



The 1809 International Research Society Newsletter

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Einleitung Introduction

Niemals hätte ich gedacht, daß sich so viele mit einem Artikel für den Newsletter melden würden. Das beweist, daß die Idee einer Veröffentlichung von hart erarbeiteten Forschungsergebnissen für die Freunde der Napoleonischen Geschichte wünschenswert war und vorteilhaft für die, welche an Konferenzen nicht teilnehmen konnten. Ich werde versuchen, Eure Artikel soweit wie möglich unterzubringen, doch schon jetzt zeichnet sich ab, daß zwei oder drei Ausgaben für heuer notwendig werden. Ich würde mich freuen, wenn Vorschläge und Wünsche von Euch kommen, um sie, wenn es geht, zu berücksichtigen. Auf eine weitere gute Zusammenarbeit!

Never would I have thought that so many would response with an article in this Newsletter. This proves that the idea of publication of hard-won research results was for the friends of Napoleonic history desirable and also those can have the opportunity to study, who could not attend conferences. I will try to accommodate your articles as much as possible, but already now it is clear that two or three issues will be necessary for this year. I would be glad if suggestions and wishes come from you to consider them, if possible. Another good cooperation wishes

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In this issue

1809 – L'occupation française de Vienne

Robert Ouvrard

A tentative assessment of the military effectiveness of the Italic Army in 1808-09

Ciro Paoletti

Talking Point: Jacques-Louis David's Propaganda

Peter Hicks

Italians in Raab

Ferdi Irmfried Wöber

The rare Austrian gun carriages and limber in Styria/Austria

Michael Wenzel

The Field Officer Corps of the Imperial-Royal Hussars in the Age of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815)

Réfi Attila

Contact Details

Wagramer Historientage

Die französischen Kriegsgefangenen in Ungarn im Jahre 1809

Ferenc Lenkefi

Eagle over the Periphery: Napoleon and Scandinavia

Morten Nordhagen Ottosen

Napoleon in Vienna

Klaralinda Ma-Kircher

1809 – L'occupation française de Vienne

Robert Ouvrard

01 *Membre du Souvenir Napoléonien*

L'installation

Dès la reddition de la ville, les choses s'organisent et le 13 mai, Napoléon, dans un ordre du jour à l'armée, recommande les habitants de Vienne à la bonté de ses soldats, et les prend "sous sa protection". Ce jour là, les troupes françaises entrent dans Vienne.

Les officiers et civils sont logés dans la ville, les soldats dans les faubourgs. Le 15 mai, le général de brigade, Baron de l'Empire, Razout, qui a été nommé commandant de la place, fait placarder l'ordre réglementant devant être attribués aux occupants.

Les maréchaux et personnages importants (qui pourrait en douter ?) sont les mieux lotis: Masséna au palais Schwarzenberg, Davout au palais Lobkowitz, Andréossy, Daru et Bernadotte (plus tard Champagney et Maret) à la Hofburg, Rapp au palais Kaunitz, Mériage au palais Fries (aujourd'hui le Pallavicini), Lefebvre au palais Collalto (Am Hof 13), Bessières et Berthier au palais Esterhazy.

Pour ce qui est de la nourriture, un ordre de Napoléon en fixe les grandes lignes:

Les Officiers seront nourris à la table de leurs hôtes (!), comme cela était le cas lors des précédentes campagnes. Les sous-officiers et les soldats recevront, indépendamment de leur ration de pain (7,5 hectogrammes soit 24 onces):



Revue au château de Schönbrunn

paille se font rares, et les réquisitions en monnaie et en nature se font durement sentir. Les boulangeries sont prisent d'assaut par des centaines de personnes. Les meuneries et les boucheries n'ouvrent que sous une protection armée.

Napoléon a imposé à la ville une contribution de 50 millions. D'où une taxe, exigible dans les 48 heures, sur les locations d'immeubles, ce qui n'arrange pas la situation.

Durant tout ce temps, l'armée française n'est pas laissée à l'inaction : les revues, les manœuvres se succèdent à un rythme presque quotidien. Par exemple, le 7 juin Napoléon passe en revue l'armée d'Italie, à Wiener Neustadt, le 9 juin il y a une autre revue, à Schönbrunn.

Le 13 juin, vers quatre heures du matin, Napoléon revient pour la première fois dans la ville. Il la contourne par l'enceinte puis en traverse le centre à cheval. Quatre jours plus tard, le 17, au matin, les canons du bastion ouvrent le feu. C'est une salve de joie, consécutive à l'issue de la bataille de Raab, où les deux archiducs, Jean et Joseph, ont été vaincus par Eugène de Beauharnais. Le lendemain 18, un officier français est dégradé en public, sur les remparts entre les faubourgs d'Alserstadt et Josefstadt: il a essayé "d'éponger" ses pertes de jeu en puisant dans la caisse du régiment. Le 15 juin, les autorités organisent un grand service solennel en l'honneur de Haydn, dans l'église des Écossais (Schottenkirche). Les badauds se pressent dès dix-heures du matin pour assister au cortège. Parmi les invités, le prince Eugène et Vivant-Denon (alors que le jour de l'enterrement, le 1er juin il n'y eu pas un seul musicien de tout Vienne) ainsi que Henry Beyle, alors commissaire à la Guerre:

Les Viennois, tristes et distraits, écoutent à demi.

Le 25 juin, le maître sellier Jakob Eschenbacher est fusillé, pour avoir, malgré l'interdiction, dissimulé trois canons.

Les habitants sont en fait prisonniers dans leur ville, dans sa ceinture de remparts et de bastions, toutes relations avec l'extérieur étant complètement suspendues et la poste ne fonctionnant plus.

Mais, lorsque le 21 juin, le Français Chrétien ouvre son restaurant français "Traiteur à la suite de la

– au petit déjeuner: soupe et 1/16 de pinte d'eau de vie,
– pour le déjeuner: soupe, 10 onces de viande, légumes et un demi-pot de bière ou de vin
– au dîner: légumes et un demi-pot de bière ou de vin.

Les rapports de l'armée d'occupation avec les Viennois, sont distants mais malgré tout amicaux. Ce sont d'ailleurs les alliés de Napoléon, Bavares, Saxons, Wurtembergeois qui s'attirent le plus de reproches:

Essling

Le 16 mai, Napoléon passe en revue son armée, sur la Schmelz (hauteur dominant Schönbrunn, située de nos jours dans le XVe arrondissement de Vienne)

Les journaux reparaisent, mais sous le contrôle de la censure française. Les 21 et 22 mai ont eu lieu les combats d'Aspern et Essling. Les toits des tours de la ville sont interdits d'accès et gardées par les français. Un poste d'observation est installé au sommet de la cathédrale Saint Étienne. Mais il reste suffisamment de toits et autres points d'observation qui vont permettre aux viennois curieux d'observer le déroulement de la bataille.

Le peintre Höchle se rend au Kahlenberg, armé de jumelles, pour faire des dessins de la bataille. Il est arrêté, pris pour un espion, et n'est libéré que sur l'intervention de son père, lui aussi peintre à la Cour (les aquarelles de Höchle sont conservées à l'Albertina).

Pourtant, ayant un instant cru à la victoire, les Viennois doivent bientôt

déchanter et sont les spectateurs des malheurs de la guerre.

Ce même 26 mai meurt à Vienne Jean-Baptiste (Fidèle) Clery, dernier serviteur de Louis XVI au Temple, qui a suivi Madame Royale (la duchesse d'Angoulême) dans son exil à Vienne.

