes currently to be found in the regions to be evacuated by the Austrian army, and which belong to the same, may be evacuated.

6. As for Poland, the two armies will take up the line [i.e. position] they occupy today.

¹Today Znojmo, Czech Republic.

²Today Brno, Czech Republic.

³Today Győr, Hungary.

⁴Today the Morava, left tributary of the Danube and main river of Moravia.

⁵Today Bratislava, capital of the Slovak Republic.

⁶Today Rába River, Hungary.

⁷Today Rijeka, Croatia.

7. The present armistice shall be of one month's duration and before recommencing hostilities the parties shall give fifteen days' advance notice.

8. Commissaries shall be appointed with respect to the execution of the present dispositions.

9. From tomorrow's date, the 13th, the Austrian troops will evacuate the regions designated in the present armistice, and withdraw in daily stages.

The fort of Brünn shall be returned, on the 14th, to the French army, and that of Graz, on the 16th of July.

Done and agreed between us, as signed below, plenipotentiaries of our respective sovereigns, with regard to the present armistice, His Most Serene Highness the Prince of Neufchâtel, major general of the French army, and the Baron of Wimpffen, major general and chief of staff of the Austrian army.

At the camp before Znaim [sic], 12 July 1809

Signed: Alexandre-Wimpffen

Certified copy:

By order of Her Italian Highness, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany,

The secretary of state,

Signed: Lambert

This is a true copy:

The Prefect of the Mediterranean Department

Capelle

Napoleon's Marriage to Marie Louise

J. David Markham

After Napoleon divorced Josephine in December of 2009 due to her inability to bear an heir to the throne, Napoleon turned to the question of whom to marry. Mind you, this wouldn't be a love-based decision, but rather one based on politics. His first thought was to marry Russian Tsar Alexander's 15-year-old sister. This would seal the existing alliance and cement their personal friendship as well. But Alexander and his family wanted no part of that, so it was on to plan B.

The only serious remaining option was the 18-year-old daughter of Emperor Francis of Austria, the Archduchess Marie Louise. This would tie Napoleon to the Hapsburg dynasty, the oldest in Europe, and form a significant geo-political alliance based on their location on the map. Further, the women of that family were well-known for their ability to bear children, a significant consideration. The Austrians could see the advantages as well, so the deal was done. On March 11, 1810, the couple were married in Vienna. Napoleon was not there, as Marshal Berthier stood in as his proxy.

When us mere mortals get married, guests at our wedding will usually bring us gifts. But when emperors get married, it seems they give gifts to the whole nation. The document we present here is the Bulletin of Laws from 25 March 1810. In it we learn of the 'acts of compassion and charity' that the imperial couple bestow on the people of France. They range from compassion for criminals, debts for wet nursing, marriages for soldiers (with a state dowry), and amnesty for deserters. The bulletin goes into careful detail and gives us an understanding of the marriage that is seldom mentioned in books. The document was translated by Dr. Susan Conner and Jamie A. Aumend.

The image from my collection is a burlwood snuffbox with a gilt medallion insert showing Napoleon and Marie Louise with a depiction inset showing their union (with Napoleon as an ancient god of war). The 1810 medal, which is an extreme rarity, is signed by Gayrard.



BULLETIN DES LOIS.

N.^o 277.

(N.^o 5311.) *DÉCRET IMPÉRIAL contenant des Actes de bienfaisance et d'indulgence à l'occasion du Mariage de sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi.*

Au palais de Compiègne, le 25 Mars 1810.

NAPOLÉON, EMPEREUR DES FRANÇAIS,
ROI D'ITALIE, PROTECTEUR DE LA CONFÉDÉ-
RATION DU RHIN, MÉDIATEUR DE LA CONFÉ-
DÉRATION SUISSE, &c. &c. &c.

Voulant marquer l'époque de notre mariage par des actes d'indulgence et de bienfaisance ;

Notre Conseil d'état entendu,

Nous AVONS DÉCRÉTÉ et DÉCRÉTONS ce qui suit :

TITRE I.^{er}

Mise en liberté des Individus condamnés correctionnellement, qui ne sont plus détenus que pour le paiement de l'amende et des frais.

ART. I.^{er} Les individus détenus au moment de la publication du présent décret, en vertu de jugement de police correctionnelle, et qui, ayant subi le temps de détention porté dans leur jugement, sont encore retenus ou seraient dans le cas de l'être, après leur temps expiré,

1. *IV.^e Série.*

T

faute de paiement de l'amende ou des frais, seront dispensés de payer lesdits frais ou amende, et mis en liberté à l'expiration du temps fixé pour la peine.

Seront également mis en liberté tous les individus détenus pour délits forestiers ; et quant aux affaires pour les mêmes délits sur lesquelles les jugemens ne sont pas rendus, les poursuites cesseront aussi du jour de la publication du présent décret.

N'entendons toutefois nuire aux droits des parties civiles, lesquels demeurent réservés.

TITRE II.

Débiteurs de l'État contraints ou poursuivables par corps, qui pourront être déchargés de la contrainte par corps.

2. Nos ministres des finances et du trésor public nous feront un rapport sur chacun des individus détenus ou dans le cas d'être arrêtés pour dettes, à la requête de l'agent du trésor public ou des préposés à la perception des contributions publiques, pour que nous jugions quels sont ceux qui peuvent obtenir, en faveur des circonstances, leur élargissement ou la décharge du droit de contrainte par corps, et les conditions auxquelles on peut les leur accorder.

TITRE III.

Des Dettes pour mois de nourrice.

3. Il sera fait remise de toutes les dettes pour mois de nourrice contractées envers le bureau des nourrices par des pères et mères de la ville de Paris et du département de la Seine, depuis le 9 octobre 1799 jusques et y compris le premier trimestre de la présente année 1810.

4. Les sommes que le bureau des nourrices aurait été dans le cas de recouvrer en conséquence des poursuites qu'il

avait à exercer contre les débiteurs, seront versées à la décharge desdits débiteurs dans la caisse du comité des hospices par le trésorier général de notre couronne.

TITRE IV.

Du Mariage de six mille Militaires.

5. Six mille militaires en retraite, ayant fait au moins une campagne, seront mariés le 22 avril prochain, avec des filles de leurs communes, auxquelles il sera accordé une dot de douze cents francs pour Paris, et de six cents francs dans le reste de l'Empire; savoir :

Soixante dans la ville de Paris;

Dix dans chacune des villes dont l'état est annexé au présent décret (A);

Cinq dans chacune des villes dont l'état est annexé au présent décret (B);

Deux dans chacune des villes dont l'état est annexé au présent décret (C);

Un dans chacune des justices de paix de l'Empire.

6. Les militaires et les filles à marier seront choisis de la manière suivante; savoir :

Pour la ville de Paris, par délibération du conseil général faisant fonctions de conseil municipal, approuvée par le préfet;

Pour les villes chefs-lieux de département, par délibération du conseil municipal, approuvée par le préfet;

Pour les villes qui ne sont pas chefs-lieux de département, par délibération du conseil municipal, approuvée par le sous-préfet;

Pour les justices de paix, par une commission composée de deux maires et de deux curés désignés par le sous-préfet, et du juge de paix, qui présidera la commission et la réunira dans son domicile.

7. Les communes qui ne seraient pas comprises dans

les articles précédens, pourront, sur la délibération du conseil municipal, approuvée par le sous-préfet, marier un militaire et une fille de la commune, en se conformant, pour le choix et pour la quotité de la dot, aux dispositions ci-dessus.

TITRE V.

Amnistie.

8. Amnistie est accordée à tous sous-officiers et soldats de nos troupes de terre et de mer, et à tous gens de mer qui étaient en état de désertion, soit qu'ils aient été condamnés ou non, à l'époque de la date du présent décret.

9. L'amnistie sera entière et absolue pour les déserteurs dont la désertion aura eu lieu avant le 1.^{er} janvier 1806.

10. Les individus dont la désertion est postérieure au 1.^{er} janvier 1806, seront tenus de rentrer dans les corps de l'armée.

11. Ceux des déserteurs qui ont été condamnés, et qui seraient actuellement détenus dans les ateliers ou dans les prisons civiles et militaires, seront conduits par la gendarmerie aux corps qui seront désignés par notre ministre de la guerre.

12. Tout déserteur condamné ou non condamné, mais non détenu, devra, pour jouir du bienfait de l'amnistie, se présenter au plus tard, dans le délai de deux mois, à dater de sa publication, soit à l'inspecteur ou sous-inspecteur aux revues, soit au commissaire des guerres, soit au préfet ou au sous-préfet de l'arrondissement, pour faire sa déclaration de repentir et de demande de service.

Il lui sera délivré, sans délai, une feuille de route, pour se rendre et être incorporé dans le corps de son arme le plus voisin du lieu où il aura fait sa déclaration.

13. L'amnistie sera entière et absolue pour les déserteurs des troupes de la marine et les gens de mer dont la désertion sera antérieure au 1.^{er} janvier 1806. Ceux dont la

désertion sera postérieure au 1.^{er} janvier 1806, seront tenus de reprendre du service : ils devront, s'ils sont sur le territoire européen de l'Empire, se présenter dans le délai de deux mois, soit aux commissaires de l'inscription maritime, soit aux autres officiers civils et militaires désignés par l'article 5 ci-dessus ; ils feront la déclaration prescrite par le même article : ils seront dirigés sur le corps ou le port le plus voisin, d'après les besoins du service, ou bien ils recevront un congé provisoire et limité.

On suivra, pour les déserteurs de terre et de mer qui sont hors du territoire européen de l'Empire, les dispositions de l'article 4 de notre décret du 12 août 1807 (1).

14. Tout déserteur arrivant au corps qui lui aura été assigné, recevra son acte de rémission en passant sous les aigles : il prêtera, immédiatement après, le serment prescrit par le sénatus-consulte du 18 mai 1804.

15. Rémission entière et absolue est accordée à tout réfractaire des classes antérieures à 1806 ; et il ne sera exercé aucune poursuite pour le recouvrement de ce qui pourrait être encore dû sur les amendes dont les parens sont civilement responsables.

16. Les réfractaires des classes de 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809 et 1810, sont aussi amnistiés, mais à la condition de servir.

17. Les réfractaires amnistiés des cinq classes ci-dessus seront tenus de se représenter dans le délai de trois mois, à dater de la publication du présent décret, devant le

(1) Article 4 du décret du 12 août 1807 :

« Le délai accordé aux sous-officiers et soldats de nos troupes de marine, aux ouvriers militaires et gens de mer qui sont hors du territoire européen de l'Empire, pour se rendre dans un de nos ports, est fixé à six mois pour ceux qui sont en Amérique ou dans les pays hors de l'Europe qui tiennent à la Méditerranée et à l'Océan, jusqu'au Cap de Bonne-Espérance, et à dix-huit mois pour ceux qui ont passé au-delà du Cap de Bonne-Espérance et en Asie. »

préfet, ou devant un sous-préfet du département où ils se trouveront.

18. Les réfractaires amnistiés désignés dans l'article ci-dessus, auront la faculté de choisir le corps de l'armée dans lequel ils désireront servir; et pourvu qu'ils réunissent les qualités physiques nécessaires, ils recevront immédiatement des feuilles de route pour s'y rendre.

19. Les préfets et sous-préfets pourront destiner, pour servir dans les troupes ci-après désignées, le nombre de conscrits amnistiés qui serait nécessaire pour le complètement desdites troupes ;

S A V O I R :

Pour	<div> <div> Les Basses-Pyrénées.....</div> <div>Les Landes.....</div> <div>La Gironde.....</div> <div>Lot-et-Garonne.....</div> <div>Tarn-et-Garonne.....</div> <div>Gers.....</div> <div>Pyrénées (Hautes).....</div> <div>Garonne (Haute).....</div> <div>L'Arriège.....</div> <div>Les Pyrénées-Orientales.....</div> <div>L'Aude.....</div> </div>
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20. Il ne sera plus exercé aucune poursuite pour le recouvrement de ce qui pourrait être dû sur les amendes et frais dont les parens sont civilement responsables pour les

réfractaires antérieurs à 1806, dont il est parlé à l'article 15 : ces poursuites cesseront à l'instant.

Les poursuites exercées contre les parens des réfractaires dont il est question art. 16, seront seulement suspendues pendant le délai accordé aux réfractaires pour se représenter : elles seront reprises aussitôt après l'expiration du délai, si les conscrits réfractaires ne se sont pas représentés, et si les parens n'en justifient.

21. Les dispositions du présent décret ne seront, en aucun cas, applicables à un délit postérieur au 30 mars.

22. Les déserteurs admis à reprendre du service, qui, après s'être volontairement représentés, ne rejoindront pas les drapeaux, seront punis comme coupables de désertion par récidive.

Les réfractaires qui, après s'être volontairement représentés, ne se rendront pas à leur destination, seront condamnés comme déserteurs.

23. Nos ministres sont chargés, chacun en ce qui le concerne, de l'exécution du présent décret, qui sera inséré au Bulletin des lois.

Signé NAPOLÉON.

Par l'Empereur :

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'état, signé H. B. DUC DE BASSANO.

Suivent le. États.

ÉTAT A dressé pour être annexé au Décret du 25 Mars 1810.

DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.	DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.
Arno.....	Florence.	Meurthe.....	Nancy.
Bouches-du-Rhône.	Marseille.	Meuse-Inferieure...	Maestricht.
Calvados.....	Caen.	Mont-Tonnerre...	Maënce.
Doubs.....	Besançon.	Moselle.....	Metz.
Dyle.....	Bruxelles.	Nèthes (Deux)...	Anvers.
	Louvain.		Malines.
Escaut.....	Gand.		Dunkerque.
Finistère.....	Brest.	Nord.....	Lille.
Gard.....	Nîmes.		Valenciennes.
Garonne (Haute)..	Toulouse.	Ourte.....	Liege.
Gênes.....	Gênes.	Pas-de-Calais.....	Saint-Omer.
Gironde.....	Bordeaux.	Pô.....	Turin.
Hérault.....	Montpellier.	Rhin (Bas).....	Strasbourg.
Ille-et-Vilaine....	Rennes.	Rhône.....	Lyon.
Indre-et-Loire....	Tours.	Rome.....	Rome.
Isère.....	Grenoble.	Roer.....	Cologne.
	Mons.	Sambre-et-Meuse...	Namur.
Jemmape.....	Tournay.	Seine-Inferieure...	Rouen.
Loire.....	Saint-Ltienne.	Seine-et-Oise.....	Versailles.
Loire-Inferieure...	Nantes.	Sèvres (Deux)...	Niort.
Loiret.....	Orléans.	Somme.....	Amiens.
Lys.....	Bruges.		Parme.
Maine-et-Loire....	Angers.	Taro.....	Plaisance.
Maronço.....	Alexandrie.	Var.....	Toulon.
Marne.....	Reims.	Vaucluse.....	Avignon.
Méditerranée.....	Livourne.		
		TOTAL.....	51 villes.

Certifié conforme :

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'état, signé H. B. DUC DE BASSANO.

ETAT B dressé pour être annexé au Décret du 25 Mars 1810.

DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.	DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.
Allier.....	Moulins.	Nord.....	Cambray.
Alpes-Maritimes...	Nice.	Oise.....	Douay.
Aube.....	Troyes.	Ombrone.....	Beauvais.
Aude.....	Carcassonne.	Ourte.....	Sienna.
Bouches-du-Rhône.	Aix		Verviers.
Calvados.....	Arles.	Pas-de-Calais....	Boulogne.
Charente.....	Lisieux.		Calais.
Charente-Inférieure.	Angoulême.		Arras.
Cher.....	La Rochelle.	Puy-de-Dôme.....	Clermont.
Côte-d'Or.....	Rocheport.	Pyrenées-Basses...	Baïonne.
Eure-et-Loir.....	Bourges.	Pyrenées-Orientales	Perpignan.
Finistère.....	Dijon.	Rhin (Bas).....	Obernay.
Hérault.....	Chartres.	Rhin (Haut)....	Schelestadt.
Jura.....	Quimper.	Roer.....	Colmar.
Leinan.....	Beziers.	Saone-et-Loire....	Aix-la-Chapelle.
Loir-et-Cher.....	Dôle.	Sarthe.....	Mâcon.
Lys.....	Genève.	Seine-Inférieure...	Le Mans.
Manche.....	Blois.		Le Havre.
Marne.....	Courtray.	Seine-et-Oise.....	Dieppe.
Mayenne.....	Ostende.	Stura.....	S.-Germain-en-L.
Méditerranée.....	Cherbourg.	Tarn-et-Garonne..	Coni.
Mont-Tonnerre...	Châlons.	Trasimène.....	Montauban.
Nèthes (Deux)....	Laval.	Vendée.....	Perugia.
Nièvre.....	Pise.	Vienne.....	Spoleto.
	Worms.	Vienne (Haute)...	Fontenay.
	Lierre.		Poitiers.
	Nevers.		Limoges.
		TOTAL.....	54 villes.

Certifié conforme :

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'état, signé H. B. DUC DE BASSANO.

ÉTAT C dressé pour être annexé au Décret du 25 Mars 1810.