Le Xe Bulletin de l'armée d'Allemagne présente la version officielle des événements.

D'Essling à Wagram

On doit donc continuer de s'accommoder de l'occupation. Non sans quelques ennuis, par exemple pour les buveurs, qui voient les établissements publics être obligés de fermer le soir à dix heures précises.

Bientôt, les Français, lorsqu'ils en ont le temps, vont prendre plaisir à visiter la ville, se rendant à la crypte des Capucins, sur la Stephansplatz, pour y admirer le Stock im Eisen, au Graben, à l'Arsenal impérial (ce n'était pas encore l'endroit où nous nous trouvons aujourd'hui), l'hôpital de la Alserstrasse, ou rendant visite aux deux célébrités musicales de la capitale, Joseph Haydn (qui décèdera le 31 mai) et Beethoven.

Le 5 juin, Napoléon revient s'établir à Schönbrunn.

La vie des Viennois n'est pas tous les jours rose. Très rapidement, les vivres se font rares, les prix montent. La monnaie papier perd rapidement de sa valeur. En fait, laissée à elle-même, la ville doit avec ses maigres réserves, subvenir aux besoins de ses 300.000 habitants, auxquels s'ajoutent près de 80.000 occupants. Même le bois et la

Grande Armée", c'est aussitôt le succès, malgré des prix élevés: un Château Laffitte se vend six francs la bouteille.

Wagram.

Durant les deux jours de la bataille de Wagram, les Viennois oscillent entre l'espoir et la crainte. Beaucoup suivent les combats des toits des maisons.

Après la bataille, de nombreux blessés sont ramenés dans Vienne. Le 27 juillet, un employé municipal est chargé d'aller, "avec un tonneau de vin, dans la Lobau, pour en ramener 18 blessés autrichiens, qui gisaient là-bas depuis la bataille"

La fin

Ce n'est qu'à la fin du mois de juillet qu'on permet aux bourgeois de respirer, en leur ouvrant l'accès des jardins publics et des promenades extra muros. On est le 23 juillet: ce jour là, la ville est déserte, mais 23000 personnes se pressent dans les allées du Prater. Napoléon était revenu à Schönbrunn dès le 13 juillet. Le 11 août, on joue Molinara au théâtre de Schönbrunn. Napoléon est présent dans la loge de gauche. Des gendarmes occupent les jardins. Au parterre ont pris place d'élégantes femmes, derrière lesquelles se trouvent des officiers. Dans les galeries, les maréchaux et les généraux. L'empereur observe de sa lorgnette les spectateurs, lit attentivement dans un livre, prend des prises, mais ne semble pas très intéressé par ce qui se passe sur la scène !

Une autre fois, il assistera à une représentation de "Phèdre" (traduit par Schiller) par les acteurs du Burgtheater (la première avait eu lieu un an auparavant...). Napoléon est très impressionné par le jeu de Madame Weißthurn, qui joue le rôle titre, et le lui dit après la représentation. Il lui fera parvenir une cassette avec 3.000 francs. L'anniversaire de Napoléon, le 15 août, est célébré avec le même cérémonial et les mêmes réjouissances que la fête de l'empereur François. A 9 heures du matin, parade à Schönbrunn. Au même moment salve tirée par 60 canons installés sur les remparts, pendant que les cloches de la ville sonnent à volée.

Ce jour-là, Napoléon déjeune avec Marie Walewska et discute ensuite avec Maret la création d'un Ordre de

la Toison d'Or. L'après-midi, se déroule dans la cathédrale Saint-Étienne une messe solennelle, en présence du vice-roi Eugène, qui représente son beau-père. A 17 heures, le gouverneur Andréossy donne un banquet de deux cent couverts, auquel assistent, en particulier les négociateurs autrichiens, le président du gouvernement de Basse-Autriche et le maire de Vienne, Wohlleben. A 20 heures, illumination de la ville et feu d'artifice.

Ne nous faisons pas trop d'illusions, toutefois: les Viennois, fidèles à leur esprit frondeur, attachent des banderoles aux fenêtres: "Vive l'Empereur...parce qu'on ne peut faire autrement (weil's sein muß)" - "Les



Bombardement sur Vienne

Français se réjouissent de ta naissance, les Allemands encore plus quand tu mourras" (là, la police interviendra). Sur l'une des maisons de la ville on peut lire "Viennois, n'illuminez pas, vous voyez votre infortune aussi bien sans lumière". Sur une autre, on voit ces lettres : ZWANG. Ce qui en fait veut dire : "Zur Weihe an Napoleons Geburtsfest", c'est-à-dire "En hommage à la fête de naissance de Napoléon". En réalité, ce mot ZWANG signifiait CONTRAINTE." Le soir, accompagné de Duroc et Berthier, Napoléon visite incognito la ville.

Le lendemain, le journal Wiener Zeitung (il est vrai sous contrôle de la censure française) rapporte que, depuis le temps de l'empereur Joseph, aucune fête n'avait réuni autant de monde. Ce même jour, Napoléon visite le champ de bataille de Wagram. Les Viennois continuent, régulièrement, d'aller voir les revues de l'armée française. En fait, ils regardent Napoléon avec un semblant d'admiration: pour ses ennemis ou ses admirateurs, il est le militaire type.

Les officiers français, dont certains logent dans les palais, comme Masséna, qui occupe le palais Lobkowitz, sont reçus dans les salons aristocratiques et bourgeois et dansent la valse avec les jeunes filles, et, de nouveau, s'adonnent au tourisme. Le Prater recueille tous leurs suffrages.

Le 31 juillet, le théâtre de Schönbrunn reprend ses représentations: Napoléon assiste à Phèdre, dans une traduction de Schiller. Ce même soir, il apprend que l'archiduc Charles a remis son commandement à l'empereur François.

Le 5 octobre, l'empereur visite la crypte des Capucins, où il s'attarde devant les cercueils de Marie-Thérèse et Joseph II. Le 8, il est au Semmering.

Le 12 octobre, pendant une revue, le jeune allemand Staps est arrêté, porteur d'un couteau. Interrogé par la police, il reconnaît être venu à Vienne dans l'espoir de mettre fin à la vie de Napoléon, et "délivrer l'Autriche de la présence française". Questionné par Napoléon lui-même, qui lui offre la vie sauve contre des regrets de son acte,

Staps répond "qu'il saisira toutes les occasions pour l'assassiner". Il sera fusillé le 27, à l'aube.

Le 14 octobre, le traité de paix de Vienne est signé.

Le 15 octobre, commence le retrait des troupes françaises. Les marins de la Garde, qui avaient leur camp à Leopoldstadt, et avaient attiré, par leur discipline, la sympathie des habitants, organisent bals et fêtes pour leur départ. Napoléon, après avoir présidé un repas de gala pour ses maréchaux et officiers généraux, ne s'attarde plus et quitte Vienne le 16 octobre. Cependant, la plupart des soldats de l'armée française resteront plus longtemps.

Entre autres tâches, ils auront pour mission de détruire les bastions des fortifications de la ville, malgré les prières du maire Wohlleben. Le travail durera trois semaines.

Les 22 et 23 octobre, de nombreux bals sont organisés, notamment en l'honneur du gouverneur Andréossy et du commandant de la place, le baron Dentzel.

Le 25 octobre, le Wiener Zeitung reparaît avec l'Aigle impérial et royal. Le 20 novembre, Davout informe Berthier que "d'un côté, M. de la

Bouillierie a déjà reçu 26 millions, qui sont en route pour Linz, où la vérification des valeurs sera faite, et il m'assure que demain on lui remettra les 4 millions qui compètent les 30 que l'Autriche doit payer. Il a aussi reçu les lettres de change." Les conditions auxquelles l'évacuation de Vienne était subordonnée étant remplies, les derniers soldats quittent la capitale de l'Autriche, après 158 jours d'occupation. Les intransportables sont transférés dans des hôpitaux préparés spécialement à leur intention.

L'empereur François peut reprendre possession de sa capitale. Le 26, l'armée autrichienne rentre dans Vienne. L'empereur en fait de même le lendemain 27. Le soir, la municipalité offre un bal, dans la salle Apollo à Schönbrunn.

Le 29, Stendhal, qui se trouve à Saint-Pölten, se rend à Vienne: "Nous avions bien sûr enlevé nos uniformes, mais nous avions gardé, mon camarade son gilet, et moi mon chapeau, de sorte qu'il était impossible de ne pas reconnaître que nous étions français.(..) On nous fit quelques difficultés, mais on nous laissa finalement passer. Il (l'Empereur) est arrivé hier, dans une mauvaise chaise de poste tirée par six chevaux blancs. On l'a reconnu, et les vivats ont éclaté. Il répondait par des <Merci, mes enfants>. A peine arrivé à la Hofburg, il est monté à cheval et s'est montré au peuple. L'enthousiasme aurait été extraordinaire... Nous ne pouvions pas nous montrer en uniforme: hier,

des français auraient été malmenés. Il neigeait fortement."

Résumé

Après la campagne de Bavière, durant laquelle Napoléon a mis en déroute l'armée autrichienne de l'archiduc Charles, Napoléon se dirige tout droit sur Vienne, où il parvient le 10 mai. Après un semblant de résistance, et un bombardement de la ville, dans la nuit du 11 au 12, Napoléon prend une nouvelle fois possession de la capitale des Habsbourg, retrouvant même, à Schönbrunn, la chambre qu'il avait occupé en 1805. L'occupation, plus dure que la précédente et surtout plus longue et marquée par les deux batailles d'Aspern-Essling et de Wagram, durera 158 jours, que beaucoup de témoins ont décrits dans leurs Mémoires.

Summary

After the campaign of Bavaria, during which Napoleon put in rout the Austrian army of the Charles archduke, Napoleon moves straight on Vienna, where he arrives on May 10. After a short resistance, and a bombardment of the city, during the night of the 11 to the 12, Napoleon takes once again possession of the capital of Hapsburg, finding even, in Schönbrunn, the room which he had occupied in 1805. This occupation, harder than the preceding one and especially longer and marked by the two battles of Aspern-Essling and Wagram, will last 158 days, than much of witnesses described in their Memories.

officers, as well as the 43% of the privates were veterans who fought in at least one campaign. One man out of four was serving since more than ten years. and another 25% since at least five, whilst the remaining 50% had been enrolled after 1801.¹⁾ But 1805 was the top. Since the next year, the standard lowered. As general Bertin wrote, when speaking of the drilling in the following years: *"the Imperial Army will no more find the opportunity to work in such an effective way. Its casualties will be filled, of course, but the more the arrival and the ratio of the reinforcements, the lower the level of infantry, starting from 1806."*²⁾

This was the situation of the French Army: the conscripts had to be trained on the ground, and, perhaps, they could survive also, but what about the Italian Army? It could not be better and in fact was far worse. In 1800 the Cisalpine Army listed 10,000 foots, 2,500 cavalry and 6,000 Poles, composing four divisions only 4,000 strong each: in fact each was a brigade. In the following years the Army increased till the maximum of 90,000 men in 1813-14: an astonishing 560% increase in 12 years. How was this figure reached and maintained? By conscription, of course. After a plan prepared in Spring 1801, two different laws about conscription were issued in the following Autumn,³⁾ but the basic one was the law issued on August 13th, 1802. Which result had it?

Easy: a law, issued by a foreign and not loved occupier in a country where general conscription was unknown resulted in recalcitrance. In the first draft 18,000 recruits were called but only 4,000 arrived at their depots. In the following years, the situation changed little, 25% of conscripts could legally avoid military service; and a further 17% purposely avoided conscription. Moreover, after the Gendarmerie captured and brought them to their regiments, some as one third immediately deserted. For instance, in February 1804 16,687 recruits reached their regiments, but 4,199 deserted soon after.⁴⁾

In 1806 10,700 recruits were globally called, and 9,000 in 1807, but, prudently, baron Zanoli, the "Commissioner organizing the army", and general secretary of the Ministry of War and Navy of the Kingdom of Italy, did not write how many of them actually stood in active service and how many fled.⁵⁾

A tentative assessment of the military effectiveness of the Italic Army in 1808-09

Dr PhD *Ciro Paoletti, Secretary General of the Italian Commission of Military History*

Which was in 1808 the military situation in Italy, the other crown Napoleon had? Napoleon considered his Italian Kingdom a reservoir of resources, an useful bastion against a possible Austrian invasion, but in his mind the Italians could only play an

auxiliary role.

The Kingdom of Italy had an army, including a huge portion of French units on Italian pay. General conscription fed the Italian Army and reached more than 88,000 men, 15,000 horses and 150 guns by 1812. How did the conscription work, usually? Bad. Why? There are several reasons: let's see. Let us start from the main part of the tree, from the French Army.

As it is well known, by 1805 the French Army was well drilled and effective: 30 privates and non commissioned officers per regiment had served in the French Royal Army before 1792, and almost all the officers and non commissioned

According to many experts, a recruit in these times needed two years drilling before being considered combat-ready.⁶⁾ On the paper, the Italians had that time; in fact they had not. Napoleon wanted the Italic Army to increase quickly, but there were a very few veterans who could be used as instructors, surely less than needed.

Napoleon's armies were generally involved in war every year. The Italians were no exception. They were involved in war in autumn 1803, when only numbering 10,000 men – those in the Italian army since the beginning – and no more than 22,000 could be considered ready by 1805. Moreover, as soon as units were considered ready they were committed to Spain, Germany, Dalmatia, or Austria, and faced huge casualties. Gaps were filled by the “Reggimenti di Marcia”, the occasional units organized simply for the travel from Italy to the operating army. They were composed of new conscripts, who got only a basic training. Once at destiny, these unexperienced conscripts could be taught by the veterans, but often their first clash came sooner than the lessons, and many of them died, due to their poor drilling, lack of experience, and to the massive massacres of the Napoleonic wars. This is not an exaggeration. According to the rules issued in 1808, an Italic Infantry Regiment had to be composed of four battalions, each including six companies (a grenadier company a voltigeurs company and four fusiliers companies, 140 strong each), and in that year the Italic Army was 44,000 strong, including 6,000 horses and 20 field guns.⁷⁾ In 1809 a further 12,000 men were drafted, to fill the gaps caused by the war in Spain and in Austria, but by the end of that year the Italic Army totaled only 37,000 men and 5,100 horses, thus suffered a total casualties of 19,000 men in one year, or 33.94%: more than one man out of three, including the recruits.⁸⁾ And what about the French? Bertin says: *“in 1809 the ratio of badly drilled conscripts increases so much that many units must remain standing in the Spanish peninsula. Equally, the mixed order is definitely left aside during the campaign against Austria, for it needs manoeuvres a fresh-infantryman can not do. In Essling under the Austrian shelling the order remains deep because it is no longer possible to group and deploy the units*

*easily, for the soldiers are not drilled and the disorder is feared.”*⁹⁾

If this was the situation of the French army in 1809, how could the Italian Army be better? The French were fighting since 1792, whilst only the 2,000 men composing the core of the Italic Army officially fought since 1797, and actually did not really fight before 1799. Moreover that core later composed mostly the Royal Guard, and had no great influence on the other units. Last: prior to 1801, Italians had no conscription. Old armies were mostly professional, and the most of their personnel did not pass into the Italic one. Thus, the Italic Army started from zero, also because the only real veterans existing in Italy – the Piedmontese – were inserted in the French Army when Piedmont became part of the Empire. On the other hand the Italic Army gathered troopers from poorly-armed former Italian States with no fighting experience. Thus the Italic standard was affected – heavily – by the same problems affecting the French. But facing the same problems affecting the French by a lower initial standard, which kind of result one could expect? What about the Italians' effectiveness?