DÉPARTEMENTS.	VILLES.	DÉPARTEMENTS.	VILLES.
1. Ain.....	Bourg.		Fiesolo.
	Saint-Quentin.		Bagno Aripoli.
	Laon.		Galluzzo.
	Soissons.		Empoli.
7. Aisne.....	Guise.	11. Arno.....	Montevarchi.
	Chauny.		Fojano.
	Château-Thierry.		Pistoie.
	Vervins.		Prato.
			Arrezzo.
2. Allier.....	Gannat.		Cortone.
	Montluçon.		San-Sepulcro.
1. Alpes (Basses).	Sisteron.		Mirepoix.
	Gap.	3. Arriège.....	Pamiers.
3. Alpes (Hautes).	Briançon.		Foix.
	Embrun.		Nogent-sur-Seine.
1. Alpes-Maritim.	San-Remo.	3. Aube.....	Bar-sur-Aube.
			Bar-sur-Seine.
1. Apennins....	Chiavari.		Castelnaudary.
	Sarzanne.	3. Aude.....	Narbonne.
			Limoux.
4. Ardèche.....	Annonay.		Villefranche.
	Aubenas.	3. Aveyron.....	Millau.
	Privas.		Rodès.
	Tournon.		Aubagne.
	Revin.		Martigues.
	Mezières.		Tarascon.
	Charleville.	7. Bouches-du-R.	Salon.
	Sedan.		Saint-Remi.
	Retiel.		La Ciotat.
11. Ardennes....	Rocroy.		Lambesc.
	Couvin.		Falaise.
	Fumay.	8. Calvados.....	Vire.
	Bouillon.		Orbec.
	Lorgnies.		Honfleur.
	Haybes.		

DÉPARTEMENTS.	VILLES.	DÉPARTEMENTS.	VILLES.
<i>Suite du Calvados.</i>	{ Pont-l'Évêque. Comté-sur-Noireau. Baieux. Isigny.	<i>Suite de la Doire.</i>	{ Yvrée. Aoste. Chivas. Caluso.
2. Cantal.....	{ Aurillac. Saint-Flour.	3. Dordogne....	{ Bergerac. Périgueux. Sarlat.
2. Charente.....	{ Cognac. Barbezieux.	2. Doubs.....	{ Baume. Ornans.
6. Charente-Inf. ^{re}	{ S. ^t Jean-d'Angely. Saintes. Pons. Marans. Marennes. S. ^t Martin (île de Ré)	3. Drôme.....	{ Valence. Montélimar. Romans.
1. Cher.....	{ Vierson.	5. Dyle.....	{ Tirlemont. Nivelles. Wavre. Diest. Vilvorde.
2. Corrèze.....	{ Tulle. Brives.		{ Audenarde. Grammont. Termonde. Alost.
6. Côte-d'Or....	{ Auxonne. Beaune. Seurre. Châtillon-sur-Seine. Semur. Arnay-sur-Arroux.	10. Escaut.....	{ Lokeren. Renaix. Saint-Nicolas. Hamme. Ecloo. Flessingue.
9. Côtes-du-Nord.	{ Lannion. Saint-Brieuc. Dinan. Guingamp. Tréguier. Loudéac. Uzel. Lamballe. Quintin.	7. Eure.....	{ Évreux. Louviers. Pont-Audemer. Bernay. Verneuil. Vernon. Andelys.
7. Doire.....	{ Romano. Strambino. Rivarol.	3. Eure-et-Loir...	{ Dreux. Châteaudun. Nogent-le-Rotrou

DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.	DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.
5. Finistère.....	{ Morlaix. Landerneau. Quimperlé. Lesneven. Lambazellec.	10. Hérault.....	{ Cette. Agde. Pezzenas. Lunel. Lodève. Clermont. Marseillan. Ganges. Massillargues. Puéchabon.
1. Forêts.....	{ Luxembourg.	4. Ille-et-Vilaine.	{ Saint-Malo. Fougère. Redon. Vitré.
11. Gard.....	{ Alais. Uzès. Beaucaire. Saint-Gilles. Saint-Hippolyte. Vigan. Anduze. Aigues-Mortes. Bagnols. Saint-Esprit. Villeneuve.	2. Indre.....	{ Châteauroux. Issoudun.
3. Garonne(H. ^{te}).	{ Revel. Saint-Gaudens. Grenade.	2. Indre-et-Loire.	{ Amboise. Loches.
4. Gênes.....	{ Novi. Tortone. Castel - Nuovo - Scrivia. Bobbio.	4. Isère.....	{ Vienne. Saint-Marcellin. Voiron. Bourgoin.
3. Gers.....	{ Auch. L'Île-Jourdain. Barcelone.	9. Jemmape....	{ Ath. Lessine. Binche. Charleroi. Chinai. Fontaine-l'Évêque Enghien. Soignies. Thuin.
4. Gironde.....	{ Libourne. Blaye. La Réole. Bazas.	4. Jura.....	{ Lons-le-Saulnier. Arbois. Poligny. Salins.
2. Golo.....	{ Bastia. Porto-Ferraio.		

DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.	DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.
4. Landes.....	{ Dax. Mont-de-Marsan. Saint-Sever. Tartas.	4. Maine-et-Loire.	{ Saumur. Baugé. Beaufort. Longué.
1. Léman.....	{ Thonon.		{ Coutances. Valogne. Saint-Lo.
1. Liamone.....	{ Ajaccio.	8. Manche.....	{ Carentan. Avranches. Granville. Montebourg. Mortain.
3. Loir-et-Cher..	{ Vendôme. Romorantin. Montoire.		
4. Loire.....	{ Rive-de-Gier. Rouane. Saint-Chamond. Montbrison.	2. Marengo.....	{ Casal. Asti.
2. Loire (Haute).	{ Le Puy. Brioude.		{ Vitry.
2. Loire-Infér. ^{re} .	{ Paimbœuf. Guérande.	4. Marne.....	{ Épernay. S. ^{te} Menchould. Vertus.
4. Loiret.....	{ Gien. Montargis. Baugency. Pithiviers.	4. Marne (Haute).	{ Chaumont. Langres. Vassy. Saint-Dizier.
3. Lot.....	{ Moissac. Cahors. Figeac.	3. Maïenne.....	{ Maïenne. Ernée. Château-Gontier.
4. Lot-et-Garonne	{ Marmande. Agen. Tonneins. Nérac.	3. Méditerranée..	{ Volterre. Pescia. San-Miniato.
1. Lozère.....	{ Mende.		{ Lunéville.
3. Lys.....	{ Ypres. Poperinghe. Furnes.	4. Meurthe.....	{ Pont-à-Mousson. Toul. Dieuze.

DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.	DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.
4. Meuse.....	{ Bar-sur-Ornain. S.-Mihiel. Verdun. Commercy.	7. Morbihan....	{ Vannes. Lorient. Auray. Hennebont. Josselin. Napoléonville. Ploermel.
4. Meuse-Infér. ^e ..	{ Hasselt. Maeseyck. S.-Trond. Tongres.	5. Moselle.....	{ Sarre-Libre. Thionville. Saint-Avold. Longwy. Sarguemines.
2. Mont-Blanc...	{ Annecy. Chambéry.	3. Nèthes (Deux-)	{ Turnhout. Gheel. Heyst op-Denbergh.
11. Montenotte...	{ Port-Maurice. Savone. Alassio. Acqui. Diana-Marino. Oneille. Piève. Do'cedo. Final. Loano. Ceva.	4. Nièvre.....	{ Clamecy. Cosne. Donzy. La Charité.
15. Mont-Tonnerre.	{ Deux-Ponts. Bingen. Spire. Grunstadt. Kaisern-Lautern. Alzey. Boersheim. Oppenheim. Turkeim. Mutterstadt. Neustadt. Answeiler. Hassloch. Lambsheim. Franckendal.	12. Nord.....	{ Bergues. Hazebrouck. Bailleul. Armentières. Tourcoing. Wazemmes. Saint-Amand. Nord-Libre. Avesnes. Landrecy. Maubeuge. Le Quesnoy.
		3. Oise.....	{ Compiègne. Clermont. Senlis.

DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.	DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.
10. Ombrone.	Asina-Lunga. Montepuciano. Grossetto. Massa. Scanzano. Manciano. Roccastrada. Magliano. Cavozanno. Orbitello.	<i>Suite de</i> Puy-de-Dôme.	Issoire. Ambert. Aigueperse. Billom. Maringues.
5. Orne	Mortagne. Alençon. Sees. Laigle. Argentan.	4. Pyrénées (B.)..	Pau. Salies. Orthez. Oleron.
4. Ourte.	Eupen. Spa. Hui. Stavelot.	4. Pyrénées (H.)..	Tarbes. Bagnières Lourdes. Vic-Bigorre.
9. Pas-de-Calais..	Aire. Béthune. Bapaume. S. ^t Pierre-lès-Cal. Lillers. Auxy-le-Château. Saint-Pol. Montreuil. Hesdin.	18. Rhin (Bas)...	Wissembourg. Saverne. Haguenau. Bouxviller. Barr. Dambach. Kogenheim. Erstein. Marcoltsheim. Rosheim. Bischwiller. Brumath. Weyersheim. Molsheim. Vasselone. Landau. Sufflenheim. Wisshoffen.
6. Pô	Carignan. Chieri. Pignerolle. Montcallier. Vigon. Suze.	12. Rhin (Haut)..	Mulhausen. Altkirch. Délemont. Montbéliard. Munster. Ribauville.
7. Puy-de-Dôme.	Riom. Thiers.		

DÉPARTEMENTS.	VILLES.	DÉPARTEMENTS.	VILLES.
<i>Suite de</i> Rhén (Haut)..	Riquewir. S. ^{te} Marie-aux-Mines. Masseyaux. Thann. Oderen, Fillerin- ghem, Krulhn- Wildenstein.	6. Saone-et-Loire.	Autun. Châlons. Verdun. Charolles. Louhans. Tournus.
13. Rhin-et-Mos...	Coblentz. Bonn. Andernach. Eller. Kayserssech. Mayen. Beilstein. Zell. Saint-Goar. Creutznach. Sobersheim. Eskirch. Trarbach.	4. Sarre.....	Trèves. Sarrebruck. Ehrang. Witlich.
1. Rhône.....	Villefranche.	1. Sarthe.....	La Flèche.
3. Rome.....	Tivoli. Rieti. Viterbe.	1. Seine.....	Saint-Denis.
5. Roer.....	Borcette. Rhinberg. Neuse. Clèves. Creweldt.	9. Seine-Infé. ^{re} ..	Yvetot. Fécamp. Caudebec. Bolbec. Eu. Aumale. Gournay. Elbeuf. Darnetal.
1. Sambre-et-M. ^{se}	Andenne.	8. Seine-et-Marne	Meaux. Melun. Fontainebleau. Provins. Montereau-F.-Y. Nemours. Laferté-sous-Jou. Coulommiers.
4. Saone (Haute).	Gray. Vesoul. Luxeuil. Luze.	5. Seine-et-Oise..	Corbeil. Étampes. Pontoise. Poissy. Mantes.

DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.	DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.
	Vercell. Cresentino. Livorno.	2. Trasimène.	Ruligno. Terni.
8. Sesia.....	San-Germano. Gattinara. Asigliano. Tricerro. Trino.		Draguignan. Lorgues. Grasse. Hières. Brignoles. Antibes. Cuers.
3. Sèvres (Deux).	Saint-Maixent. Parthenay. Thouars.	14. Var.....	Saint-Maximin. Cannes. Le Beausset. Ollioules. Laseyne. Solliès-Pont. La Cadière.
3. Somme.....	Abbeville. Péronne. Montdidier.		Orange. Carpentras. Apt. Cavaillon. Lisle. Pertuis. Monteux.
8. Stura.....	Alba. Savigliano. Cherasco. Fossano. Saluces. Demonte. Mondovì. Racconis.	7. Vaucluse....	
		1. Vendée.....	Sables d'Olonne.
6. Tarn.....	Albi. Castres. Gaillac. Rabastens. Puy-Laurens. Mazamet.	2. Vienne.....	Châtellerault. Montaigu.
4. Tarn-et-Gar.	Moissac. Caussade. Castel-Sarrazin. Verdun-sur-Gar.	3. Vienne (H.)..	Saint-Léonard. Saint-Junien. Bellac.
1. Taro.....	Fiorenzola.	7. Vosges.....	Épinal. Saint-Dié. Rambervillers.

DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.	DÉPARTEMENS.	VILLES.
<i>Suite de</i> Vosges.....	(Mirecourt. Neufchâteau. Remiremont. Raon-l'Étape.	<i>Suite de</i> Yonne.....	(Auxerre. Avallon. Brinon. Tonnerre.
6. Yonne.....	(Sens. Joigny.	TOTAL....	555.

Certifié conforme :

Le Ministre Secrétaire d'état, H. B. DUC DE BASSANO.



Certifié conforme par nous
Grand-Juge Ministre de la justice :
LE DUC DE MASSA.

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BULLETIN DES LOIS.
No. 277.

(No. 5311.) *IMPERIAL DECREE containing Acts of charity and compassion on the occasion of the marriage of his Majesty, the Emperor and King.*

At the palace of Compiègne, 25 March 1810.

NAPOLEON, EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, KING OF ITALY, PROTECTOR OF THE CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE, MEDIATOR OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION, etc., etc., etc.

Wanting to mark the time of our wedding through these acts of compassion and charity;
With which our Council of State agrees,
We have decreed and decree the following:

TITLE I.

Individuals condemned under the Correctional Code will no longer be detained only for simple lack of payment of fines and costs.

Article 1. Individuals imprisoned at the moment of the publication of the present decree, by virtue of a judgment of the Correctional Police, and who, having been subjected to and served the necessary time set by their judgments, are still detained or were in the circumstances of being detained after their time expired

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for lack of payment of their fines or costs, will be exempt from paying the aforementioned fines and costs, and will be freed at the end of their sentence.

All persons detained for forest offences will equally be freed, and with respect to persons detained for the same offences on which the judgments are not rendered, the proceedings will cease on the day of the publication of the present decree.

Understanding, nevertheless, the rights of civil parties in these matters, civil pursuit of damages will remain protected.

TITLE II.

Debtors to France who are incarcerated or who are being pursued for their debts to the state could be released.

2. Our ministers of finance and of the public treasury will provide a report on each of the individuals who are detained or are being arrested for debt, at the request of the agent of the public

treasury or the official in charge of repayment collections in order that we can judge which debts are those that can be collected in favorable circumstances, their freedom or release from imprisonment for debt, and the conditions in which we can grant it to them.

TITLE III.

Monthly debts incurred for wet nursing

3. All debts for wet nursing contracted between the Bureau of Wet Nurses and the fathers and mothers of the city of Paris and Department of the Seine will be forgiven from 9 October 1799 until and including the first trimester of the current year 1810.

4. The sums that the Bureau of Wet Nurses would have been recovered through the prosecutions that were to be taken against the debtors

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will be paid to the Aid (Alms) Committee [le comité des hospices] by the treasurer of our crown to discharge those debts and debtors.

TITLE IV.

On the Marriage of six thousand members of the Military

5. Six thousand veterans, who have been engaged in at least one campaign, will be married to the young women from their towns on the upcoming April 22. The young women will be granted a dowry of twelve hundred francs if they reside in Paris and six hundred francs throughout the rest of the Empire; be it known:

Sixty marriages in the city of Paris;

Ten in each city named in Appendix A of the present decree;

Five in each city named in Appendix B of the present decree;

Two in each city named in Appendix C of the present decree;

One in each court jurisdiction (justice of the peace) of the Empire.

6. The veterans and young women to be married will be chosen in the following manner; be it known:

For the city of Paris, by rulings of the general council, acting as the municipal council, with approval of the prefect.

For the capitals of each department, by rulings of the municipal council, with the approval of the prefect;

For towns that are not departmental capitals, by rulings of the municipal council, with the approval of the sub-prefect.

For the court jurisdictions (justices of the peace) of the Empire, by a commission composed of two mayors and two parish priests appointed by the sub-prefect, and a justice of the peace who will preside over the commission and assemble it in his jurisdiction.

7. The towns that are not included in the preceding articles,

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nonetheless, could allow a veteran and a young woman to marry, based on the ruling of the municipal council, approved by the sub-prefect, and by complying with the requirements for choice, quota for the dowry, as previously stated above.

TITLE V.

Amnesty

8. Amnesty is granted to all non-commissioned officers and to all who served in the army and navy, and to all sailors who were deserters, whether or not they were to have been sentenced, as of the date of the present decree.

9. Amnesty will be complete and absolute for deserters whose desertion would have taken place before 1 January 1806.

10. Individuals whose desertion took place after 1 January 1806 will be required to reenter the army corps.

11. Those deserters, who have been sentenced and who were actually detained in prison service or in civil and military prisons, will be conducted by the military police who will be designated by the Ministry of War.

12. Every deserter, sentenced or not, but not incarcerated, should, in order to enjoy the benefits of this amnesty, present himself no later than two months from the date of this publication, be it to an inspector, or vice-inspector, be it the war commissioner, be it a prefect or sub-prefect of the area, in order to make his declaration of repentance and to ask for a return to service.

He will be immediately given a route map to go and to be reincorporated in the army corps that is the nearest to where he would have made his declaration.

13. Amnesty will be complete and absolute for deserters of the navy and sailors whose desertions would have taken place before 1 January 1806.

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Those whose desertions took place after 1 January 1806 will be required to return to service: They will have to, if they are in European territory of the Empire, present themselves, within a two-month period, be it to a navy commissioner or be it to other civilian or military officials designated by Article 5 above. They will make a prescribed statement, required by the same Article. They will be directed to the nearest corps or port where they will be assigned according to the needs of service or receive a provisory, limited leave.

One will adhere to, in the case of army and navy deserters who are outside of the European territory of the Empire, the dispositions of Article 4 of the Decree of 12 August 1807.¹

¹ Article 4 of the Decree of 12 August 1807. "The delay granted to non-commissioned officers and sailors of our navy, to military and navy employees who were outside of the European territory of the Empire, to present themselves at one of our ports of entry, is established at six months for those who are in America or in areas outside of Europe which includes the Mediterranean and the Ocean up to the Cape of Good Hope; and 18 months for those who are beyond the Cape of Good Hope and in Asia."

14. All deserters arriving at the corps to which they have been assigned, will pass under the Eagles (military flags of the corps)) as an act of contrition; after which they will immediately take the prescribed oath required by the Senatus-Consultum of 18 May 1804.