According to some sources it was not good. For instance, the Italians at Colberg were considered to have not acted at their best, and in Spain Napoleon used Italians to guard his communications. This meant they acted as a constabulary force. They were eventually employed on the field, and anyway their performances don't seem to differ from the French ones in Spain.

The same could be said when looking at the casualties. Out of 30,000 Italians sent to Spain, only 8,958 returned: 14,000 were killed in action and 7,000 died in captivity.

If casualties can be used as a reference, and a useful tool to assess how an army performs, we can add that the total number of Italians who served under Italian colors exceeded 200,000, but more than a half of them never returned back home.¹⁰⁾ Between 1804 and 1809 the Italian Army was employed as an auxiliary force in Italy and Austria in secondary operations against Austrian troops. In 1809, the Italian Army marched in four divisions and a detached corps including 24,000 men, 3,600 horses and 32 guns. In early July 1809 the entire Army of Italy – composing the IV Army Corps of the Grande Armée and including a

lot of French units – was committed to battle, and the Dragoni Regina Regiment were awarded with 12 Legion d'Honneur at Wagram. But can the result of one regiment be used as an example of a whole army, or an example of one ethnical portion of a bi-national army, as the Armée d'Italie was?

It is thus quite difficult to understand whether the Italian Army was effective or not. It is reasonable to assume their effectiveness improved over time.

Thus, also if the debate about the Italic Army effectiveness is still open (and neglected), I'd say that the Italian Army in its early days had simply no time to drill, and this affected its performances. But its effectiveness improved with its combat experience. If they did not perform well in 1805, their participation in Germany, Poland and Spain was better, and Italian troops were at their best during the tragic Russian and German Campaigns in 1812 and 1813. ●

1) BERTIN, Pierre, *Le Fantassin de France*, Vincennes, 1986, p. 126.

2) BERTIN, cit. p. 130.

3) Law issued on October 30th, 1801 calling recruits not younger than 20 and not older than 25. That law was suspended by the one issued on the next November 19th, 1801. Recruits were in theory 400,000 out of a population of 6,703,200, that is to say 3%.

4) According to Zanolì (cfr ultra), who quoted official documents, by the end of 1812, not including the still (in 1845!) unknown casualties in Russia and Spain, the deserters ratio was 10%.

5) ZANOLI, baron Alessandro, *Sulla milizia cisalpino-italiana – cenni storico statistici dal 1796 al 1814*, 2 vols. (Milan: 1845) vol. 1, p. 18 and p. 20

6) Discussion with doctor Greg Urwin, (Temple University) in Knoxville, May 2003.

7) ZANOLI, op. cit., p. 22

8) Ibidem.

9) BERTIN, op. cit., p. 130.

10) Reliable figures in Italian can be found in CAPPELLO, Girolamo, *Gli Italiani in Russia nel 1812*, (Città di Castello: 1912). CROCIANI, Piero – ILARI, Virgilio - PAOLETTI, Ciro, *Storia militare del Regno Italico (1802-1814)*, (Rome: 2004); FERRARI, G. – RIACCHI, N., *Gli Italiani in Germania nel 1813*, (Città di Castello: 1914); and ZANOLI, op. cit.. In English the main sources are the two books by F.C. Schneid: *Soldiers of Napoleon Kingdom of Italy*, (Boulder: 1995) and *Napoleon's Italian campaign 1805-1815*, (Westport: 2002).

Talking Point with Peter Hicks: Jacques-Louis David's Propaganda

Peter Hicks
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Napoléon*

We all know David's portrayal of the workhorse Emperor starting up from his desk at four in the morning. How should we interpret it? Is it political propaganda from the regime itself? Yes and no – it's complicated... The work was a commission from a mega-rich Scottish noble. Though a Member of Parliament from, and briefly diplomat for, a country at war (to the death) with France, that noble, Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton, was a left-winger (Whig) and admirer of Napoleon.

He was also vain and proud, who thought himself (not unreasonably, given the antiquity of the Hamilton family and its links to Mary Queen of Scots) the rightful heir to the Scottish throne. Hamilton wrote to David in 1811 requesting an image of Napoleon "in one of the historic moments that have made him immortal". He presumably wanted a battle scene. What David gave him was something entirely different. The French painter was going through a period of doubt, when he felt estranged from the Emperor. So, his composition for a foreign collector, which he showed to Napoleon, was part of his desire to get back into the Emperor's good books.

In this painting, David, the regicide (that is, he had voted for the execution of Louis XVI), appears to present a contemporary, 1812 vision of Napoleon. But what we get, subtly, is the Emperor transported back in time to 1804. We are given a more republican Emperor who had just promulgated the Code Civil (visible in the painting), we are given a 'hero from Plutarch' of the Corsican's early years (the Parallel Lives lies under the table). So in 1812, when the absolute hereditary monarch of the Fourth Race of France viewed this representation of a Revolutionary monarch 'working nights', he was delighted, re-



The Emperor Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries (Google Art Project)

questing a copy (which was to remain in his family's hands until this day).

And David was to exhibit the painting in his studio to great public acclaim before dispatching the original to Scotland.

This work is thus the most perfect form of propaganda, coming as it does not from the Emperor but from the artist himself. David gave Napoleon what David thought Napoleon might like. The Parisian public saw the painting in numbers, and the lesson was learned. Napoleon did not even have to dictate the message (as he had had to do with other works, notably, Gros's "Napoleon on the Battlefield at Eylau"). ●



Italians in Raab

Ferdi Irmfried Wöber

The Italian Royal Guard left Gönyü on 16 June 1809. On the 17th they reached the surroundings of Raab and were involved in the fighting with the defenders of the city as well as in artillery shootings. They had pursued the Austrian army after the battle on 14 June, where they were stationed on the right wing, until Komorn pursued, then marched over Győr, back to Raab, on June 24, and the command came to retreat. On July 1, they reached their destination Kaiser-Ebersdorf near Vienna. The infantry (Fanteria di linea) under the command of General Teodoro Lechi had a strength of 2243 men and consisted of the battalion Grenadiers under Pietro Luigi Dubois with 486 men and a battalion Carabinieri under Floriano Rossi with 531 men. The regiment of Royal Hunters (Veliti Reali) under Major Carlo Vandoni with a battalion Carabinieri had a strength of 811 men. The Dragoon Regiment with two squadrons under General Pietro Luigi Viani and Colonel Giovanni Narboni had 386 men with 364 horses, in addition came the gendarmerie under Lieutenant Pietro Durant with 29 men and 30 horses. The artillery on horseback under Captain Antonio Mussi consisted of 83 men and 82 horses. An artillery company under Lieutenant Antonio Champigny had 100 men with 171 horses. The artillery had a total of eight guns. The Infantry Division of General Filippo Severoli (8265 men, with eight guns and a further eight guns in reserve), who had participated in the Battle of Raab, was still around Raab on 1 July. Two battalions (the 2nd and 4th with 1109 men) of the 3rd Line Infantry Regiment remained in the city. This group was commanded by General Baraguey d'Hilliers. The rest reached Ungarisch-Altenburg on the 2nd, where they joined on the same day in Kittsee. A battalion under the captain of the artillery Antonio Ferru reached Ungarisch-Altenburg on July 2, captain Luigi Porro with a battalion stood in Hainburg. Three companies of the 7th Line Infantry Regiment marched towards Thebes. A battalion under

Raab 1809

Captain Angelo Barbieri stayed between the small Schütt island and the city of Raab. General Severoli reached Bruck an der Leitha on 3 July. On July 4, they arrived at their destination, the bridges at Kaiser-Ebersdorf. The French marched through the Weißenburger Tor into the city. Under the command of General Narbonne and General Frederic-François Guillaume de Vaudoncourt, an adjutant of General Fontanelli, accompanied by Major Henin, the garrison of two battalions of the 3rd Italian Line Infantry Regiment (about 280 men) under Colonel Joseph Levie of General Antonio Bonfanti, a train of the artillery regiment on foot of the Italian Guard Cavalry under Colonel Antonio Champigny (100 men, 171 horses, eight guns), infantry divisions, a battalion sappers and miners (about 120 men).

22nd Bulletin of the Imperial Royal French Army Vienna, June 24, 1809

The fortress Raab has capitulated. This city has a splendid position in the center of Hungary. Their fortresses are supported by entrenchments, their ditches filled with water, and a flood covers part of them. It lies at the confluence of three streams, and is, as it were, the center of the great camp, upon which the enemy hoped to unite all the Hungarian insurrection, and where they had invested immense works. Their only 1800 men strong garrison was inadequate. The enemy expected to leave 5,000 men there, but by the Battle of Raab his army (of General Mesko) was separated from the fortress. And forgotten for eight days, the city suffered from a bombing that destroyed the most beautiful buildings. Count Metternich returned to Vienna after a three-days stay at the outposts. Secretary of State Dodun, and persons of the Allied embassies, who had not left before the capture of Vienna, were led to the frontiers of Hungary when they learned of the loss of the Battle of Raab.

Festivities

During the peace negotiations, the soldiers also understood how to celebrate. On August 1, a birthday party among the Italian troops reported: A big friendly dinner was held at Pietro Terzi. The birth of his son was celebrated. The longed-for news from far-away Italy arrived with a delay of four weeks. The Severoli Division,



1808, Italian Royal Guard

General Lechi's Italian Guards Corps officers Cavalloni, Pagani, Villata, Bianchini, Narboni, Frangipone, Mazzoli and Zanelli represented the Italian army. From the French side, Barre, Lamarque and Montrey appeared. It was a pleasant surprise that His Excellency Governor Narbonne sent his factotum, Baron Sternegg, with his congratulations.

The Granary of Kismegyer

Around 4 p.m., supported by heavy artillery fire, the battle was becoming ever more ferocious, particularly around the key point in the centre, the farm in Kismegyer. Up to this point, the defenders had been able to repel all the attacks. A counterstroke by 2,500 men of IR19 Alvinczy, 740 men from IR62 F. Jellacic and 2. Hohenlohe Dragoons under Oberst Beczan was successful. Durutte's Division fled and carried off part of Severoli's Division with it. The Hungarian troops were able to drive the French out of Szabadhegy village and across the Pandza stream. Only Severoli's second line (112e Ligne and 1st Italian Line Regiment) halted the Austrian advance and with the support of fresh troops from Pachtod's Division, Colloredo's troops were driven back again, as they were unsupported by other units. However, heavy losses had to be sustained. The cavalry brigades under Pajol and Jacquinet together with 14 squadrons of the Italian Royal Guard under General Grouchy attacked in two columns operating alongside each other; in the centre, the Italian Guard Dra-

goons under General Guerin attacked the farm. In the course of the engagement, a French ammunition wagon exploded. The farm caught light in several places; as all the outbuildings began to burn, Hummel gathered his troops and led them to the stone granary, to continue to defend at least that position. The standard-bearer ripped the flag from its pole and tied it round his body, in order to save it. In the following bayonet attack, he was attacked and the flag was lost with him. Ammunition was running short and had to be taken from dead and wounded soldiers. During the pauses in the fighting, soldiers climbed the walls and ammunition was retrieved from the dead outside the Meiereihof. An ammunition wagon, which had been requested from the reserve, could no longer reach the farm and was captured, as the farm was now entirely surrounded.

Nyúl

The town of Nyúl was occupied by the Italian Guard Infantry Division, which consisted of 2362 men (368 officers, and with 250 horses). While the 1st Brigade under Fontanelli had to guard the prisoners in the wine cellars, the 2nd Brigade under Guerin stayed around the village in about two km distance. In the moonlight, the soldiers walked up and down, and from time to time their „Sentinelle prenez garg“ sounded through the night. With midnight an Italian grenadier captain appeared, accompanied by several soldiers. On the call "Qui vive? Napoleon et Marengo" the slogan of the day was the answer, and the posts presented the rifle. The door to the wine cellar was opened so the prisoners could hear the translator. They delivered the order of Beauharnais from the headquarters in Szabadhegy, which said that they expected death by shooting in the early morning. The officers discussed how they could communicate the judgment to Archduke John, although they were strictly guarded. Ertsi (Elisabeth) Hatvan asked if she could do it, because she knew every stone and path and she would be able to pass all the guards in the darkness. She again dressed in her maid's clothes and could easily pass the guard, they thought she is a resident of a wine-house.

The Graz Volunteers had to line up in front of both wine cellars, guarded by an Italian escort. They passed the nearby crossroad and after

500 meters they reached the place for execution on the left side of the road. Without their weapons, they marched gloomily and inwardly toward the plain in direction to Szabadhegy. Two Grenadier Regiments expected already the Volunteers. In front of the battalions of these regiments and on each wing stand officers. Opposite to them, their backs against a freshly raised earth-bank, the prisoners had to stop to await their execution. The captured officers were now separated, they had to die first. In the early morning two Italian battalions (the Grenadier battalion and the Carabinier battalion) had already taken their position. The captain succeeded in getting an additional postponement of the executive committee waiting for the message from Beauharnais, the commander of the French Army. Beauharnais took his command back. Ertsi Hatvan immediately hurried back to Nyúl to report the joyful decision. After a while, the pelotons swung, and entered the ranks of the regi-

ments. The large number of prisoners, altogether about 500 men, was divided into two groups. One group marched under a Bavarian escort to Chalon-sur-Marne in France, the second group, with the commanders of the Graz Volunteers and Ertsi Hatvan should be brought to Vienna for further surveys. They became freed near the village Kiszell through an attack by Hungarian troops under General Mesko. Major Hummel could write his report already on June 19 what happened to the Graz Volunteers and mentioned the brave story of the „Girl of Kismegyer“, although he had forgotten her name.

Two years later, a young pair, Stephan and Ertsi, could start her new life in a rebuild house near the granary of Kismegyer. Every year festivities were held at the granary and their three children could listen proudly to her parents. In 2003 a memorial plaque placed on the edge of a little square in the center of the wine cellars remember visitors what happened in 1809. ●

the city were „captured“ by the French and probably sold for scrap and so were lost for the city. When in 1814 Emperor Francis visited the city, the „town fathers“ approached the Emperor and in the end the city really got 6 guns that had been captured in 1814.