15. Complete and absolute amnesty is granted to any conscript who was drafted in the levies (conscription) before 1806; and there will be no prosecution in any way to collect what may still be due in fines for which his parents are civilly responsible.

16. The conscripts of the drafts of 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, and 1810, will also be granted amnesty, on condition of their service.

17. The amnestied conscripts of the five drafts noted above, will be required to present themselves within three months from the date of publication of this decree,

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before the prefect, or before the sub-prefect of the department where the conscript is located.

18. The amnestied conscripts identified in the above Articles, will have the ability to choose the army corps in which they would like to serve provided they have the required physical skills, then they will immediately receive a route map to rejoin their corps.

19. The prefects and sub-prefects could appoint the number of amnestied conscripts who would be necessary to fulfil the complement of each of the troops listed below:

BE IT KNOWN:

For	Les Basses-Pyrénées..... Les Landes..... La Gironde..... Lot-et-Garonne..... Tarn-et-Garonne..... Gers..... Pyrénées (Haute)..... Garonne (Haute)..... L'Arriege..... Les Pyrénées Orientales..... L'Aube	In the battalions of mountain infantry
For	The maritime departments	In the companies of coast guard artillery
For	The seven departments of the 1 st military division	In the municipal guard of Paris
For	The departments of the Deux-Nèthes, of the Lys, and of the Escaut	In the cohort called from the Escaut
For	All the departments of the Empire	In the reserve companies

20. There will no longer be any effort to collect the remaining fines and costs for which parents are civilly responsible for the

conscripts who were recruited prior to 1806, of which there is reference in Article 15: these efforts will cease instantly.

The proceedings exercised against the parents of conscripts noted in Article 16 will only be suspended during the delay offered to conscripts to present themselves to the authorities: they will be reinstituted as soon as the delay expires if the conscripts do not report to the authorities or if their parents cannot justify the conscript's absence to report.

21. The dispositions of the present decree will not, in any case, be applicable to a misdemeanor (offense) committed after 30 March.

22. The deserters readmitted to service, who having voluntarily committed themselves to service under the flag and who do not reintegrate themselves, will be punished as recidivist deserters.

The conscripts, who after voluntarily presenting themselves to the authorities but who will not return to their prescribed destinations, will be convicted as deserters.

23. Our ministers are charged, each with what concerns him, with the execution of this present decree which will be included in the Bulletin des Lois.

Signed NAPOLEON.

By the Emperor:

The Minister Secretary of State, signed H. B. Duke of Bassano.

APPENDIX A, attached to the Decree of 25 March 1810.

Departments	Major Cities	Departments	Major Cities
Arno.....	Florence	Meurthe.....	Nancy
Bouches-du-Rhône...	Marseille	Meuse-Inférieure.....	Maestricht
Calvados.....	Caen	Mont-Tonnere.....	Maïence
Doubs.....	Besançon	Moselle.....	Metz
Dyle.....	Bruxelles	Nèthes (Two).....	Anvers
	Louvain		Malines
Escaut.....	Gand	Nord.....	Dunkerque
			Lille
			Valenciennes
Finistère.....	Brest	Ourte.....	Liège
Gard.....	Nîmes	Pas-de-Calais.....	Saint-Omer
Garonne [Haute].....	Toulouse	Pô.....	Turin
Gênes.....	Gênes	Rhin [Bas].....	Strasbourg
Gironde.....	Bordeaux	Rhône.....	Lyon
Hérault.....	Montpellier	Rome.....	Rome
Ille-et-Vilaine.....	Rennes	Roer.....	Cologne
Indre-et-Loire.....	Tours	Sambre-et-Meuse.....	Namur
Isère.....	Grenoble	Seine-Inférieure.....	Rouen
Jemappe.....	Mons	Seine-et-Oise.....	Versailles
	Tournay	Sèvres [Two].....	Niort
Loire.....	Saint-Etienne		
Loire-Inférieure.....	Nantes	Somme.....	Amiens
Loiret.....	Orléans	Taro.....	Parme
Lys.....	Bruges		Plaisance
Maine-et-Loire.....	Angers	Var.....	Toulon
Marengo.....	Alexandrie	Vaucluse.....	Avignon
Marne.....	Reims		
Méditerranée.....	Livorne		
		TOTAL.....	51 cities

Certified and authenticated:

The Minister Secretary of State, signed H. B. Duke of Bassano

Appendix B, attached to the Decree of 25 March 1810

Departments	Towns/Cities	Departments	Towns/Cities
Atlier.....	Moulins	Nord.....	Cambray
Alpes-Maritimes.....	Nice		Douay
Aube.....	Troyes	Oise.....	Beauvais
Aude.....	Carcassonne	Ombrone.....	Sienne
Bouches-du-Rhône....	Aix	Ourte.....	Verviers
	Arles	Pas-de-Calais.....	Boulogne
Calvados.....	Lisieux		Calais
Charente.....	Angoulême		Arras
Charente-Inférieure....	La Rochelle	Puy-de-Dôme.....	Clermont
	Rochefort	Pyrenées-Basses.....	Baïonne
Cher.....	Bourges	Pyrenées-Orientales..	Perpignon
Côte-d'Or.....	Dijon	Rhin [Bas].....	Obernay
Eure-et-Loire.....	Chartres		Schelestadt
Finistère.....	Quimper	Rhin [Haut].....	Colmar
Hérault.....	Beziers	Roer.....	Aix-la-Chapelle
Jura.....	Dôle	Saone-et-Loire.....	Mâcon
Leman.....	Genève	Sarthe.....	Le Mans
Loir-et-Cher.....	Blois	Seine-Inférieure.....	Le Havre
Lys.....	Courtray		Dieppe
	Ostende	Seine-et-Oise.....	S.-Germain-en-Laye
Manche.....	Cherbourg	Stura.....	Coni
Marne.....	Châlons	Tarn-et-Garonne.....	Montaubun
Maïenne.....	Laval	Trasimène.....	Perugia
Méditerranée.....	Pise		Spoletto
Mont-Tonnerre.....	Worms	Vendée.....	Fontenay
Nèthes (Deux).....	Lierre	Vienne.....	Poitiers
Nièvre.....	Nevers	Vienne [Haute].....	Limoges
		TOTAL.....	54 cities

Certified and authenticated:

The Minister Secretary of State, signed H. B. Duke of Bassano

Appendix C, attached to the Decree of 25 March 1810

Departments	Towns/Cities	Departments	Towns/Cities
1. Ain.....	Bourg	11. Arno.....	Fiesolo
7. Aisne.....	Saint-Quentin		Bagno Aripolo
	Laon		Galluzzo
	Soissons		Empoli
	Guise		Montevarchi
	Chauny		Fojano
	Château Thierry		Pistoie
	Vervins		Arezzo
2. Allier.....	Ganat		Corzone
	Montluçon		San-Sepulchro
1. Alpes [Basses].....	Sisteron	3. Arrière.....	Mirepoix
3. Alpes [Hautes].....	Gap		Pamiers
	Briançon		Foix
	Embrun	3. Aube.....	Nogent-sur-Seine
1. Alpes-Maritimes...	San Remo		Bar-sur-Aube
2. Apennins.....	Chiavari		Bar-sur-Seine
	Sarzanne	3. Aude.....	Castelnaudary
4. Ardèche.....	Annonay		Narbonne
	Aubenas		Limoux
	Privas	3. Aveyron.....	Villefranche
	Tournon		Millau
11. Ardennes.....	Revin		Rodès
	Messières	7. Bouches-du-Rhône	Aubagne
	Charleville		Martigues
	Sedan		Tarascon
	Rethel		Salon
	Rocroy		Saint-Remi
	Couvin		La Ciotat
	Furnay		Lambesc
	Bouillon	8. Calvados.....	Falaise
	Lorgnies		Vire
	Haybes		Orbec
			Honfleur

Departments	Towns/Cities	Departments	Towns/Cities
Calvados continued...	Point-l'Évêque Condé-sur-Noireau Baïeux Isigny	Doire continued.....	Yvrée Aoste Chivas Caluso
2. Cantal.....	Aurillac Saint-Flour	3. Dordogne.....	Bergerac Perigueux Sarlat
2. Charente.....	Cognac Barbezieux	2. Doubs.....	Baume Ornans
6. Charente-Inf. ^{re}	S ^t .-Jean-d'Angely Saintes Pons Marans Marennes S ^t . Martin [île de Ré]	3. Drôme.....	Valence Montélimar Romans
1. Cher.....	Vierson	5. Dyle.....	Tirlemont Nivelles Wavre Diest Vilvorde
2. Corrèze.....	Tulle Brives	10. Escaut.....	Audenarde Grammont Termonde Alost Lokeren Renaix Saint-Nicolas Hamme Ecloo Flessingue Évreux Louviers Pont-Audemer Bernay Verneuil Vernon Andelys Dreux Châteaudun Nogent-le-Rotrou
6. Côte-d'Or.....	Auxonne Beaume Seurre Châtillon-sur-Seine Semur Arnay-sur-Arroux		
9. Côtes-du-Nord.....	Lannion Saint-Brieuc Dinan Guingamp Tréguier Loudéac Uzel Lamballe Quintin	7. Eure.....	
7. Doire.....	Romano Strambino Rivarol	3. Eure-et-Loire.....	

Departments	Towns/Cities	Departments	Towns/Cities
5. Finistère.....	Morlaix Landerneau Quimperlé Lesneven Lambezellec	10. Hérault.....	Cette Agde Pezenas Lunel Lodève Clermont
1. Forêts.....	Luxembourg		Marseillan Ganges Marsillargues Puéchabon
11. Gard.....	Alais Uzès Beaucaire Saint Gilles Saint-Hippolyte Anduze Aigues-Mortes Bagnols Saint-Esprit Villeneuve	4. Ille-et-Villaine.....	Saint-Malo Fougère Redon Vitré Châteauroux Issoudun
3. Garonne [Haute]....	Revel Saint Gaudens Grenade	2. Indre.....	Amboise Loches Vienne
4. Gênes.....	Tortone Novi Castel-Nuovo- Scrivia Bobbio	2. Indre-et-Loire.....	Saint-Marcellin Voiron Bourgoin Ath Lessine Binché Charleroi Chinai Fontaine-l'Évêque Enghien Soignes Thuin
3. Gers.....	Auch L'Ile-Jourdain Barcelone	4. Isère.....	Lons-le-Saulnier Arbois Poligny Salins
4. Gironde.....	Libourne Blaye La Réole Bazas		
2. Golo.....	Bastia Porto-Ferrajo	5. Jemappe.....	
		4. Jura.....	

Departments	Towns/Cities	Departments	Towns/Cities
4. Landes.....	Dax Mont-de-Marsan Saint-Sever Tartas	4. Maine-et-Loire...	Saumur Baugé Beaufort Longué
1. Léman.....	Thonon	8. Manche.....	Coutances Valogne Saint Lo Carentan Avranches Granville Montebourg Mortain
1. Liamone.....	Ajaccio		
3. Loir-et-Cher.....	Vendôme Romorantin Montoire		
4. Loire.....	Rive-de-Gier Rouane Saint-Chamond Montbrison	2. Marengo.....	Casal Asti
2. Loire [Haute].....	Le Puy Brioude	4. Marne.....	Vitry Épernay S ^{te} . Menehould
2. Loire-Infér. ^{er}	Paimboeuf Guérande	4. Marne [Haute]...	Chaumont Langres Vassy Saint-Dizier
4. Loiret.....	Gien Montargis Baugency Pithiviers	3. Maïenne.....	Maïenne Ernée Château-Gontier
3. Lot.....	Moissac Cahors Figeac	3. Méditerranée.....	Volterre Pesca San-Miniato
4. Lot-et-Garonne.....	Marmande Agen Tonneins Nérac	4. Meurthe.....	Lunéville Pont-à-Mousson Toul Dieuze
1. Lozère.....	Mende		
3. Lys.....	Ypres Poperinghe Furnes		

Departments	Towns/Cities	Departments	Towns/Cities
4. Meuse.....	Bar-sur-Ornain S.-Mihiel Verdun Commercy	7. Morbihan.....	Vannes Lorient Auray Hennebon
4. Meuse-Infér. ^c	Hasselt Maeseyck S.-Trond Tongres		Josselin Napoléonville Ploermel
2. Mont-Blanc.....	Annecy Chambéry	5. Moselle.....	Sarre-Libre Thionville Saint-Avold
11. Montenotte.....	Port-Maurice Savone Alassio Acqui Diana-Marine Oneille Piève Dolcedo Final Loano Ceva		Longwy Sarguemines Turnhout Gheel Heyst op-Danbergh
15. Mont-Tonnerre...	Deux-Ponts Bingen Spire Grunstadt Kaisern-Lautern Alzey Boereheim Oppenheim Turkeim Mutterstadt Neustadt Answeiller Hassloch Lamsheim Franckendal	3. Nèthes [Two].....	Clamecy Cosne Donzy La Charité
		4. Nièvre.....	Bergues Hazebrouch Bailleul Armentières Tourcoing Wazemmes Saint-Amand Nord-Libre Avesnes Landrecy Maubeuge Le Quesnoy Compiègne Clermont Senlis
		12. Nord.....	
		3. Oise.....	

Departments	Towns/Cities	Departments	Towns/Cities
10. Ombrone.....	Asina-Lunga Montepulciano Grossetto Massa Scanzano Manciano Roecastrada Magliano Gavozanno Orbitello	Puy-de-Dôme cont....	Issoire Ambert Aigueperse Billom Maringues Pau Salies Orthez Oleron
5. Orne.....	Mortague Alençon Sees Laigle Argentan	4. Pyrénées [B.].....	Tarles Bagnières Lourdes Vic-Bigorre
4. Ourte.....	Eupen Spa Hui Stavelot	4. Pyrénées [H.].....	Wissembourg Saverne Haguenau Bouxviller Dambach Kogenheim Erstein Marcolsheim Rosheim Bischwiller Brumath Weyersheim Molsheim Vasselone Landau Suttlenheim Wislhoffenulhausen
9. Pas-de-Calais.....	Aire Béthune Bapaume S. ^t Pierre-lès-Calais Lillers Auxy-le-Château Saint-Pol Montreuil Hesdin	18. Rhin [Bas].....	Mulhausen Altkirch Délemont Montbéliard Munster Ribauville
6. Pô.....	Carignan Chieri Pignerolle Montcallier Vigon Suze	12. Rhin [Haut].....	
7. Puy-de-Dôme.....	Riom Thiers		

Departments	Towns/Cities	Departments	Towns/Cities
Rhin [Haute] cont.....	Riquewir S ^{te} . Marie-aux-Mines Massevaux Thann Oderen, Fillerin- ghem, Krulhn- Wildenstein	6. Saone-et-Loire.....	Autun Châlons Verdun Charolles Louhans Tournus
13. Rhin-et-Mos.....	Coblentz Bonn Andernach Eller Kayserseech Mayen Beilstein Zell Saint-Goar Creutznach Sobersheim Eskirch Trarbach	4. Sarre.....	Trèves Sarrebruck Ehrang Witlich
1. Rhône.....	Villefranche	1. Sarthe.....	La Flèche
3. Rome.....	Tivoli Rieti Viterbe	1. Seine.....	Saint-Denis
5. Roer.....	Borcette Rhinberg Neuse Clèves Creweldt	9. Seine-Inférieure....	Yvetot Fécamp Caudebec Bolbec Eu Aumale Gournay Elbuf Darnetal
1. Sambre-et-Meuse..	Andenne	8. Seine-et-Marne.....	Meaux Melun Fontainebleau Provins Montereau-F. ^t -Y Nemours Laferté-sous-Jou Coulommiers
4. Saone [Haute].....	Gray Vesoul Luxeuil Luze	5. Seine-et-Oise.....	Corbeil Étampes Pontoise Poissy Mantes

Departments	Towns/Cities	Departments	Towns/Cities
8. Sesia.....	Vercell Cresentino Livorno San-Germano Gattinara Asigliano Tricero Trino	2. Trasimène.....	Ruligno Terni
3. Sèvres [Deux].....	Saint-Maixent Parthenay Thouars	14. Var.....	Draguignan Lorgues Grasse Hières Brignoles Antibes Cuers Saint-Maximin Cannes Le Beausset Ollioules Laseyne Solliès-Pont La Cadière
3. Somme.....	Abbeville Péronne Montdidier		Orange Carpentras Apt Cavaillon Lisle Pertuis Monteux
8. Stura.....	Alba Savigliano Cherasco Fossano Saluces Demonte Mondavi Racconis	7. Vaucluse.....	Sables d'Olonne Châtellerault Montaigu Saint-Leonard Saint-Junien Bellac Épinal Saint Dié Rambervillers
6. Tarn.....	Albi Castres Gaillac Rabastens Puy-Laurens Mazamet	1. Vendée.....	
		2. Vienne.....	
4. Tarn et Gar.....	Moissac Caussade Castel-Sarrazin Verdun-sur-Gar	3. Vienne [Haute].....	
1. Taro.....	Fiorenzola	7. Vosges.....	

Departments	Towns/Cities	Departments	Towns/Cities
Vosges continued.....	Mirecourt Neufchâteau Remiremont Raon-l'Étape	Yonne continued.....	Auxerre Avallon Brinon Tonnerre
6. Yonne.....	Sens Joiny	TOTAL.....	555

Certified and authenticated:

The Minister Secretary of State, H. B. Duke of Bassano

Seal of Napoleon I

Certified and authenticated by us

Chief Judge Minister of Justice:

Duke of Massa

Printed in Paris by the Imperial Printer

La Belle Assemblée

J. David Markham

Contrary to its French name, *La Belle Assemblée* was a British fashion magazine that featured fashion plates of the time, as well as poetry, history and other topics. Its cover stated that it was 'Addressed Particularly to the Ladies.' It was founded by John Bell in 1806 and continued until 1832. There followed additional name changes and eventual merger with other publications.

One of the features was a series of short biographical articles of important political people of the time, accompanied by an engraving of those people. For some reason the dates on the plates did not match the date of the publication they were in.

The articles, labeled 'Biographical Sketches of Illustrious Ladies,' were generally accurate and generally negative toward anyone associated with the French. By 1814, the articles changed from being described as 'A New Series' to 'A New and Improved Series.' Improved evidently meant longer and more anti-French than before! The series was also now listed as 'Biographical Sketches of Illustrious and Distinguished Characters.'

Interestingly, the article on Louis XVIII also includes a section called 'Anecdotes of Bonaparte' covering the period from March of 1814 to his abdication and a short description of the island of Elba.

The articles included here were obtained as part of a collection and are somewhat random in nature. Still, they do manage to cover a number of very important people from the period.



GENERAL & MADAME MURAT.
The Assumed King & Queen of Naples.

LA BELLE ASSEMBLÉE;

For SEPTEMBER, 1810.

A New Series.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ILLUSTRIOUS LADIES.

The Tenth Number.

THE KING AND QUEEN OF NAPLES.

It is the peculiar distinction of all political revolutions to level the high and elevate the mean; to reverse, as it were, the order and subordinations of social life, and instead of confining a man to that little platoon, that equal band of his brethren, in which his birth has placed him, to raise him to honours and commands, of which he could form no just expectations, and which are, therefore, as much beyond his hopes, as they are above his deserts.—Regular and well governed society is like a pyramid; it rises by a gentle swell, and tapers by easy and well proportioned gradations till it forms a point. But its apex is supported by its base, and it would lose its strength, and its beauty, if any violence were to destroy the intermediate gradations. The people form the base of the social pyramid, and though buried in obscurity, and necessarily hidden from sight, they support every thing which is elegant, illustrious, and noble in civil government.

It was the singular character of the French Revolution that it operated a complete change in the moral world; that, by a kind of deluge of fire and sword, it swept away all traces and distinctions of the former system of things, and that, having destroyed, it created anew.

Amongst those individuals who have experienced the most extraordinary elevation during this tremendous burst of anti-social principles, Joachim Murat, the present King of Naples, and Caroline Bonaparte his wife, are the most distinguished.

General Murat was the son of a water-carrier at Paris, who for some crime, to save himself from the search of the police, fled into the mountains of Dauphiny, where he joined a gang of smugglers and coiners, and where General Murat was born in 1764. Being accused of belonging to that corps of brigands commanded by the famous captain of smugglers Mandrin, Murat's father was tried at Valence, and there broken upon the wheel in May 1769; and young Murat was sent to the orphan-house at Lyons, where he remained, until an actor of the name of St. Aubin took him as an errand boy, procured him to be a *Garçon du Theatre*, or a servant attached to the theatre in that city, and paid, besides, a master for teaching him to read and write. Being of an intriguing disposition and good appearance, he easily insinuated himself into the favour of the principal actresses, and was in 1780, upon their recommendation, permitted to appear upon the stage, first in the parts of valets, and afterwards in those

of *petits maitres*; but in neither was he successful, wanting manners, memory, and application. He was, however, endured until 1786, when, being hissed while playing the Marquis, in the comedy called *Le Cercle*, he dared to threaten the spectators by his gestures. From that time hisses pursued him so much whenever he presented himself, that he was obliged to quit the stage; and after leaving Lyons secretly to avoid the demands of his creditors, he enlisted in the regiment of cavalry called *Royal Allemagne*, which was with other corps ordered to the neighbourhood of Paris, when, in 1789, Orleans, La Fayette, and other rebels of the Constituent Assembly, set up the standard of revolt against their King: he was among the few men of that loyal regiment whom their emissaries seduced, and he deserted when it was encamped in the Elysian Fields on the 12th of July. After the capture of the Bastille had completed the Revolution, and several companies of the King's guard had joined the Parisians in arms, a National Guard under the command of La Fayette was decreed, in which Murat was made a corporal. In the plots and disagreements of different factions he always assisted the Terrorists; and in return, Santerre promoted him to a Lieutenantcy in the battalion of St. Antoine, of which that brewer then had the command. On the 20th of June, 1792, he accompanied his patron and the brigands who insulted the unfortunate Louis XVI. and his family in the Castle of the Thuilleries, where he was heard to repeat: "Louis, thou art a traitor, we must have thy head!" and when the courageous Madame Elizabeth said: "Are you not ashamed to insult the most patriotic of Kings with such language;" he impudently answered: "Hold thy tongue, otherwise I will cut thee in two." The next day Santerre advanced him to his *ad-de-camp*; and as such he was employed on the 10th of August in the attack of that dreadful day, which made the best of Princes the most wretched of prisoners, by changing the throne into a dungeon.

Murat headed the troops who on the 2d, 3d, and 4th of September, of the same year, guarded the prison called *La Force*; where, with other innocent persons, the

beautiful Princess of Lamballe was butchered, and a refinement of savage barbarity was exercised on her person, even when a corpse, almost incredible, if it were not authenticated. For these infamous and ferocious deeds he was promoted by Marat to be a Colonel. But, instead of going to the frontiers and combating the enemies of his country, he remained at Paris, denounced at the clubs, and plotted in the committees. On the 11th of December, when Louis XVI. was carried from the Temple to be interrogated at the bar of the National Convention; and on the 21st of January, 1793, when the regicide members of this Assembly sent the most virtuous of sovereigns and of men to die like a criminal; the *gens d'armes* of the escort were commanded by Murat, who had passed the night before on duty in the Temple, regarded then as a post of confidence and of *honour*. In March, during the pillage of the grocers shops, he was a Secretary in the Jacobin Club, and signed with Marat the proclamation of the 10th, addressed to the citizens *sans culottes* at Paris, *inviting them to do themselves justice for the aristocracy of the bankers, merchants, and shop-keepers*. "If you want money," expresses this curious proclamation, "you know where the bankers live; if you stand in need of clothing, visit the clothiers; and if you have no other means to procure yourselves coffee, sugar, soap, &c. fraternize with the grocers. What you take from them is *only* your property restored to you, and of which you and your brethren have been robbed by their aristocratical cupidity." In May he was president of the Club of the Cordeliers; and in a speech printed in Marat's paper, *L'Ami du Peuple*, of the 25th of the same month, *he demands the heads of sixty-nine politicians of Brissot's and Rowland's factions, as the sole causers of the defeats of the armies, and of the troubles at Lyons, Bourdeaux and Marseilles; accomplices with Pitt and Cobourg, as well as with Dumourier*.

After the revolution of the 31st of May, and the victory which the terrorists gained on the two following days over the moderate party, Santerre obtained the command of an army of 14,000 men, with

whom he marched against the royalists of La Vendée; and Murat, who was then advanced to a General of Brigade, commanded the cavalry; but, either from misfortunes or from incapacity, he was continually routed, and two-thirds of the troops were killed in less than three weeks. This caused great discontent at Paris, both in the Jacobin Club and in the National Convention; and Santerre was recalled in disgrace, which was made so much the more mortifying, when, being accused by Murat of drunkenness, ignorance, and cowardice, he was sent to prison.

In the spring of 1794, he was ordered to join the army of the Alps, where he continued without distinguishing himself until 1796, when Bonaparte assumed the command over that army; where, hearing of Murat's local knowledge and military intelligence, he appointed him first aide-camp, and the second officer in the staff next to General Berthier. He now shewed not only an undaunted courage, but talents which nobody supposed him to possess before the battle of Mondovi, on the 17th of April 1796, where he caused himself to be particularly remarked; so much so, that when the King of Sardinia, in the latter part of the same month, made overtures for a pacification with the French Republic, Bonaparte sent him to Turin with full powers to negotiate, and afterwards gave him, together with General Junot, the honourable commission to carry to Paris, and to present to the Directory the twenty-one colours and standards conquered in several engagements from the combined army of Austria and Sardinia. On the 24th of May he came again to Turin, with dispatches from Paris, concerning the negotiations then carrying on between France and Sardinia; but after a stay of some few days only, Bonaparte ordered him back to the army, where he daily advanced in the good graces of this Chief. In June, he accompanied the French minister at Genoa, Faypoult, to the Doge, with a summons in the name of Bonaparte, to order the Imperial Ambassador to leave the territory of the Republic of Genoa within forty-eight hours. He here behaved with such insolence, that it was with difficulty

the old and respectable Doge, whom he had so cowardly insulted, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces. On the 18th June, 1795, General Murat commanded the attack to the left, on the intrenched camp of the Austrians, near Mantua, and succeeded in carrying it. For several weeks he gained almost daily advantages over the Imperial General Wurmser, who commanded an harrassed, defeated, dispirited, and inferior army. In the retreat which this General was forced to make on the 9th of September, Murat pursued him at the head of a corps of chasseurs, and tried to cut off his retreat towards Cheva. But after having routed several divisions of the enemy, he was repulsed in his turn, though superior in number. Rallying, however, and continuing the attack, he was wounded in an engagement on the 15th, where the courageous Austrian veteran charged at the head of the light troops of his army. This wound forced him to demand leave of absence, and he resided in Mantua until December, when he re-assumed his former station in the blockading corps round Mantua.

During the campaign of 1797 he displayed the same activity. At the head of a demi-brigade of light infantry, he advanced by Monte-Baldo, forced the Austrians, who occupied La Corona, routed them after a very obstinate resistance, and obliged their cavalry to cross the Adige by swimming; and he contributed not a little by his indefatigable vigilance to the surrender of Mantua.

After the reduction of Mantua, Bonaparte ordered Murat to attack the enemy, strongly fortified near Foy; where, after being repulsed twice, and having two horses killed under him, he finally succeeded; though he on this occasion had more men killed than the number of Austrians whom he combated and vanquished: but he, like most other republican Generals, has justly been reprobated for the profusion with which they squandered away, often unnecessarily, the lives of their soldiers.

When Bonaparte left Italy, and, according to the treaty of Campo Formio, a congress for the pacification of the German

empire was assembled at Rastadt, he went by way of Switzerland, where he sent Murat to prepare for his reception, and to gain information of the public spirit, previous to executing the plans of destruction which he had formed against this once prosperous republic. This mission was delicate and difficult, because Bonaparte was disliked by the Swiss democrats, and abhorred by the Swiss aristocrats. Murat, however, by intimidating some by threats, deceiving others by specious promises, and buying over others with a small part of the plunder of Italy, procured his chief to be received with the same honours that are paid to sovereigns.

Murat was now so greatly advanced in the good graces of his commander, that when the latter chose his companions for the invasion of Egypt, the province of another friendly and neutral state, the former was the fourth upon the list of Generals which he presented, not for the approbation, but for the information of the Directory. In Egypt he always attended Bonaparte, and generally dined with him every day. He was of the expedition to Syria in the Spring of 1799, and commanded one division, consisting of the cavalry, during the memorable siege of St. Jean d'Acre. At the battle of Mount Tabor, on the 16th of April that year, Murat chased the Turks from Jacob's Bridge, and surprized the son of the Governor of Damascus. At the battle of Aboukir, on the 25th of July following, the right wing, consisting of 4000 cavalry and nine battalions of infantry, with some artillery, was commanded by Murat, who, after their defeat, cut off the retreat of the Turks, who, according to General Berthier's report, "struck with a sudden terror at being surrounded on every side with death, precipitated themselves into the sea, where no less than ten thousand perished by musquetry, grape-shot, and the waves."

In the next month, when Bonaparte unexpectedly and basely deserted the French army in Egypt, Murat was one of the four Generals whom he selected to accompany him in his flight.

When the annihilation of that constitution was determined upon, which Bonaparte had so often sworn to defend and

obey, Murat, in the confidence of his friend, received, first, the command over the posts near the Council of Five Hundred; and, when the Revolution was effected which seated Bonaparte on the throne of the Bourbons, the command over the Consular Guard. And to bind more firmly their friendship, Bonaparte gave him in marriage his sister Caroline, who, in 1797, had been betrothed to General Duploz, murdered in an insurrection provoked by Joseph Bonaparte at Rome. What had become of Murat's former wife is not known for certain; in a pamphlet called *La Sainte Famille*, it is said that she had been divorced in 1795; and in another pamphlet it is reported that she had died of hard drinking.

At the battle of Marengo he led on the cavalry, and, though at the onset completely routed, rallied again; and when General Desaix took advantage of the imbecility of the Austrian General, he, with Generals Marmont and Bessieres, pierced the third and last line of the Austrian infantry; in consequence of which a defeat ensued.

On his return to Paris he quarreled with his brother-in-law, Lucien, challenged, fought, and wounded him. To put an end to these family quarrels, Napoleon Bonaparte promoted Murat to the command in chief over the French army in Italy, or, which is the same, made him Viceroy over the Italian and Ligurian Republics, and over the revolutionary kingdom of Etruria.

During Murat's reign in Italy, his manner of living was more expensive and more sumptuous, his retinue more brilliant, his staff more showy, his palaces more magnificent and his guards more numerous, than those of any lawful European sovereign. He introduced at Milan nearly the same etiquette that prevailed at the Thuilleries and at St. Cloud. Madame Murat had her maids of honour, her routs, her assemblies, and her grand circles; as her husband had his pages, his prefects of palace, his aids-de-camp, his military reviews, his diplomatic audiences, his presentations, his official dinners, his sallies of humour against foreign ministers, and his smiles of complaisance to his minions; with all the other

farrago of the pedantic, insolent, affected revolutionary *haut ton*.

The original occupation of Madame Murat, the present Queen of Naples, seems to have been as humble as that of her husband's; as to her family, that is of course, the same with her brother's, the French Emperor. Caroline Bonaparte, in early life, was put apprentice to the mantua-maker Madame Rambaud, at Marseilles. She seems here to have indulged in no splendid visions of a crown, and was perhaps more innocent in her shop than she was likely to be on a throne. Scandal, however, has spoken of her levity in the early part of life, but as she was then scarcely an object of notice, little was of course known of her; and of that little much could not be remembered. It has been too much the habit to cover Bonaparte and his family with every kind of atrocity; to coin new modes of iniquity

wherein to array them, and when facts failed, to draw liberally upon invention. It is right that an enemy should not be caressed as our friend, but it is neither charity nor good taste, to picture him and his family as fiends, for no other purpose than to encrease enmity to abhorrence, and to indispose the nation to that intercourse which may, one time or another, be necessary.

When Bonaparte meditated his most monstrous atrocity, the seizure of the crown of Spain for his brother Joseph, he conferred the vacant throne of Naples upon Murat, who was already a Prince of his Empire, and, as we believe, Governor of Paris. Madame Murat was, of course, raised to sovereignty with her husband.—Such is her present elevation, and she is likely to retain it as long as the Bonaparte dynasty shall continue.



The EMPRESS JOSEPHINE of FRANCE.

Engraved for La Belle Assemblée New Series, Published by John Bell, Southampton St. Strand.

LA BELLE ASSEMBLÉE;

For NOVEMBER, 1810.

A New Series.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ILLUSTRIOUS LADIES.

The Twelfth Number.

THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE, OF FRANCE.

THERE are few circumstances in history which have more of the texture and colour of romance than those which grew out of the French Revolution. It was peculiar to this tremendous explosion of anti-social principles, that it gave birth to occurrences which had no example in any former ages; and that it was equally without a parallel in the events which it brought about, and the characters and persons which were their moral engines and movers,

The history of France, indeed, during the first years of Jacobinism, presents a series of revolutions, more resembling those sudden vicissitudes which occur in the Asiatic courts, than the orderly, and tranquil changes, which sometimes happen in regular governments.

These revolutions, however, were not confined to systems of governments, or to the principles upon which political economy is founded; they pervaded, and indeed effectually corrupted, the whole mass of the people; the pestilence began to work, not by the slow progress of infection, but by the more rapid strides of an epidemic, voluntarily received, and adopted

into the blood and breast of each individual. Borrowing the most sacred terms, and coveting the abuse of the most sacred names, the infuriate people of this country (always in extremes) sought to be regenerated and baptized anew in the font of revolutionary anarchy; they cast off voluntarily and renounced the established principles of natural duty and domestic affection; considering them as the clogs and encumbrances of the old superstition and tyranny. Acknowledging nothing sacred or valuable but what bore the features of novelty, each individual who attempted to gain power and to become popular, sought distinction by monstrous and unheard of crimes, and the novelty of an emancipated and brutal nature.

Such was the state of things which an all wise Providence permitted to have a temporary course of rule, by way of holding up to mankind an example of the excesses of the human character when it escapes that servitude (which is perfect freedom) of natural duty and religious restraint. Such, we say, was the state of things when, amongst other novelties and political wonders, the Empress Josephine,

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the repudiate^d wife of the Emperor Napoleon, emerged from a life of comparative obscurity to a situation of popular idolatry and imperial splendour.

It has been too much the practice of the press in this country to degrade and vilify our enemies, with a degree of ferocity and asperity which even their vices did not always warrant. To lessen, and bring them into contempt, we have not been sparing of the most uncharitable misrepresentations; we have deemed it, almost universally, a sort of pious fraud to forge CRIMES for CHARACTERS, and CHARACTERS for CRIMES. In a word, to aggravate national abhorrence beyond all the proportions in which national enmity is justifiable, we have not hesitated to break through every restraint of probability and truth.