The Hofkriegsrath was informed by the Emperor and the latter ordered the Artillerie Hauptzeugamt in December 1814 to „take 6 of the French newly captured 4-pounder guns to hand them over to the city“. The Hauptzeugamt replied that they would like to follow the order but the guns were only gun barrels and could not be moved easily nor used as guns. The Hofkriegsrath was not impressed by these arguments and ordered them to fit them out with carriages.¹ These were not specified but the gun carriages are easily identified as typical Austrian gun carriages that were used during the Napoleonic wars. If the carriages are standard 3 pounder carriages or specially built could not be entirely solved up to date.

French 4-pounder gun barrels still exists in a rather large number all over Europe and even in North America. Original gun carriages are rare in any country but at least some original french gun carriages exist.²

For Austrian gun carriages we have the „expertise“³ of the Army Museum Vienna – the Heeresgeschichtliche Museum, from summer 1909, when they tried to get one gun complete with one limber, from the city of Bruck. The Museum experts praised the carriage as rare and special and the limber as unique and admitted that they had no original gun carriages from that time and especially no piece of limber. Finally the city of Bruck handed one gun with its carriage and one limber over to the Museum as a present. Sadly the 2 items of interest were destroyed after the 1st WW, when the Museum was almost abolished. Ironically that the gun-barrel, which was of less interest is still in the Museum and even on display in the „1792 to 1866 gallery“.

In the earlier mentioned expertise a complete list of the gun barrels with detailed specifications has been included, so the identification as a former „Bruck-gun-barrel“ was made possible.⁴

As the 3 guns in the canon hut have not much changed, although not well taken care, there are at least saved. The 2 guns at Graz and the limber – the probably only known existing „standard limber“ for light Austrian

The rare Austrian gun carriages and limber in Styria/Austria

Michael Wenzel

The small city Bruck an der Mur is a city of much tradition in Styria in Austria. In there possession are 5 guns complete with carriages and one piece of limber, all dating back to the Revolutionary & Napoleonic wars. To be more precise 2 guns and the piece of limber had been more well known as they were on display at the famous Schloßberg at Graz at the so called „Kanonenbastei“. It was part of a small „garrison-museum“ that closed years ago, and meanwhile this „gun gallery“ has been closed and the limber disappeared into storage elsewhere. The other 3 guns remained in Bruck at the cities „Schlossberg“, which are the ruins of an old city castle. They still can be seen in their own building, a hut called the „Stück-

hütte“, which would be translated as „gun hut“.

Visitors at the Schloßberg at Graz or Bruck always got to know that these „pieces“ were French guns. As always – if we are speaking of old cannons, one means normally the barrel. Even in contemporary documents of that time the „gun“ was rescued if the barrel was saved. So the carriage, as a piece of wood and iron did not really „count“. The same is applied when these cannons (barrels with carriages) are styled as „french.“

How the city came into possession of 6 guns and 2 limber-pieces in 1815 is a story of its own. To make it short the city of Bruck always had guns on the „castle“ – mainly for signal purposes. But in 1809 the 11 iron gun pieces of

One of the 3 french 4 pounders with austrian carriages in Bruck



batteries are in high danger to be damaged or being lost for ever. The Author tried for years to get access to the limber to get it measured but the Graz city museum was not willing to react for years. If the 2 guns will remain at the Schlossberg gallery is in question, as new museum plans appear to plan without these guns. So it will be a task to save the 2 guns and their carriage and limber in future, in Graz or in other Museum that will preserve the guns and carriages for future generations. ●



One of two guns at the gun gallery in Graz.

¹ ÖSTA-KA-MBeh-AHZA 1815 2/42: The original wording was : „in Ermangelung derley zugehörigen Lafetten ... andere passende Geschützmontierung herzurichten“

² Chartrand; Napoleon's Guns 1792–1815 (1): Field Artillery; eg in the Musée d' Armée in Paris

³ StLA Stadtarchiv Bruck 171/790 (Wagner: 158/911) Expertise des k. u. k. Heeresmuseums 171/790

1909 – 29. 10. 1909 Heeresmuseum an Stadtamt Bruck ad C No 821 - Nr 3090/9099 an den Gemeinderat der Stadt Bruck an der Mur

⁴ For specialists I include the list which is as following and with my identification where the gun is now located:

1.) Auf dem Stossboden: Périer Frères Paris Nivôse an 2; Auf dem Langfelde: A(rmée) N(ationale) und LIBERTE EGALITE. - Der Nivôse des 2. Jahres der Republik fällt in den Dezember 1793 und Jänner 1794.

Mit Quadrantenhülse (Dieses Geschütz war in der Erzherzog Karl-Ausstellung exponiert.) Standort: Graz-Kanonenbastei (links)

2.) Auf dem Stossboden: Périer Frères Paris 1792; Auf dem Langfelde: (2 Zeilen in Bogen)

JOIGNY L' ANIV DE LA LIBERTE; Ohne Quadrantenhülse

Standort Bruck-Stückhütte (Mitte)

3.) Auf dem hinteren Visierreif die Gieserinschrift HEBAN LE JEUNE; Auf dem Hinterstück: PARIS 1793

Auf dem Langfelde: A N und LIBERTE EGALITE (im Bogen); Die Quadrantenhülse ist ausgefüllt.

Standort: Graz-Kanonenbastei (rechts)

4.) Auf dem Stossboden: Périer Frères Paris 7bre 1793; Auf dem Langfelde: A N und (im Bogen)

LIBERTE EGALITE; Kaliber 9,2 mm (bei allen anderen Rohren fast 9cm); Mit Quadrantenhülse.

Standort: HGM- Saal der Revolutionen“ (– ohne Lafette)

5.) Am hinteren Visierreif die Gieserinschrift: OLINET 2.ANNE.REPUB (Also 1792 auf 1793) Auf dem Hinterstück: AN; Auf dem Langfelde: LIBERTE EGALITE; In die Quadrantenhülse ist ein Keil mit einem Knopf als Griff eingeschoben.

Standort Bruck-Stückhütte (von außen gesehen links)

6.) Am hinteren Visierreif die Gieserinschrift HEBAN LE JEUNE; Auf dem Hinterstück: PARIS 1793; Auf dem Langfelde: A N und (im Bogen) LIBERTE EGALITE; Die Quadrantenhülse fehlt.

Standort Bruck-Stückhütte (rechts)

The Field Officer Corps of the Imperial-Royal Hussars in the Age of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815)

Attila Réfi

Historiker und Archivar

(VERITAS Institut für

Geschichtsforschung, Budapest)

The hussars are particularly important for the Hungarian nation, because it is the only arms of Hungarian origin. A value, which the Hungarians has not adopted from others, rather given to Europe and the world. When it was in its glory, hussars were established all together in 34 countries in Europe, of course under the conduct of officers and instructors of Hungarian origin, who introduced their habits, the Hungarian-style uniforms, hair and moustache style.

In Hungary this type of soldier outgrew himself and became the spectacular evidence, and even the symbol of the military valour of the Hungarian nation and as such, has become an essential part of Hungarian folklore and Hungarian culture. It is safe to say that cavalrymen (hussars) have had and probably still have a privileged, distinguished role in the historical awareness of Hungarian people. Another evidence of it is the fact that hussars are frequently presented together with the most important national symbols – the national coat-of-arms, the national flag or the national colours. It is no surprise that hussar parades and hussar shows are essential and inevitable parts of every national holiday program, even in our time.

Despite of this, the works published up to now on hussars have not dealt with the field officer corps of the arm in the period of the French wars. The present work based on a comprehensive research in various archives and literature lasted one and half decade is intended to fill in this gap.

The research focused first of all – within the general topic of hussars –



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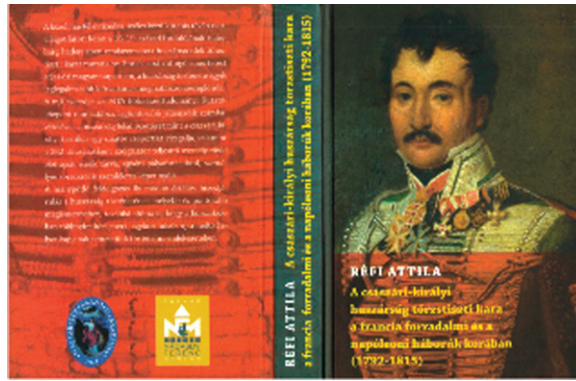
Please send articles to the above mentioned mail adress!

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on the field officer corps constituting the higher command of the regular imperial-royal hussar regiments existing for longer or shorter terms in that era, in the army of the Habsburg Empire. While performing the research, every person was studied who had served in the rank of field officer in any imperial-royal hussar regiment between 1792 and 1815, regardless of the term of service. The goal was, in connection with the group specified above – due to its relatively minor size – to present a full picture, rather than using the method of sampling, often applied in similar research schemes. In the study the imperial-royal hussar regiments of the French wars era with their organizational structures and military personnel will be presented after introducing the research methodology and a short historical overview about the hussars. After that the historiographic-statistical and sociological analyses made on the basis of the elaborated biographical data containing new research findings about the field officer corps of hussars will be come. In the analyses, through mapping the most significant indices, the author endeavoured to form an exact picture on the hussar staff corps, in which he attempted to correct the general statements in the existing literature lacking detailed studies, at least where such literature was available at all. The description of the basic characteristics of the field officer corps is followed by the longest chapter of the book with the title



Cover of „The Field Officer Corps“

Biographical data, in which the brief biographies are provided of the 282 persons who are documented to have served in the imperial-royal hussar regiments in the era in question, on the basis of their highest hussar ranks in the period of the French wars, grouped in sub-chapters of majors, titular lieutenant colonels, lieutenant colonels, titular colonels and colonels.

The biographies are structured as follows, when possible, with smaller variations due to lack of data:

- name;
- in brackets the highest rank attained in the person's career, if it is not the same as the highest rank attained as a hussar during the period;
- date and place of birth – date and place of death;
- social, ethnic, religious affiliation;
- a mostly factual description of the career in the army, in which the date and place of the start of the military career, then the significant stages of the career, i. e. the date of attaining

the ranks and the places of service are indicated;

- date and way of ending the career in the army;
- other remarks about possible regiment ownership, captivity, awards; in the sequence of the medals the Maria Theresa Military Order is mentioned in the first place with the date of attaining, possibly with the circumstances of earning the decoration;

- other awards of non-military nature, promotion in rank, nationalization;
- family status, and if known, names of wife (wives) and children and number of the latter.

Summarily, the work provides a comprehensive view of the field officer corps of a specially Hungarian arm, the hussars, a field officer corps that was far from being composed of Hungarians only and their excellent performance during the era of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars which were important events in the world history. The publication of the biographies makes opportunity to carry out further comparative analyses from other aspects, even comparing the hussars to other arms and to make other genealogical-type researches.

Wagramer Historientage

**Zum 210. Jubiläum
der Schlacht von Wagram
05.- 07. Juli 2019**

**Wagramer historische Gespräche,
ErzHg. Carl Saal im Napoleon-Museum
Deutsch Wagram**

Kongress – Vorträge - Diskussionen

Freitag, 05.07.2019 Reservetag

Samstag, 06.07.2019

9.30 – 12.30

Die Armee des Kaisers 1792 – 1815

Ilya Berkovich

„Die Armee und Ihre Bewaffnung“

Tobias Röder

Die k. k. Husaren in der Schlacht bei Wagram
Attila Réfi

Die kk Generalität in der Schlacht von Wagram
István Nagy-Luttenberger

Der Krieg 1809 im Herzogtum Warschau
Slavomir Konik

14.00 – 17.00 Schlachtfeldarchäologie

Kunersdorf – Erfahrungen über die
Ausgrabungen auf einem Schlachtfeld
des 7-jährigen Krieges

Grzegorz Podruzny

Das Massengrab von Znaim

Jaromir Kovarnik

Die S 8 Ausgrabungen
„am Wagram“ 2017 – 2018

Slavomir Konik/Alexander Stagl

Leben und Tod in den Kriegen Napoleons -
Bioarchäologische Untersuchungen an den
Gefallenen der Schlacht von Wagram
Michaela Binder

Diskussion – Was können wir von der
Schlachtfeldarchäologie lernen?

Sonntag 07.07.2019

9.30 – 12.30 Die Artillerie des Kaisers

9.30 – 10.20 Des Kaisers Artillerie und die
Welt des Joseph Sechterberger *MW*

10.30 – 11.00 Buchpräsentation

Isolde Moser:

„Bruder komm zum Militär“ – *Die Memoiren des kk Artilleristen Josef Sechterberger*

Im Anschluss Vorführung der „Waitzer Artillerie“ im Museumshof ca. 11.15 – 11.30

11.40 – 12.20 Fuhrwesen

Pawel Zatonsky

14.00 – 17.00 Die Folgen der Schlacht

14.00 – 14.50 Von Wagram bis Znaim

Jack Gill

(Ersatz ev. Erzherzog Johann der Sündenbock der Schlacht von Wagram *MW* oder

Das Militär Sanitätswesen in Frankreich und Österreich (angefragt)

Nebiha Guiga | MW

15.00 – 15.40 Von Znaim bis zum Frieden von Schönbrunn

Die Friedensverhandlungen von (ungarisch) Altenburg

Ferdi Wöber

16.00 – 17.00 Diskussion 210 Jahre Schlacht von Wagram

zwei Hauptkampfstätten: also aus den Gebieten des Rheins beziehungsweise Deutschlands, sowie aus den Gebieten von Italien und Österreich im größten Teil nach Ungarn, beziehungsweise nach Slawonien, Banat und Siebenbürgen übermittelt. Mit dem Beginn der Kampfhandlungen wurde erstmal die Frage der Unterbringung von den französischen Gefangenen am 20. April 1809 dokumentiert.¹⁾ Feldmarschallleutnant Chasteler meldete am 16. April aus Tirol, dass ungefähr 6000 französische und bayrische Soldaten gefangen genommen worden seien und diese Soldaten durch Salzburg und Klagenfurt vorzüglich nach Ungarn weiterbefördert würden. Der Grazer Schlossberg kam als Internierungsort, wegen Befestigungsarbeiten, nicht in Frage, deshalb bat Generalissimus Erzherzog Karl das Ofner Generalkommando um Informationen, in welche ungarischen Städte und Burgen oder leeren Kasernen – auf dem kürzesten Weg – Gefangene geliefert werden könnten.²⁾ Nach der Antwort vom kommandierenden General, Feldmarschall Alvinczy, hätten am 27. April gegen 8000 Personen in Szegedin, Arad, Kaschau, Großwardein, daraus 1144 in der Raaber Kaserne, abgestellt werden können. Temeschwar (liegt im Banat), Peterwardein, Esseg Brod und Gradisca (liegen in Slawonien) hätten insgesamt 16.000 Franzosen³⁾ empfangen können. Die Antwort von Siebenbürgen ist nicht bekannt, aber wir wissen aus den späteren Schriftwechseln, dass Gefangene auch in bedeutendem Maße zugekommen sind. Die Maßnahmen wurden dringend, weil zwischen 18. und 22. April das Linzer Militärkommando 3100 Franzosen aus den deutschen Gebieten auf der Donau in vier Kolonnen weitersenden wollte.⁴⁾ Der Befehl des Wiener Hofkriegsrates lautete: die Offiziere und die Mannschaft sollten voneinander getrennt durch Schwechat und Marchfeld – bis zur ungarischen Grenze mit der Zuziehung der österreichischen Landwehr – nach Pressburg, als Verteilzentrum, später nach Ofen geliefert werden. Die genaue Evidenzführung und Versorgung, die strenge Aufsicht, aber die humane Behandlung wurden vorgeschrieben.⁵⁾ Nach den Absichten von Erzherzog Johann wären die sich freiwillig meldenden Gefangenen für