Josephine la Pagerie, was a native of Martinique, and the daughter of a rich planter in that island: she is said to have descended from a noble but obscure family, who had transplanted themselves to the West Indies in expectation of tropical wealth and colonial distinction. Josephine was married, at a very early age, to Viscount Alexander Beauharnois, at that time holding a distinguished commission in a French regiment of infantry. Beauharnois was some years younger than his wife, but this match was desirable, not less on account of the wealth than the beauty of Mademoiselle la Pagerie. She was at that time in the splendour of beauty, embellished by the fascinations of female elegance and grace, and as the Viscount Beauharnois had exhausted his patrimony by the prodigal dissipation of the Court of Versailles, the marriage which he contracted with Josephine was creditable to his taste, and no less advantageous to his finances.

After their marriage, Monsieur and Madame Beauharnois continued to move in the splendid circles of Paris; but as the ambition of the French *noblesse* was now coveting other objects than distinction at court, the Viscount and his wife became frequenters of those assemblies in which the new philosophy, which was to regenerate France, was delivered out in wholesale lectures, and the train was prepared for the explosion of the old system, by the combined operation of false philosophy

with ignoble and democratic ambition. At these assemblies Talleyrand, Charles and Alexander la Methe, Beaumetz, La Tour Maubeuge, Sillery, Flahault, were some of the persons most frequently found; characters who have, with their ladies, more or less figured in the French revolutionary annals, and were most celebrated in its early burst.

A few years after his marriage, M. de Beauharnois was chosen by the nobility of the bailiwick of Blois, a deputy to the States General. In this assembly M. de Beauharnois, if we may believe the reports of the times, behaved with shameful and dishonourable ingratitude to his former benefactor Louis XVI. In this senate, of all that was grave and eloquent, and distinguished for wealth, rank, and talent, and which might with ease have become the cradle of a great and glorious revolution for the improvement and solid establishment of the French government, M. de Beauharnois declaimed against his sovereign, and denounced his implacable enmity to the royal family. When the States General were converted into the National Assembly, he ascended the tribune, and became the decided and unqualified advocate of the popular cause; and by his association with La Fayette and La Methe, notwithstanding his want of those energetic and impressive talents necessary to conduct and regulate the revolutionary storm, he was elected in June, 1791, the President of the National Assembly, and signed the proclamation addressed to the French people when the unfortunate Louis XVI. was arrested at Varennes.

Soon after he made his peace with the court, and became an Adjutant-General and the patriotic friend of La Fayette. He afterwards joined Dumourier. He next courted Custine, whom, when proscribed by the Revolutionary Tribunal, he succeeded in the command over the army of the Rhine; he did not occupy this post long, but was suspended from all public functions, and ordered to retire above twenty leagues from the frontiers.

He was soon afterwards, with his wife, arrested as a suspected person, and on the 23d of July, 1794, sent to the guillotine, as an accomplice in an imaginary conspi-

racy. The day before his execution he is reported to have written a letter to his wife, in which he recommended his children to her, and charging her in particular *not to neglect to re-establish his memory and reputation, by proving that his whole life had been consecrated to serve liberty and equality.*

During the revolutionary career of her husband, Madame Beauharnois lost many of her former friends. It was, therefore, when at Strasburgh, in July, 1798, her intention to emigrate, which her husband prevented by sending her back to Paris, where, soon after, she shared imprisonment, but not the same prison, with him. It has been reported, and is believed, that Madame de Beauharnois, to save her life, threw herself into the arms of the regicide Barras. General Beauharnois was beheaded five days before the death of Robespierre, and six days before the guillotine ceased to kill in mass. Two days after the death of her husband, a list of assassination was prepared in which Madame Beauharnois' name was inscribed. But the death of Robespierre released her from prison, and reduced her into the ignoble captivity of Barras' mistress. Being at that period rich, and in the zenith of her beauty, she was esteemed too great a prize to be retained in the character of a mistress; in order, therefore, at once to reward a young favourite, and attach him more closely to his interests, Barras negotiated a marriage between Napoleon Bonaparte and Madame Beauharnois. This marriage was made public in the year 1795, and Madame Beauharnois at once increased her popularity and secured her safety by the connection.

After the brilliant campaign in Italy, Bonaparte returned to his wife in Paris, and was received by the Parisians with triumph and enthusiasm. Madame Beauharnois was wealthy, and Napoleon had little more than the barren palm of military glory, but the wealth of his wife gave him the eclat of one of the most successful military adventurers of France.

When Bonaparte sailed for Egypt in 1798, he left his wife in greater affluence than that in which he found her. He parted from his wife, according to his own

letters, with great regret; indeed her insinuating manners and powerful attractions had not failed to excite in his nature emotions of the softest kind.

It is said that her husband was no sooner departed than Madame Bonaparte clasped into her former connection with Barras. It is known, indeed, that Bonaparte felt some jealousy, as appears from his intercepted letter of July 25th, 1798, from Cairo, to his brother Joseph, in which he said:—"I have many domestic troubles and family vexations; the veil is entirely withdrawn; you alone remain for me on earth; your friendship is very dear to me; nothing is wanting to make me a complete misanthrope but that I should lose you, or you should betray me. Such is my melancholy situation.—*I possess all possible sentiments for this same person, whilst another reigns in her heart.—You understand what I mean.*"

This letter, transmitted in the confidence of private friendship, is an unequivocal proof of the affection which Bonaparte, notwithstanding his subsequent conduct (of which the moving cause was political ambition), once entertained for the repudiated Empress Josephine.

When Napoleon returned to France, and, from the character and situation of a fugitive, was raised to the rank and authority of First Consul, and assumed the control of the military force, and the guidance of the civil fortune of a mighty kingdom, he seems, in gratitude for what he owed to the assistance of his wife and her friends, to have overlooked and pardoned her infidelity, and received her to his bosom with his former passion.

It was not till after the peace of Amiens that Madame Bonaparte obtained the highest point of her elevation, and was invested, jointly with her husband, with the imperial purple.

When Bonaparte was making his progress through Italy and the States of the Rhine, as the grand pacificator of Europe, his wife always accompanied him. She appeared with him at the Italian Consulta at Lyons, where she was officially complimented. It was, however, in her journey along the coast, and in Brabant, that she was entertained with the most exquisite

adulation, and language was exhausted in panegyrics on her beauty and virtue.

When Bonaparte, shortly after the peace of Amiens, assumed the title of Emperor, he caused the Empress to be crowned with him, and placed, with *his own hands*, the diadem upon her head.—This glittering ornament was not long to remain there! It was quickly removed, when the purposes of ambition required that she should descend from her dignity, and give way to a younger successor, from whose womb, it was fondly contemplated, would issue a royal lineage to perpetuate the succession of the Napoleon family to the throne of France.

The following account is given of the splendour and luxury in which Madame Bonaparte lived before she was Empress:—“Madame Napoleon has four distinct established wardrobes, different diamonds, &c. for travelling, for the Thuilleries, for St. Cloud, and for Malmaison; and though she cannot reside but in one place at the same time, in the Thuilleries, as well as at St. Cloud and Malmaison, four changes of furniture, &c. are always ordered for the same period. At St. Cloud she has, at the expence of six thousand Louis-d'ors, improved the bathing cabinet of the late unfortunate Queen. By touching certain springs, she can command what perfumes her caprice demands, to mix with the water; the reservoirs always containing, for fifty Louis-d'ors, the finest odours and best perfumed waters. By handling other springs, she commands the appearance of drawings or pictures, elegant or voluptuous, gay or libertine, as her fancy desires. When she wishes to leave the bath, at the signal of a bell, she is, by a mechanical invention, lifted, without moving herself from the bathing machine, into an elegant moderately warm and perfumed bed, where she is dried in two minutes; and from which she is again lifted and laid down upon a splendid elastic sofa, moved, without her stirring, by another piece of mechanism, into an adjoining cabinet for her

toilet, of which the furniture and decorations cost 100,000 livres. For the improvements only of her luxurious though less expensive bathing cabinet at the Thuilleries and at Malmaison, the French Republic has paid two hundred thousand livres. To shew her pretensions to equality with Empresses and Queens, Madame Napoleon bespoke and ordered at Brussels, two magnificent lace gowns, made after the pattern of one presented by the consistent Belgians to the model of her sex, her Consular Majesty. One of these gowns was destined for the Empress of Russia, and the other for the Queen of Prussia. The former, report says, has, to the great humiliation of Madame Napoleon, been declined; but the French republicans do not doubt, but that the latter has been accepted, because they remember perfectly well that the Queen of Prussia presented at Berlin, in 1799, to Bonaparte's emissary, Duroc, a scarf of the Prussian guards, and her Majesty cannot therefore refuse a gown of honour offered from the *amiable wife of Duroc's master*.”

It is unnecessary to repeat the circumstances of the dethronement of the Empress Josephine, which are fresh in the memory of our readers. Suffice it to say, that she is dismissed to obscurity, but not without a great degree of royal splendor to accompany her, and the strongest assurances of royal protection.

Bonaparte, in his decree of divorce, has left her in the possession of the regal title, she is always to be called the “Empress crowned,” and the Empress Josephine; and Napoleon assured her, that she preserved an indelible claim upon his affections, and bade her to consider him always as her *best friend*.

Of the children the Empress Josephine had during her first marriage, two only are living; Eugene Beauharnois, Viceroy of Italy; and Fanny Beauharnois, married to Louis Bonaparte, and Queen of Holland.



KING CHARLES IV, AND QUEEN LOUISAMARIA.
of Spain.

Published for John Bell, Southampton Street Strand, March 1st 1808.

LA BELLE ASSEMBLÉE;

For FEBRUARY, 1811.

A New Series.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ILLUSTRIOUS LADIES.

The Sixteenth Number.

CHARLES THE FOURTH KING OF SPAIN, AND HIS QUEEN.

OF all the usurpations which have occurred during the many ages of modern history; of all those atrocities which grew out of that prolific stock of mischief—the French Revolution, there is none more odious for systematic perfidy in the plan, or more revolting to the feelings of humanity for the uncoloured violence of its execution, than that which we have witnessed within these three last years take place in Spain.

We have had examples in our country, and have seen many instances in foreign nations, of the dethronement and abdication of monarchs. These are events, the familiarity of which, in the present age at least, has taken from them all claim to novelty; but the dethronement, the seemingly voluntary, though, in fact, the forced abdication, of the King and Queen of Spain, are events which, in a time pregnant with all wonders, have some claim to attention. There was an awful warning in this event; it seemed so intelligible a dispensation of the will of Heaven—the hand-writing on the wall was so glaringly visible; it was calculated, moreover, to impart such an irresistible conviction of the true genius of the French government; in short, it brings together such a mass of circumstances for profitable lessons and useful warning, that it can never be too serious a subject for contemplation.

This plan was a long time in agitation before it developed itself in action. In France it was a common subject of political conversation, that the Bourbons were to be dethroned in Spain, and a Bonaparte introduced in their stead. All this was meditated when both nations were in strict alliance together. For three years previous to the seizure of the Royal Family, Spain was deluged with French emissaries, commissioned to prepare the minds of the people for the event.

The original plan was to transport the Royal Family of Spain to South America, and to seize upon the Crown as a derelict.

It was the misfortune of Spain at this time to be governed by an infamous upstart, without either military talents, or civil experience, and indeed totally without any other greater talent than a dexterous habit of intrigue, and a profound system of cunning and dissimulation. This man, who thus enthralled Spain, depressed her gallant spirit, drove her nobility from the Court, and ground down her numerous population by every species of oppression, was Manuel Godoy, the Prince of Peace, a title impudently assumed, to recommend Spain to France by a course of inactive and self-destroying tranquillity, and mean-spirited submission.

This man possessed the confidence of the King and Queen of Spain, and was

employed to manage the intrigues of France in the cabinet of the Escorial. The most splendid promises were doubtless made to engage and stimulate his perfidy; but how far these promises were fulfilled, and what was the just reward of his traitorous conduct, events have sufficiently shewn.

The means which Godoy employed to secure his power were as unnatural as cruel; he succeeded in alienating the heart of the King from his son, Prince Ferdinand. He is reported to have fabricated letters which contained an account of a plot meditated against the King's life by his son, and the heir of his throne, Ferdinand VII.

Whilst these intrigues were carried on in Spain, Bonaparte, who saw that the progress of cunning was less certain, and infinitely more tardy, than that of open violence, prepared to march an army into Spain. The consent of Charles and his Queen was soon obtained; the consent of Godoy was not asked. The time was now arrived in which he ceased to be useful as an instrument, and (as he might in the event expect a reward which, though promised, was never intended for him) he was too costly to be entertained as a friend.

Whilst the King and Queen were preparing for a flight, the opposition of Ferdinand and his counsellors intercepted their departure; and the alarm spreading amongst the people, led to the first commotions at Aranjuez. The immense force which Bonaparte introduced into Spain clearly shews that he foresaw the probability of the subsequent convulsions throughout Spain, and had made every provision against them which his fears could suggest. If the detention of Ferdinand, when lured into toils by the dangerous blandish-

ments of his friendship, shews that he can stoop to any refinement of artifice, the massacre of three hundred victims, whom Murat caused to be grouped together and shot by the French soldiery in the squares of Madrid, tends equally to shew, that, in the nature of the Emperor of France, hypocrisy and savage cruelty are blended and united, and that the policy of Tiberius is employed to prosecute his views, joined to the cool and malignant cruelty of a Nero and Caligula.

The flight of the Royal Family of Spain to Bayonne, the pretended abdication in that city of the Spanish throne, for himself and his heirs, which was extorted at the point of the bayonet from the timid and helpless old King, are circumstances fresh in the recollection of our readers, together with their subsequent captivity in the hands of their powerful enemy, and their imprisonment in the heart of his dominions, far from their subjects, or any hope of rescue which they can afford them. Ferdinand, moreover, whom the Spanish people had unanimously elected King in place of their deposed monarch, was forced into the same captivity, and, with the exterior of splendour and nominal independence, is reduced to the condition of a slave. We are not writing the history of Spain, or aiming at any detail of recent transactions; but we cannot help observing (and we shall conclude with the observation), that Great Britain never exhibited a more edifying spectacle to surrounding nations; she never displayed, at any period of her various annals, a more elevated virtue, or disinterested patriotism, than in the part which she took at the commencement of the Spanish struggles.—May the termination be fortunate.



FERDINAND VII CARLOS MARIA ISIDORO OF SPAIN.

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LA BELLE ASSEMBLÉE;

For MARCH, 1811.

A New Series.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ILLUSTRIOUS LADIES.

The Seventeenth Number.

FERDINAND VII. KING OF SPAIN, AND HIS SISTER.

IN our last, we gave a short account of the present dethroned King and Queen of Spain, whose melancholy history so immediately connects itself with, and is in fact, the foundation of the equally calamitous sufferings of their children, that it is difficult to divide our narrative, or separate their misfortunes.

The disgrace and imprisonment of the royal children is a natural shoot from the present stock of misfortune.

With respect to Prince Ferdinand, it is worthy of observation, that though educated in the most corrupt and effeminate court, and under a governor of desperate and atrocious wickedness (we mean the infamous Manuel Godoy), such was the natural excellence of his character, and the vigorous growth of his virtue, that he escaped all infection; that, in the midst of the worst examples, he became a Prince of the best promise in Europe, and attracted the esteem and love of the people

whom he might one day expect to govern, at a time of life when he could have no possible influence in the administration of their affairs.—Sanguine in their hopes from the abundant promise of his youth, they paid him, by anticipation, the richest tribute which subjects have to bestow.

The choice which the Spanish Cortes made of Ferdinand for their King, the imprisonment of that Prince in an obscure castle, in a remote province in France, the war now carrying on in Spain almost with the sole view of Ferdinand's restoration, are events so familiar to all our readers, that it would be tiresome to repeat them.— Suffice it to observe, that the connection of the cause of Spanish freedom with the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, in the person of Ferdinand, has been, we think (and perhaps with some propriety), the prevailing inducement with the British Government to embark largely in the affairs of that peninsula.



THE TWO JUNIOR PRINCES OF SPAIN AND
MARIA ISABELLA, *their* SISTER.

LA BELLE ASSEMBLÉE;

For APRIL, 1811.

A New Series.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ILLUSTRIOUS LADIES.

The Eighteenth Number.

THE TWO JUNIOR PRINCES OF SPAIN, AND THEIR SISTER, MARIA ISABELLA.

THE Royal Family of Spain, of whom we have taken notice in our preceding Numbers, afford a memorable instance of the decay of greatness, and the uncertain tenure even of Sovereign dignity. The two junior Princes of Spain, sons of the unhappy and dethroned Monarch Charles the Fourth, are now in captivity with the rest of his family. Their characters have never been seen in action, and the privacy with which they have been educated, has afforded no room for the expansion of any of those qualities which distinguish one man from another.

Maria Louisa, the eldest daughter of the King and Queen of Spain, has now a crown, and possesses a dignity of which

her family has been divested. She is the present Queen of Etruria, and her connection with the Emperor of France affords some presumption that she will not be degraded from her throne.—Maria Isabella, the youngest daughter of their Catholic Majesties, has the empty title of hereditary Princess of Naples.

With respect to this family, their star of royalty seems to have set for ever. Like the Bourbons of France, they have been expelled from their patrimony, and their dominions have passed under a stern military yoke. Spain may, perhaps, be fortunate enough to regain her liberty, but the French Emperor will never suffer her ancient rulers to regain their lost sceptre;



JOSEPH NAPOLEON and JULIA MARIA BUONAPARTE,
The Assumed King & Queen of Spain.

Published for John Bell, Southampton Str. Strand, July 1. 1810.

LA BELLE ASSEMBLÉE;

For JUNE, 1811.

A New Series.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ILLUSTRIOUS LADIES.

The Twentieth Number.

JOSEPH NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, AND JULIA MARIA, THE ASSUMED KING AND QUEEN OF SPAIN.

IN society that is regularly constituted, and administered on principles of wisdom and policy, the true origin of personal distinction and greatness is, either individual merit, or hereditary descent. The first founders of all families have been the architect of their own greatness; the transmission of their honours to their respective families, for a long succession of generations, has been the reward bestowed upon them by that community which they have adorned and defended.

The French Revolution, by a perversion of all principles, whether moral or political, having disorganized almost the whole social system, and levelled boundaries and land-marks, introduced a new feature of personal distinction, and an entirely new description of royalty.

It seems a sufficient inducement to the present ruler of France, to be a member (however absurd) of any part of his family, in order to obtain a just title to rank amongst the new Sovereigns of Europe.

In the present masquerade of Kings there is a complete level and equality of all conditions, and men find sceptres in their

hands who have been accustomed to more ignoble instruments, and are called to govern kingdoms who would scarcely have been trusted with the economy of the shop.

Joseph Napoleon Bonaparte, and Julia Maria, his wife, could, in no possible manner, have become subjects of public consideration, but by their connection with the Emperor Napoleon. It must be confessed, indeed, that Joseph Bonaparte shewed great decision and promptitude of mind while King of Naples, and most certainly administered the government of that country better than his successor Murat; his translation to the government of Spain must be a subject of some regret to him. The seat of government there cannot be a bed of roses; and the exchange he has made, has been from the lap of luxury and indolence to scenes of devastation, terror, and uncertain rule.

He has lately had the prudence to quit the seat of his new government, and to fly to the protection of his brother at Paris, from whence, it is presumed, he will not return to resume the reins of the Spanish Government.



Madame La Baronne de Staël,
Engraven by Chesman, with special permission of
Madame de Staël from an Original Painting by
Madame Le Brun?

London Printed & Published by J. Bell exclusively for the
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LA BELLE ASSEMBLÉE;

For JANUARY, 1814.

A New and Improved Series.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS.

The Fifty-Fourth Number.

MADAME DE STAEL.

ENGLAND, the birth-place of liberty, the cradle of freedom, has so long been the refuge of loyalty, independence, and philosophy, that no proof need now be adduced of the fact; yet if proof were wanting, it would be found in the present residence, in this happy country, of the celebrated female whose portrait graces the current number of *LA BELLE ASSEMBLÉE*. The whole life of this extraordinary lady, for such she certainly is, may be designated as marked by three distinct, yet curiously coincident eras: descended of a country long proverbial for its freedom; born, educated, and passing her youth in another, where the enthusiasm of liberty went so far as to overturn every social, every moral regulation, so that she is doomed to find them both enslaved by tyranny, and at last to seek safety in one where virtue is certain of protection, where merit is certain of reward, and where genius may, uncontrolled, display her powers.

Madame La Baronne de Stael Holstein is the daughter of two celebrated characters, Monsieur Necker, so famous previous to the French revolution, and Mademoiselle Curchodi de Nasse, a lady once beloved by our celebrated Gibbon, but in whose breast the passion of love gave way to the more sober dictates of the head; his father having objected to the connection from her want of fortune.

To form a just idea of Madame de Stael, it may be proper to take a slight sketch of her parents, particularly of her father, who

was the son of a professor of celebrity at Geneva, in Switzerland, but whose ancestors originally settled there from Custrin in Germany.

Though this gentleman may have erred in his political career, though not in principle, there is still much truth in that character of him, which describes him to have possessed a mind adapted equally to the elevation of sublime contemplation, and to the low drudgery of official business; a temper formed to bear prosperity without insolence, and adversity without discontent; in short, that assemblage of qualities so rarely met with, which once were possessed by our great countryman Clarendon, and which have conferred renown on some of the greatest men of antiquity. Such was the character given of him in this country in the year 1788, and such was the character which he presented for a series of twenty-six years afterwards, until the age of seventy, through all the changes and horrors of the French revolution. In a sketch of his life, by his estimable daughter, we are informed that it was at the age of fifteen that he went alone to Paris, with a fortune very limited, but which his parents wished him to increase by commerce. From that period, not only was he the architect of his own fortune, but also the support of his family; for, says Madame de Stael, "all that we are, we have nothing but through him: happiness, fortune, and fame, all those brilliant advantages with which my first years were surrounded, it is to my

father alone that I owe them, and in this instant in which I have lost him (1804), it is only by recalling his idea, by reflecting on his sentiments, that I find myself able to fulfil my duties, and even to attempt to speak of him."

For twenty years his whole life was spent in business, unrelieved by a participation in what are termed the pleasures of life; but at five-and-thirty he formed that union which gave birth to the subject of our biography.

This was in the year 1765, his lady being the daughter of the pastor of Crassy, in the country of Vaudois, a reformed clergyman, exiled from France in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, by which also he lost his whole private fortune. This young lady was possessed of every virtue, both her parents being extremely amiable; indeed she joined to a learned education all the softer accomplishments of her sex; and even in his subsequent commercial and political arrangements, her husband derived great advantages from her knowledge and her good sense.

Monsieur Necker, in his commercial exertions in Paris, was both a merchant and a banker, and was even for some time a partner with the well known Louis Texier, then an eminent merchant in London. Indeed, as Madame de Stael herself observes, he might have accumulated a great fortune as a merchant, if he could but have convinced himself that wealth was necessary to happiness; but he often declared that he was never ambitious either of wealth or power.

Soon after his marriage, Monsieur Necker was appointed Minister for his native republic at the French court; and such was his disinterestedness, that although he accepted the office, yet he refused the profits attached to it. The appointment, however, gave him rank at the court, and it was from these circumstances that the young Mademoiselle Necker enjoyed all the advantages of education, and of mixing, even in her earliest youth, with all the *beau monde* of Paris.

To recapitulate the various events of her youthful years is not the object of the present memoir, but we may judge of the man-

ner in which her sentiments were formed by tracing the political history of her father, who, however, did not confine himself entirely to the affairs of state in his diplomatic capacity, nor subsequently in his elevation to the rank of French Minister of Finance, nor even to commercial concerns solely in his earliest years; for we find that although only fifteen when he entered the counting house of his uncle, Monsieur Vernet, at Paris, yet he still preserved his taste for literature, having in his boyish days excelled in all his classical studies, and often obtained the prize at college; indeed he was not averse to poetical pursuits, and even wrote some comedies before he was twenty years of age, which, although said to be possessed of great merit, he would never permit to be performed.

At the age of twenty-five he became intimate with the celebrated Raynal, and it cannot be doubted that the two friends mutually improved each other; to this connexion we may perhaps also attribute some of Madame de Stael's literary celebrity and distinguished philosophical modes of thinking; as it was impossible she could, with a mind like that which she possesses, participate in such an intercourse without profiting considerably by it.

In 1773, her father was much occupied by his financial writings, and even obtained the prize in that year for his *Eulogy on Colbert*, the former celebrated French Minister, which was read at the Academy of Sciences. In 1776 he visited London, where he made himself so completely master of the theory of the English funds, that on his return to Paris he was named Director of the Royal Treasury, and in the succeeding year appointed Director General of the Finances. To follow him through all the changes of his fortune is not our intention, but the foregoing sketch will tend to exemplify the means of early acquirement, both in political and in philosophical knowledge of which Madame de Stael was so eminently possessed, as she has shewn by her various productions.

It was fortunate for this lady that both she and her parents escaped unhurt from the vortex of the French revolution; perhaps their safety may in some measure

have been owing to her marriage with the Baron de Stael Holstein, minister plenipotentiary from the court of Sweden to the French republic, which took place some time about the year 1794; before which event, and immediately afterwards, she distinguished herself by several political tracts, and by some advice which she offered to the powers of Europe then in coalition.

Since that period, Madame de Stael has been the victim of political events; and particularly about 1796, having returned to Paris, she was denounced by Legendre, the butcher, and the well known jacobin, as a person that entertained views hostile to the republic. Her rank, owing to the diplomatic situation of her husband, perhaps preserved her; but the neutrality which Sweden found it necessary to preserve towards France, obliged her to conceal her sentiments until circumstances should permit their open avowal: accordingly we find that, in July 1796, she had retired to Lausanne, in Switzerland, where she first published her interesting work *On the Influence of the Passions on Individuals, and on National Happiness*; on which occasion she justified her publication of the work; saying, that being condemned to celebrity without being known, she found it necessary to give the world a fair opportunity of judging of her by her writings; that calumniated without ceasing, and thinking herself of too little importance to trouble the world with her memoirs, she gave way to the hope that in publishing the fruit of her meditations, she might impart some idea of the habits of her life, and of the true nature of her character.

This work added much to Madame de Stael's literary fame; but indeed her former ones did not fail of gaining admirers; and even Mr. Fox did not disdain to quote her, in a speech in the House of Commons, with respect to some observations published by her in 1794, implying that if the European powers did not make peace with France in that year, it was difficult to say in the centre of what empire the republicans might refuse to grant it in the succeeding one.

Madame de Stael must indeed at that time have thought very seriously, for the private life of her parents had been much interrupted by political squabbles, arising

from the violent opposition made by many persons at the old French court, to the economical plans of her father; and in 1788, then only twelve years of age, when Monsieur Necker was exiled by Louis XVI. to the distance of forty leagues from Paris, she accompanied him in his retirement, softening his misfortune, and also in acquiring a philosophical steadiness from his example: indeed she herself describes him as waiting patiently for the future development of events, with the same calmness that he exhibited in every crisis, as a man exposed neither to pains of the heart, nor to the upbraidings of a guilty conscience.

Subsequent events had also given her opportunities of exercising that philosophy, particularly in 1789, when her parents were forced to leave her at Paris, under the care of her uncle, they going off secretly for Brussels in order to avoid the disturbances likely to arise from M. Necker's dismissal. This took place on the 11th of July, only three days before the memorable day of the destruction of the Bastille, the minister of marine bringing her father his order of banishment just as the family was sitting down to dinner with a large party. This dismissal created an alarm in Paris next day. The terrors of the court were excited and the attack on the peaceable people in the *Champs Elisees* caused them to arm, when they hoisted a green cockade, the colour of M. Necker's livery, and two days after took the Bastille.

Three days afterwards, Mademoiselle Necker set off from Paris to join her parents at Brussels, where she found them just as they had arrived from their journey, and dressed exactly as they had left the dinner table; and she tells us that this dress, all covered with dust, the strange name which her father had taken not to be recognized, the love she felt for him in his misfortunes, and, in short, all the circumstances of the case, had such an effect upon her, that on first discovering him in the hall of the inn, she threw herself upon the ground prostrate before him, without regard to the strangers around her.

Even this journey, on the part of Mademoiselle Necker, had something remarkable in it; for the very morning after the first

departure of her parents she received a letter from her father, in which he directed her to go to the family country seat near Paris, lest the people should offer public honours to her in behalf of her father, so anxious was he not to give offence to the ruling powers.

This letter was, however, too late to prevent it; as that very morning deputations from all the quarters of that metropolis waited on her, and expressed the highest sentiments of respect for the fallen minister.

She confesses that she scarcely knows the extent to which her youth and enthusiasm permitted her to feel in consequence of these extraordinary honours; but she obeyed instantly her father's directions, and with great good sense retired to the distance of some miles from Paris, where at second letter found her, and directed that she should proceed to Brussels. The intention of Necker, from the first, was to proceed to his native country; but he had chosen the route to Brussels as the shortest for the purpose of quitting France; he therefore set off to pursue his route to Switzerland through Germany, accompanied by the Baron de Stael, who was then connected with the family, whilst Madame Necker and her daughter followed at a slower pace; and on their arrival at Frankfurt they were stopped by a courier who was actually carrying letters from the King and the National Assembly, recalling Monsieur Necker a third time to the office of Minister of State. Neither Madame nor her daughter, however, were dazzled by this change of fortune, but followed the gentlemen to Basle, where they joined them, and where Necker determined, though much against his inclination, to return; as he had heard of the events of the 14th of July, and now saw that his first task would be to support the royal authority, in the exercise of which duty he was certain to lose his popularity.

To one possessed of the vivid imagination of Madame de Stael, this journey, when contrasted with her former one, must have been gratifying in the extreme, as the whole route of the party was marked by the highest honours which could be shown them in the various towns through which they passed, her father's return being hailed

as the pledge of peace, plenty, and happiness; even some of the most respectable citizens actually driving their carriages from post to post, instead of the usual post-boys.

Mr. Necker appeared, and was adored, but only for a day. His first act was to request mercy to Baron Porzenvall, a faithful Swiss officer who had been arrested.—Mercy ill accorded with the frenzy of the people. Necker was loudly abused, and after several months attempting to serve the king and the country he retired; but on quitting Paris he was arrested by the mob on his way, his life was endangered, and that of his family, and with difficulty he was released at the express decree of the National Assembly. Such is popular favour!!

After those various changes, Monsieur Necker retired to his little family estate at Coppet in Switzerland; and there he was during the residue of his life. On his first retirement, Madame de Stael followed him; and there she visited him from time to time, whilst he amused himself in educating her children, in instructing them in morals, and in perfecting them in the truths of religion.

At this period she had the misfortune to lose her mother, who during her long illness was particularly partial to music, and engaged some musicians to come every evening, in order that the impression produced by their harmony should soothe her soul by elevated thoughts, and give to her lingering dying moments a tone of peace and melancholy. On the very last day of her life, the instruments were playing in the next chamber, and Madame de Stael, impressed by the contrast between the different characters of some of the airs, and the uniform sombre cast of feeling which her expected decease produced, felt herself softened in an extraordinary manner; when her father coming in, desired her to play on the piano. After performing several pieces, she began to sing the elegant air in *Edipus at Colonna*, by Sacchini, and in which the cares of Antigonus are so sweetly expressed:

“Elle m’a prodigué sa tendresse et ses soins,
“Son zèle dans mes maux m’a fait trouver des charmes.”

No sooner had she expressed this sentiment than her father burst into tears; Madame was obliged to tear herself away; and a few hours afterwards she found him weeping by the side of her dying mother!

Madame de Stael was still resident with her father when the French entered Switzerland, and her situation was a dangerous one; for although he was not a Frenchman, he was still subject to the decree against emigrants in 1793: of course, his residence at Coppet was by no means a safe one, but he trusted to the influence of his own good character, and was not deceived.

Soon after this, Madame de Stael, at the earnest intercession of her friends, and even at the earnest solicitation of her father himself, left Coppet to return to Paris, accompanied by her son and daughter; and this was the last time of her seeing him, as he died in 1804. Indeed, she lamented this last separation in very lively terms, although she had on several occasions been necessarily absent from him before this, in her various tours through Germany, &c. both on pleasure and on business.

After some stay at Paris she appears to have returned again to Germany; and there she first began to prepare her notes on that country, which she intended to submit to her father's consideration, and was actually preparing to return to Coppet for that purpose in the year 1804, when on the 18th of April, whilst at Berlin, she received letters informing her of his illness; he then residing during the spring at Geneva, where he was assisted by his niece, a daughter of the celebrated Saussure, a young lady whose pride and joy it was to fulfil all the duties of a daughter in the absence of Madame de Stael.

Before her arrival at Coppet, her father had breathed his last; but she found some solace for her filial grief in collecting his inedited manuscripts, which she prepared for the press, and presented to the world in the winter of the year of his decease, from the city of Geneva.

From this time until the year 1810, Madame de Stael appears to have been much occupied in preparing her recent work on Germany for the press; and in that year

she gave the manuscript for publication to the same bookseller at Paris who had printed her well-known novel of *Corinna*. As she had been sedulously careful to preserve a strict silence respecting the French government, she flattered herself that there could be no objection to its publication; but a very few days after sending her manuscript she was astonished by a most curious decree of Bonaparte, "that no work should be printed until it had been examined by the censors!" Nay, this famous decree went further, and said, that even if the censors should permit the publication, which should take place in consequence, still was it allowable for the minister of police to suppress any work, if he judged proper.

The bookseller submitted the work to the censors, and took on himself the responsibility of publication; Madame de Stael repairing herself to Paris, in order to superintend its progress through the press; although the censors, who were numerous, had actually suppressed many parts of the work. Ten thousand copies were then printed off; but just on the eve of publication General Savary, the minister of police, sent a party of *gens d'armes* to the bookseller's house, with orders to destroy the whole of the work; and he even went so far as to place centinels in order to prevent a single copy from escaping the order of destruction!

A commissary of police was sent to command in this expedition, in which General Savary so easily obtained a victory; for which, as a recompense, the publisher only received twenty Louis as the price of the paper. At the same moment Madame de Stael received orders to give up her original of the work, and to quit France in twenty-four hours; but having written in return to Savary, to say that eight days were necessary for such a procedure, she soon after received a letter from this polite Duke of Rovigo, in which he acknowledges the receipt of her application, not only by letter, but through the personal representations of her son (then the Baron de Stael Holstein, in consequence of his father's death, which had taken place some time previous); adding, at the same time, that she must make the seven

or eight days suffice, as he would not grant her any further time. He then tells her that she is not to seek for the cause of this procedure in the *silence* which she has held with respect to the Emperor, in the work in question, "for there was no place in it worthy of him;" but her exile was merely a natural consequence of her general conduct. "In short, the air of the country did not agree with her; and it was not necessary for the French to seek for models amongst those people whom *she* admired!" He next tells her that her last work was not *French*; and as she was only permitted to leave Coppet in consequence of her expressed desire to go to America, he now ordered her to put that design in execution; assuring her, in a post-script, that he had reasons for pointing out

to her the ports of L'Orient, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, or Rochfort, as the places from whence she might embark: doubtless wishing to guard against her visiting England.

To England, however, she did come; and in this land of liberty she has given her work to an admiring world: but our limits will not permit us to say further than that since her arrival here she has had the misfortune to lose her youngest son in a duel; a daughter and one son being alone left her to form some recompence for the evils under which this extraordinary and amiable female has long suffered, and that from a tyranny which we trust is now on the point of expiring for ever!

[Further particulars relative to the life of *Madame de Staël* will be given in our next.]

FURTHER PARTICULARS OF MADAME DE STAEL.

MADAME DE STAEL thinks profoundly, without that formal pedantry which so frequently accompanies philosophical inquiry, and, what is still more important and surprising, she seems to be superior to that determined and obstinate adherence to some favourite theory, that disgraces and destroys the works of so many modern inquirers.

Philosophers, as well as politicians, are divided into parties; they follow particular systems or theories, and, in place of exerting themselves in an unbiassed manner to discover what is right, they employ their time and attention to support the theory that they have adopted.

Mr. Locke observes, very truly, in speaking of this, "An inquirer should have an equal indifference for all truths: I mean the receiving it, in the love of it as truth, but not loving it for any other reason before we know it to be true; and in the examination of our principles, and not receiving any for such, nor building on them until we are fully convinced, as rational creatures, of their solidity, truth, and certainty, consists that freedom of the understanding which is necessary to a rational creature, and without which it is not truly an understanding. It is conceit, fancy, extravagance, any thing rather than understanding, if it must be under the restraint of receiving or holding opinions by the authority of any thing but their own, not fancied but perceived, evidence."

Such is the opinion of a most able inquirer into truth; and Newton and Bacon, two of the greatest men that ever lived, made experiments first and then established theories; but modern philosophers have inverted the order, at least, in the moral world, and severely has the present race of men suffered by the errors into which they have fallen.

Madame de Stael, bred up and educated under the care of a father and mother of uncommon merit and virtue, has escaped the errors of modern philosophers, although reared in the midst of them.

If at any period Madame de Stael fell into the errors of the Encyclopædists, her superior genius and understanding have

since extricated her from them, for she now compares and weighs different opinions with that true spirit of impartiality that is necessary for the attainment of truth.

France was always famous for learned ladies, though we do not remember any equal to Madame de Stael, and England has produced a few. Fashion, the most despotic ruler on earth, has of late made our British ladies study philosophy, or, at least, attend philosophical lectures, and, no doubt, the arrival of a lady in England, to whom the learned doctors of the Sorbonne, academicians, professors, and members of scientific bodies are few of them equal, will give them fresh courage for the undertaking, as proving that there are no studies beyond the female capacity; but with great respect and deference for those ladies who study chemistry and mathematics, and with no less respect for the despot Fashion, we shall make a few remarks, observing, that though fashion rules as despotically and more universally than Bonaparte did before his fall, yet there is less danger in resisting her decrees, and there is no danger of the work being suppressed by authority, in consequence of a few rare observations.

One of the favourite doctrines of the present day is, that education, and not natural genius or innate talent, makes the great difference between mankind. This opinion is not a little connected with materialism, to which modern philosophers have a strange and a strong bias; but this is a theory belied by experience, and the lady of whom we write is one strong example of the error; for, if education could make such a writer, Madame de Stael would not have left all others at so great a distance. How similar is the education of students at the same university, and how unequal their acquirements! How often do men, who have received no regular education, rise above those that have had every advantage.

Shakespeare studied at the loom amongst weavers, and Herschel amongst fiddlers; but the one became the first of dramatic writers, and the other the first of astronomers.

Those who have paid the most attention to biography know, that those who have

the greatest facilities for study generally have the least inclination, and that opportunity rather blunts the desire of acquiring knowledge; and those who make observations with impartiality, and without any design to support a favourite theory, will ever and anon observe the seal of native talents, as well as of inherent propensity and disposition, which qualifies certain persons for excelling in particular studies, and disqualifies others.

The observer must either be very inattentive or very shallow, who does not see that the female mind is not in general fitted for the same studies in which men excel; and if it were, the beauty of the Creator's finest work would be destroyed.* We must admire a phenomenon like Madame de Stael; but we must thank God that she is a phenomenon, a *rara-avis*, and let the ladies know that it will be in vain for them to attempt an imitation.

In the elegant and lighter walks of literature there have been many ladies who have greatly excelled, and when taste, elegance, and fancy are the principal acquirements necessary, they are well calculated to excel; but the abstruse sciences appear to be beyond their sphere, and Madame de Stael is a great and an extraordinary exception.

In addition to a great natural genius, the circumstance of being brought up under the immediate eye of Madame Necker was greater than can be estimated. The talents

* The world is, no doubt, greatly improved by the invention of machinery for the abbreviation of labour; nevertheless it is, like every other thing, attended with some disadvantages; one is, that the labour of women has lost its value.—Without any principle of avarice mixing in the sensations of the mind; yet when there is no reward there is no labour: even gaming has no allurements when there is nothing at stake. In very ancient times the labour of women was of very great value, as both sacred and profane writers testify, and even till within about two centuries it was sufficient to induce ladies to be industrious; but it is now absolutely nothing, and, of consequence, there is no industry amongst them. The tapestry of Matilda, the consort of William the Conqueror, still exists in Paris; and the labours of the beautiful and unfortunate Mary Queen of Scotland, ornament the walls of the palace of Scone till this day. Though this cause for change of manners has attracted very little attention, yet it must in time produce important effects.

of Mr. Necker were at one time the admiration of all Europe, and at another his character was insidiously aspersed by those who were not capable of appreciating his abilities, and who were not willing to acknowledge his integrity and good intentions.

Had Mr. Necker had the management of the finances of any other nation except France, he might probably have succeeded; or perhaps even in France at another period he might have re-established order: but, like Mr. Pitt, he was unfortunate as to the time and circumstances under which he exerted his talents, and both those Ministers might have exclaimed in the words of the preacher, "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, but time and chance happeneth unto all men."

Mr. Necker, owing to his elevated situation, his great wealth, and his literary labours, had at one time more than his share of fame; how then could he fail, when opinion vibrated, to be assailed by more than the usual number of enemies? When time has matured opinions and brought facts to light, Mr. Necker's character will stand high. No honest man with good intentions could be aware of the evils that the revolutionists were preparing for France,† their country; and no sooner had their extravagant conduct thrown a shade over

† It was reported at the time, and gained credit amongst the ignorant, who are the most numerous class of society, that Mr. Necker was leagued with the Duke of Orleans. That they were both the favourites of the people at the same time is true, but the Duke had obtained popularity by bribery and intrigue; Mr. Necker had got it by a long course of tried integrity. There was a great similarity between the beginners of the French revolution and those who conducted the great rebellion in England, wherein Charles I. perished on a scaffold.

The good and well-intentioned who had resisted the King at the beginning, as soon as they found that the destruction of that unhappy monarch was their aim, became his friends.—Mr. Necker wished to reform abuses, and he knew better than almost any one how necessary it was to do so; but no sooner did he find what was intended than he did every thing in his power to save the unfortunate King.—He pleaded his cause with great eloquence and energy, from his retirement, and bore testimony not only to the purity of the intentions, but to the soundness of the understanding of Louis XVI.

their prudence, though their villany still remained concealed, than Mr. Necker did what he could to restrain their excesses and prevent the ruin that ensued.

The virtues of Madame Necker and her abilities were less known; but she was a lady of uncommon merit. The writer of this portrait was acquainted with a Mr. Gyot, from Geneva, who knew Mademoiselle Curchodi de Nasse (the maiden

name of Madame Necker), in her early days, when she was high in reputation, both for the endowments of her mind and the beauty of her person.*

The suppression of Madame De Stael's work in France is not at all to be wondered at. It possesses too much merit, and speaks too many home truths for the present ruler of that unfortunate and degraded country.



Louis XVIII King of France.

*Engraved from an Original Picture
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LOUIS XVIII. KING OF FRANCE.

It is with heartfelt pleasure that we hail the era which enables us to give the biography of a legitimate *King* of France, in thus presenting our readers with a slight sketch of the venerable and venerated Louis Stanislaus Xavier, to whom the *Grace of God* seems now to have offered the throne of his ancestors. We call him venerable, not only from rank and sufferings, but also from years, as he was born on the 17th of November, 1755; being the second son of the then Dauphin of France.

From a long line of ancestors he inherited the name of Louis; that of Stanislaus was derived from his great grandfather, Stanislaus Duke of Lorraine and King of Poland, whose only daughter, Maria Lesinski, was Queen to Louis XV.; whilst that of Xavier was taken from the Electoral family of Saxony, his own mother, Maria Josepha, being daughter to the Duke of that ancient division of the German empire. Whilst yet a child, he was designated by the title of Count de Provence, which he changed for *Monsieur*, when the death of his grandfather Louis XV. left the throne for his elder brother, the late unfortunate monarch; and, in consequence of the death of his father, a loss of a most serious nature, as the Dauphin was of the most estimable character, both as a man and a parent, he was thrown amidst all the blandishments of a voluptuous court, at an age when reason is generally supposed to yield to the passions. Notwithstanding the danger of this situation, those who knew him best declare that his regard for virtue and religion was real and permanent,

and that his respect for the rights and liberties of his countrymen was one of his earliest characteristics. Indeed, so conspicuous, yet so unostentatious, was his deportment in general, that the well known Richelieu is said to have given him the name of the young Cato at an old court; an appellation which, whether prompted by admiration or by sarcasm, was equally honourable to the subject of it.

Even during his grandfather's life-time, as well as during the whole reign of his brother, the present French monarch was alike distinguished for his attention to science and literature, and for his patronage of genius.

Monsieur appears not to have taken any active part in the politics of his native land, until the year 1787, when, in the Assembly of the Notables, then first called together by Calonne, the French Premier, he declared himself hostile to all interference with noble and ecclesiastical privileges; but at the same time he was not forgetful of the welfare of the people, steadily maintaining that there was no necessity for any additional taxes to be laid on their industry, and always expressing his conviction that a few years of peace, of economy, and of regularity, would remove every financial difficulty.

So anxious was Calonne to have *his* plan of finance adopted, that he even went so far as to use the King's name in its favour, whilst conversing with Monsieur upon the subject; but the answer of the latter was as rational as it was dignified—"My heart is alike my brother's and the people's; but my understanding is my own; as for my

head, it is the King's."—He went much further in conversing with Calonne upon the subject; and it is generally believed that the minister was induced, by the force of his reasoning, to lay aside much of the speculative and visionary part of his plans. Calonne, however, went out; and succeeding ministers did not choose to pay attention to the modest advice of the unostentatious Prince, who mixed but little either with the gay or the political world, until he found it necessary not only to support the just rights of the people, but also the necessary prerogatives of the Prince, well convinced that the two must stand or fall together.

Hitherto Monsieur had resided some distance from Paris; but no sooner did the horrors of the Revolution commence, in 1789, by the personal insults to the King, obliging him to remove from Versailles to the capital, than he gave up his retirement and became a resident in the Luxembourg palace, where he was perhaps, of men, the only real friend left to the unhappy Louis, as the Count d'Artois, now Monsieur, was then in Germany, whither he had emigrated with several others of the blood royal.

The conspirators little knew the real spirit and resolution of the late unfortunate monarch; and, supposing that the advice of Monsieur alone had prompted him to the dignified conduct of the moment, they used every means in their power to separate them, or at least to destroy the mutual confidence which subsisted between the two brothers. For that purpose, La Fayette and his party trumped up a plot about a Marquis de Favres, in which they boldly asserted that Monsieur was implicated. Favres was tried; and as Monsieur knew his innocence, he actually attended upon his trial to give evidence in his favour: but the municipal judges paid no attention to his protestations, and the unfortunate Favres fell a victim to the ambitious plans of La Fayette and Mirabeau, who, by this first revolutionary measure,—this first revolutionary trial and condemnation, succeeded in imposing such a belief on the people as they wished, and raised such an odium against the unfortunate Prince, that a regard to his own personal safety, when his exertions could no longer be of use to

his brother, forced him to emigrate, which he was only able to do through the assistance of a friendly Swede, the Count de Fersen, passing by the way of Valenciennes into Brabant; but not until he had actually heard the act of accusation against himself and all the Bourbons publicly cried about, having been printed at a jacobin press, evidently for the purpose of insuring his and their condemnation. Nor did he even then desert his brother, for the escape of the Royal Family was at the same time concerted, though it did not finally succeed.

No sooner did Monsieur arrive at Coblenz, where he found his now sole surviving brother, and the other Bourbon branches, than he immediately applied himself to the military arrangements necessary for raising and organizing an emigrant force, under the auspices of the German Emperor and other friendly monarchs, a force which he took under his own immediate command, when the National Assembly thought proper to declare war against the world.

No sooner was it known that Monsieur had emigrated, than the new legislative government decreed that he had forfeited his eventual right to the regency, if he did not return within two months: but he knew too well the character of those he had to deal with to trust to their mercy; an opinion too fatally verified in the murder of so many of the other branches of his family.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the events of the period between that and the year 1795, when the death of the Dauphin, or rather of Louis XVII. presented a vacant but outraged throne to the subject of our biography—a throne to which he was proclaimed the rightful heir, not only amongst the loyal emigrants in Germany, but even in La Vendee, in the west of France itself.

Little prospect, however, appeared of his being able to recover the throne of his ancestors; and accordingly he made no serious attempts for it, but resided quietly at the court of Turin, having been for some years married to the daughter of the Sardinian monarch. But even from this retreat he was driven by the advance of the republican armies; when he retired, in 1796, to

Verona, a city in the Venetian territories, where he lived *incognito*, as the Count de Lille: here, indeed, his residence was of very short duration, as the insolence of the usurper, then General Bonaparte, prompted him to demand his dismissal from the Venetian protection. To this demand the Senate of that ancient and once powerful state was obliged to agree; but not until the unhappy yet spirited monarch had demanded admission to the Golden Book of the Senate, which contained the names of all the Venetian nobles. In that book his great grandfather's grandfather, the gallant Henry IV. had once inscribed his name, and the name of Bourbon, and these the insulted monarch disdainfully and justly erased from their records.

Even in his retreat from Verona he seems to have been followed by republican vengeance; for we have seen it recorded, that in the summer of 1797, whilst on his route through Germany, a foreign assassin or a female regicide washed for him there, and whilst standing at the window of an inn in an obscure village, a shot was fired, which wounded him slightly in the head. His conduct on this occasion was most magnanimous, forbidding all search to be made after the villain, and saying that "it must either be a mistake or a premeditated crime: in the former case, it would be cruel to pursue; and in the latter, as I have done no harm to any human being, the person who would murder me has punishment enough in his own bosom, and wants my forgiveness more than I do his death!"

In the contest which Russia had with France in 1798, the late Emperor Paul found it expedient to acknowledge Louis XVIII. as the just claimant to the throne of that country; and as it was his intention to assist him in recovering the throne of his ancestors, he offered him an asylum at Mittau in Livonia, a proposal which the unhappy Prince gladly accepted, his health being considerably impaired by the privations, distresses, fatigues, and even the penury and want which he experienced in his noble adherence to the unfortunate loyalists of the Condean army, at whose particular request it was, that he was persuaded to indulge in a temporary repose.

The conduct of the Emperor Paul was at first magnanimous and generous in the

extreme, as his royal guest was received and treated with all the honours which a sovereign in his situation could possibly wish for, having not only a guard of native Russians appointed to attend upon him, but also one formed from the French noblesse; besides being permitted to draw around him as many of his loyal countrymen as he pleased, with whom the generous Prince shared, in the most bounteous manner, the liberal allowance which Paul had appropriated to his use.

Indeed so anxious was the Emperor to make every arrangement for his comfort and influence at the place of his residence, that the Governor of Mittau was actually placed under his orders; and he was even encouraged to assume so much of the personal functions of royalty, as to have regular levees, at which the noblesse of the neighbouring provinces were proud to attend: but such events could not long remain unknown to the French republicans, who were successful at length in acquiring an undue influence over the councils of Paul, whom they persuaded, first to distress the unhappy monarch by withholding the payment of his pension, and afterwards to send him orders to depart from the Russian dominions; a journey for which they allowed him only a week's preparation. All this was done at the instigation of that man whose recent downfall has restored Louis to the throne of his ancestors. With a pride highly honourable to himself, the insulted monarch determined not to remain twenty-four hours longer in the Russian dominions;—he felt not for himself, but he felt for those unhappy loyalists, whose sole dependence was upon his bounty; and as he could not relieve them, he resolved to set them a bright example of resignation to the will of Heaven.

But it was not only for his faithful subjects that Louis felt anxiety, for part of his own family claimed his attention; particularly the amiable Duchess of Angouleme, his illustrious niece, who had long resided with him at Mittau, accompanied by her young husband. To her he explained his sad situation, and assured her, that as he had not the means of travelling as he had formerly done, and as the little that he possessed would be necessary for the daily

maintenance of those attached to him, so he would himself shew them an example how to bear misfortune, and would the next day leave Mittau with them, on foot!

However the Duchess might venerate the magnanimity of her uncle, yet she dutifully determined to save him, if possible, from personal inconvenience, and actually sold to a Jew a valuable box of diamonds, presented to her as a nuptial gift by her imperial relations at Vienna; by which means she raised a sum that enabled her uncle to travel comfortably, and also to provide for the present wants of those unhappy loyalists who were obliged to remain in the place.

In Prussia, Louis was treated rather as an enemy than as a friend: in fact, the Prussian cabinet were afraid to shew him protection, and it was only at length by the forbearance of Napoleon Bonaparte that the King of France was permitted to reside for some time at Warsaw, in the habitation of a monarch who had also been driven from his throne.

Whilst residing at Warsaw, in 1804, Napoleon had the audacity to send several messengers to him with proposals for a formal abdication of his claims to the French crown,—that abdication which he himself has at last thought proper to make to an insulted nation;—but the prudent and virtuous indignation of Louis guarded him from so mean a compliance: and when Meyer, the Prussian President, had the audacity to repeat the same proposal on the part of the Corsican, it has been well observed that the dignified answer of Louis was sufficient to convince the world, that though fortune may desert virtue, and render it distressed or miserable, yet still she is unable to degrade or dishonour it.

After the accession of the present Russian monarch to the throne of his ancestors, an agreeable change took place in the situation of the French King, as ample and liberal allowances were made for the support of his household, but of which Louis availed himself very sparingly with respect to his own accommodation; for, as a judicious biographer has observed, there religion was his only solace, consoling him by its promises, whilst study improved the knowledge of one of the most humane and

best informed amongst modern Princes—a Sovereign whose constancy and courage, during a long and unexampled adversity, have been only surpassed by his modesty and moderation, when surrounded by every thing that made rank illustrious, ambition tempting, and life desirable.

But even at Warsaw he was not permitted to remain undisturbed; for, in the month of July 1805, a plot was formed by the now degraded Napoleon, to get rid of those fears which hung about his usurped throne, as a man of the name of Coulon, the keeper of a billiard-table at that place, was offered a large sum if he would take an opportunity, in consequence of his intimacy with the cook of the royal kitchen, to throw some poison into one of the culinary vessels. To detail all the particulars of this plot would far exceed our limits; but those who are curious about it will find a long and interesting detail in the third volume of the *Revolutionary Plutarch*, where a system of premeditated murder against every legitimate Prince in Europe is disclosed upon authority which can scarcely be doubted: nay, such was Napoleon's determination to get rid of all the members of the house of Bourbon, that Coulon was offered additional rewards in case the Duchess of Angouleme and her husband should also fall victims to the same treachery!

Subsequent political events rendered it unsafe for Louis to reside upon the continent, and his only resource was the *land of real liberty*; since which period he has always resided in this country, gaining the esteem and exciting the admiration of all ranks and parties in the state: for though political reasons, and the uncertainty of the issue of the war, rendered it prudent that our government should not ostensibly sanction the Bourbon claims, nor that the Princes of that house should be received at court on public days, yet a great degree of private friendship has always subsisted between the Princes of two once rival houses, but now, we hope, happily united in those bonds of personal friendship that will tend to the happiness of the subjects of each country, and operate powerfully to counteract those national jealousies which must still exist in a mutual communication between the two kingdoms even in a state

of the most settled amity : for as long as patriotism exists in either, so long must there be jealous claims to national superiority. It is the nature of man: but we trust that henceforward, instead of leading to warfare, it will only produce that generous emulation which must tend not only to the welfare of each state, but even of the world itself. Napoleon himself has often said, that England and France united might govern the world—we trust that now they will conspire to bless it.

We have already noticed that Louis XVIII. whilst Monsieur, was married to a daughter of the King of Sardinia; a match however which was not blessed with any issue. Since his Majesty's taking up his residence in this country, he had the mis-

fortune to lose this very estimable woman, who bore the misfortunes both of her paternal and maternal family with a degree of fortitude honourable to her rank, and to the sex of which she was an ornament.

That the reign of the restored monarch may be a long one, we sincerely wish—that it may be a happy one, we have confident hopes. A long and intimate residence in Great Britain of Louis, of his princes and of his nobles, must have fitted them for a judicious application of the principles and practice of real liberty to France in her present state; whilst France herself, notwithstanding all her sufferings, must be in a fitter state to receive the blessings of liberty than she was in the early periods of an experimental Revolution.

ANECDOTES OF BONAPARTE.

IN the night of the 28th and 29th of March, the day before the battle that was fought in sight of the capital, a person worthy of belief, the proprietor of a chateau on the side of *la Cour de France*, attracted by the light he perceived upon the heights on that side, advanced to the crossing of the road which leads to the *Chateau de Morangies*. He beheld the Emperor's livery and five carriages coming towards Paris, without any suit or equipage, in post horses. The carriages were stopped by a French General, who appeared to come from Paris in great haste. As soon as he reached the Emperor's coach, he stopped, and the Emperor got out in great haste, as well as several persons of his suite, among whom were seen the Minister of Foreign Affairs and General Bertrand, Marshal of the Palace. The Emperor, followed by three or four persons, turned back towards the *Cour de France*, keeping on the side of the fosse.

When he reached the *Cour de France*, where all the carriages were waiting, the Emperor held a kind of conference with the Officers about him. This person, who could watch the Emperor during the obscurity of the night, heard, in the midst of a hurry inseparable from retreat, that they talked of re-forming an army with the wrecks of corps that had escaped from

Paris, and which in their flight were scattered on all sides: his guard, even in a state of extreme disorder, had mixed with the fugitives. The Emperor had no corps with him—there were only stragglers who had lighted some fires.

The Emperor remained four hours nearly in conference. The day dawned—the person who told us this proceeded towards Longumeau; upon the road he questioned officers and soldiers, and some did not conceal the absolute exhaustion of the troops; and almost all thought that they were marching to Orleans to be re-organised. The report is since spread that the Emperor got into his coach again and proceeded to Fontainebleau.

THE following facts form a curious part of the history of Bonaparte since his fall:—In his last attempt to get between the armies of the allies, he took Baron Weissembourg prisoner, whom he carried to Fontainebleau, and who was present at his abdication. Bonaparte was very composed, and even cheerful in his conversation. He said to the Baron, "I have done what I pleased with the Allies, and now I suppose they will do what they please with me." The Baron complimented him on his fortitude under such a reverse of fortune: in answer to which, he said it was

wise to submit patiently to the course of events,—adding, that he had committed one great error. The Baron desired to know what it was.—“Why,” said he, “I married an Austrian Princess when I ought to have married a Russian one.”—The Baron then asked him how his active mind could find employment after so busy a life? He said, that he should retire to the study of the mathematics, of which he had always been fond; and pointing to some old books which he had taken with him, intimated that he had resumed his studies already.

BONAPARTE said, some months ago, “I do not know how I shall finish this drama, but if I sink, people shall learn what the death-pangs of a great man cost. I reserve for history a page of blood, such as its records do not yet contain.” It is now said in explanation of this, that he had actually issued orders to General Lucotte to blow up all the magazines in Paris at the moment that the Allied Armies should enter the city; but the General, struck with horror, refused to execute it. We mention this terrific tale, not with a wish that it should at once obtain implicit credit. At the same time, it must be owned, the explosion at Meaux furnished some ground to believe it not altogether chimerical. It is besides added, that the Emperor Alexander was so well convinced of the truth of the story, that he sent to General Lucotte, the Order of Wladimer set in diamonds, with a letter in approbation of his having saved the capital of his country. When he had carried the position at Montereau, he believed the allied armies destroyed, and said, with his usual arrogance, “I am nearer Vienna than they are to Paris.” He often declared, that in less than three months he would burn Munich, and plant his eagles on the ruins of Vienna:—he has kept his word with respect to Vienna, as he did with respect to Lisbon. He used to say Henry IV. was the *King of the canaille*. We may judge from this of his idea of the virtues of a sovereign. This anti-French expression, this unnatural blasphemy, would suffice to prove him who could utter it unworthy of the throne.

There are some approximations of dates so striking, that history will not fail to

dwell upon them. On the 30th March, 1813, Bonaparte declared, that “should even the enemy’s armies be encamped on the heights of Montmartre, not a village of the provinces united constitutionally to the empire should be given up.” On the 30th March, 1814, Paris capitulated to the allied troops, who had attacked the capital on the very side of Montmartre.—On the 1st of April, 1810, Bonaparte contracted a marriage which seemed to secure the throne to him for ever. On the 1st April, 1814, the Senate declared that he had forfeited the imperial dignity.

THE ISLAND OF ELBA, THE PLACE OF BONAPARTE’S RETREAT.

THE island of Elba is situated in the Mediterranean, between the coast of Tuscany (called by the French Etruria), from which it is distant four leagues, and the island of Corsica, from whence it is distant ten leagues. Its form is nearly triangular, and its extent about twenty leagues. It contains about 12,000 inhabitants, distributed in several towns and villages; of which the principal are Porto Ferrajo, Porto Longone, Capolibri, Rio, Marciano, and Campo. The climate is warmer than that of Tuscany, but by the sea-breeze the heat is rendered more supportable. There is no river in the island, but an abundance of springs. It contains a celebrated iron mine. The island is covered by a number of mountains, but has also several plains of considerable extent, amongst which is that of Lacona, which offers a vast field for agricultural speculations. Bonaparte may therefore turn farmer, and at length produce some benefit to mankind by the result of his agricultural experiments, particularly as the soil is very fertile, and there is great room for improvements in cultivation.

It produces grapes, citrons, oranges, and several other fruits; and is supposed to be capable of rearing almost any of the products of other countries. The mountains are also covered with trees, and the island is peculiarly rich in mines of every species, nature appearing to have accumulated here all the treasures of mineralogy.

This island is the Botany Bay of Tuscany, being the place to which minor felons were transported from that Grand Duchy.

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International Napoleonic Society



Napoleonic Scholarship: The Journal of the International Napoleonic Society is a peer-reviewed, scholarly journal published each winter by the INS. We solicit articles that cover every aspect of Napoleonic history from any point of view. We especially encourage articles that deal with military, political, diplomatic, social, economic, musical, artistic aspects of that epoch. Selected papers from INS Congresses will also be published in the journal. We also encourage submission of important translated materials and reviews of new books.

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Wayne Hanley
Department of History
West Chester University
West Chester, PA 19383
Email: whanley@wcupa.edu
Telephone: (610) 436-2201
FAX: 610-436-3069

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81 Navy Wharf Court, Suite 3315
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CANADA
Phone: (416) 342-8081

Wayne Hanley, Editor-in-Chief
whanley@wcupa.edu
Department of History, West Chester University
West Chester, PA 19383
USA
Phone: (610) 436-2201

INS Congresses

The International Napoleonic Society hosts academic International Napoleonic Congresses around the world. These congresses attract scholars and students from a wide range of backgrounds, giving them the opportunity to meet and share the results of their research. Here are Congresses we have hosted in the past as well as those planned for the near future:

Upcoming Congresses	
<i>The One Hundred Days in One Hundred Hours</i>	
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July 8-13, 2019	
Past Congresses	
<i>Empires and Eagles: Napoleon and Austria</i>	<i>Napoleon's 1812 Russian Campaign in World History: A Retrospective View</i>
Vienna, Austria July 9-15, 2018	In cooperation with the Institute of World History (Russian Academy of Science)
<i>Napoleon and Germany</i>	Russian State University for the Humanities, Association Dialogue Franco-Russe
Trier, Germany July 10-14, 2017	State Borodino War and History Museum and Reserve
<i>Shades of 1916: Ireland in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe</i>	Moscow, Russian Federation 9-13 July 2012
In cooperation with the Government of Ireland, Trinity College Dublin	<i>Napoleonic Europe at its Peak</i>
and The Napoleon Society of Ireland	In cooperation with the Foundation Top of Holland (City marketing Den Helder),
Dublin, Ireland 11-16 July 2016	The City of Den Helder, The Royal Netherlands Navy and Fort Kijkduin
<i>Endings and Beginnings: The World in 1815</i>	Den Helder, The Netherlands 4-8 July 2011
Brussels, Belgium	<i>Napoleon and the Transition to the Modern World</i>
In cooperation with Vesalius College, Vrije Universiteit	San Anton, Malta, 12-16 July 2010
Brussels, Belgium 6-10 July 2015	<i>Napoleon, Europe and the World</i>
<i>Napoleon and Revolutions Around the World</i>	In cooperation with the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
In association with La Muséo Napoleonico and the Office of the Historian of the City of Havana	Montréal, Québec, Canada 8-12 June 2009
Havana, Cuba 7-11 July 2014	<i>Napoleon and the Mediterranean</i>
<i>Old World, New World: Momentous Events of 1812 – 1814</i>	In cooperation with the City of Ajaccio, the General Council of Southern Corsica, and the Territorial Collective of Corsica
Toronto, Canada 29 July-2 August 2013	Ajaccio, Corsica, France 7-11 July 2008

Napoleon and Poland 1807 - 2007

In cooperation with the
Slupsk Pedagogical Academy and the Polish
Historical Society
Slupsk, Poland 1-5 July 2007

*Napoleon and the French in Egypt and the Holy
Land 1799 - 1801*

In cooperation with the Israeli Society for
Napoleonic Research
Tel Aviv, Yafo, Jerusalem, Acco 4-10 July 1999

Imperial Glory: Austerlitz and Europe in 1805

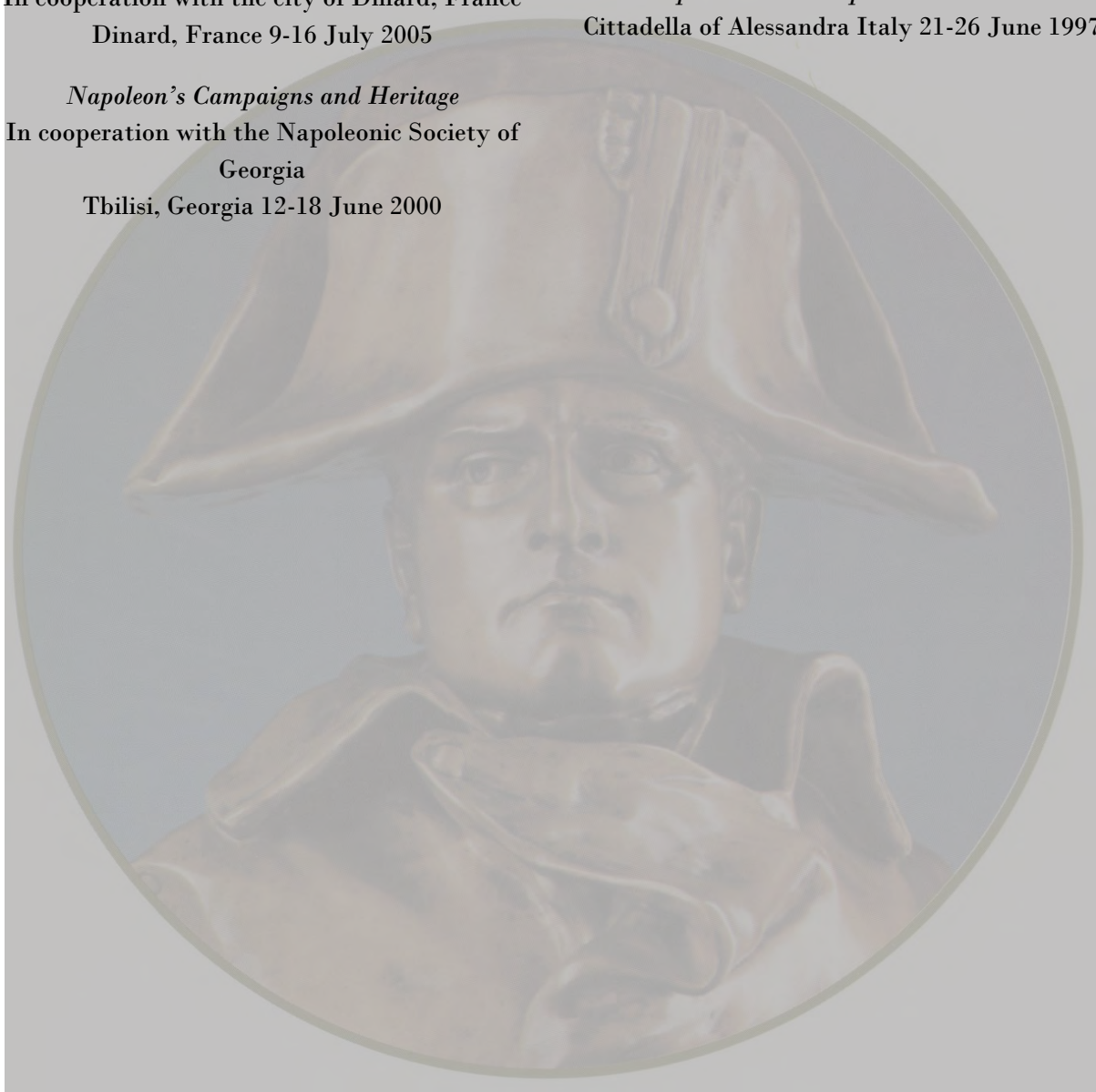
In cooperation with the city of Dinard, France
Dinard, France 9-16 July 2005

Europe Discovers Napoleon: 1793 - 1804

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Napoleon's Campaigns and Heritage

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Georgia
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2. The typical maximum length of the paper, including notes, is usually limited to twenty-five (25) double-spaced manuscript pages.
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13. Please note the correct format for the Correspondence of Napoleon and Wellington as well as the archival citations.

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When citing books, the following are elements you may need to include in your bibliographic citation for your first footnote or endnote and in your bibliography, in this order:

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2. Title of the website
3. URL
4. Date of access

For an article available in more than one format (print, online, etc.), cite whichever version you used (although the printed version is preferable).

SAMPLES

Books:

¹Donald D. Horward, *Napoleon and Iberia: The Twin Sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, 1810* (London: Greenhill Books, 1994), 80.

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¹France, Archives Nationales, AF IV, MSS, Carton 1311, dossier 1807, "Tableau des domaines dont Sa Majesté a disposé par décret du 30 juin 1807," Ordre No 4.

²Dom João to Bonaparte, 23 May 1803, Archives Nationales, AF IV, Carton 1689, dossier 2.

Archives Étrangères:

¹Lannes to Talleyrand, 14 November 1801, France, Archives Diplomatiques, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, [hereafter Affaires Étrangères], Correspondance politique: Portugal, MSS, vol. 122.

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¹Wellington to Stewart, 7 February 1810, Wellington Papers, University of Southampton, [hereafter WP], No. 11304.

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If you have any questions, please contact:

Wayne Hanley

Department of History

West Chester University

West Chester, PA 19383

Email: whanley@wcupa.edu

Telephone: (610) 436-2201

FAX: 610-436-3069