innerösterreichische Schanzarbeit mit angemessenem Tageslohn angestellt worden.⁶⁾ Der französische Adjutant Boussi beanstandete, dass die Ergebungsbedingungen (die Offiziere dürfen ihre Waffen, Pferde und Gepäck behalten, sie sind auf Parola entlaßbar) von 1600 Franzosen – als sie vor Innsbruck kapitulierten – nicht eingehalten worden seien.⁷⁾ Die Franzosen missbilligten, dass die Koalitionsseite auf die Aufnahme von Deserteuren in Generalmajor Carneville's emigranten Freikorps rechnete, aber höchstens mit 15 Gulden Handgeld. Ingleichen wurde die Annahme von bayerischen, baden-württembergischen, schwäbischen, hessisch-kasseler Mannschaften angestrebt, die zu den neu aufstellenden Jägerbataillone und Freikorps gehören sollten.⁸⁾ Am 29. April meldete das Generalkommando in Niederösterreich – als Fortsetzung der Beförderungen – die Ankunft von 93 französischen gefangen genommenen Offizieren nach Inzersdorf mit dem folgenden Zweck: sie würden nach Pressburg weiterbefördert. Noch weitere Soldaten kamen mit dem Reiseziel Pressburg an: am zweiten Mai 3 Offiziere und 779 Gemeine, am dritten Mai 39 Offiziere.⁹⁾ Nach den Meldungen des Generalkommandos der Italienischen Armee wurde ein Teil der zahlreichen Gefangenen, die auf der südlichen Kampfstätte gefangen genommen wurden, bei Laibach für Schanzenbau angestellt, die anderen wurden nach ungarische Gebiete weitergeleitet.¹⁰⁾ Das neunte Armeekorps von Feldmarschallleutnant Ignác Gyulai (Banus von Kroatien) meldete aus Treviso schon am 26. April den Rückzug gemeinsam mit den Kriegsgefangenen, das wies auf die Atemlosigkeit der österreichischen Offensive hin.¹¹⁾ All dieses lässt trotz der Anfangserfolge und Aspern-Essling (21-22. Mai) den stufenweisen Zerfall ahnen, und der dokumentierbare Schriftwechsel wurde bis Ende November dieses Jahres abgebrochen. Nach der Besetzung von Wien am 13. Mai pfändete die französische Armee jenen Teil des – bis dahin evakuierten – Hofkriegsratsarchivs, der nach Peterwardein nicht gerettet werden konnte.¹²⁾ Der Mangel wird durch die auch mangelhaften Feldmanipulationsprotokolle des Ofner Generalkommandos von 1809

Die französischen Kriegsgefangenen in Ungarn im Jahre 1809

Ferenc Lenkefi

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Im allgemeinen Bewusstsein ist es weniger bekannt, dass - zu der Zeit der sieben Koalitionen gegen Frankreich zwischen 1792 und 1815 – in die ungarischen Gebiete mehrere Zehntausende von Unteroffizieren und Gemeinen sowie mehrere Tausende von Offizieren als Kriegsgefangene interniert wurden. Ich muss darauf hinweisen, dass man, in der oben genannten Zeit, wegen der großen Anzahl der Soldaten, die zur polnischen Legion, beziehungsweise zu der Napoleons Suprematie gehörige italienische und deutsche alliierte Armee gehörten, über eine reine französische Nationalarmee nicht sprechen kann, aber ich habe der Einfachheit halber diesen Titel gewählt. Die Gefangenen der 5. Koalition im Jahre 1809 wurden, genauso wie früher, anhand der Waffengängen der

und Protokollreihe des Wiener Hofkriegsrates von 1810, die mit nachherigen Gesamtergebnissen dient, einigermaßen antagonisiert. Zuungunsten der kaiserlichen-königlichen Gefangenen zogen sich die Auswechslungen in die Länge, und als Abschluss dieser Gefangenenauswechslungen wurde am Anfang November 1810 eine Inventur mit den folgenden Angaben zusammengeschrieben: aus österreichischer Seite gerieten insgesamt 100.872 Menschen in französische Gefangenschaft; daraus 22 Generäle, 1509 Stabs- und Oberoffiziere, 6281 Unteroffizieren, 93.060 Personen aus der Mannschaft. 21.652 Personen gerieten aus französischer Seite und mit ihnen im Bund stehenden Truppen in Gefangenschaft: 10 Generäle, 632 Stabs- und Oberoffiziere. 14.942 Personen wurden nach Hause befördert, 6379 starben in Krankenhäusern, 4 rekonvaleszierte noch, 142 trat in österreichischen Dienst, 155 ließ sich nieder. (Der zeitgenössischen Verschreibung ist zu danken, dass 30 Personen fehlen.)¹³⁾ Es ist aus den lückenhaften Hinweisen der Gefangenenakten aus 1813 zu wissen, dass das Siebenbürgische Generalkommando in Kronstadt und Klausenburg bestimmt; und der Praxis der früheren Kriege angemessen in Karlsburg und Hermannstadt, in Fogarasch und Mediasch 3930 Gefangenen in Quartier verlegt wurden.¹⁴⁾ In dem Banat wurden in Temeschwar, Tschakowa, Lugosch, Klein-Sanktniklas und Werschetz 174 Offiziere und 5109 Personen aus der Mannschaft verlegt.¹⁵⁾ Slawonien hat in Esseg, Karlstadt, Virowitz, Djakowar, Poschegg und in den Kasernen von Syrmien 4700 Franzosen gehalten.¹⁶⁾ Insgesamt 13.913 Personen, und wir können uns nur auf Schätzungen einlassen, wie viele aus den restierenden 7739 Gefangenen in ungarische Gebiete gelangten. Der Großteil dieser Gefangenen bestimmt, weil das als durch die Invasion nicht berührte Hinterland geeigneter war, als die auch eingeplanten böhmisch-mährischen Gebiete. Obwohl das Schicksal der hinterlassenen Verletzten der französischen Armee zu einer anderen Forschung gehört, müssen die Feldspitäler von Fünfkirchen, Arad, Kecskemét, Klein-Sanktniklas erwähnt werden. Die in der Nähe von Raab liegende Stadt Pápa wurde über

ihre Kräfte zugezogen. Nach János Zsoldos – Primararzt von Komitat Veszprém – sei die Liste der mehr als 2000 französischen Verletzten, die nach der Raaber Schlacht nach Pápa geliefert wurden, dem Adjutant von General Narbonne übergeben worden, die er nach Raab mitgebracht hat.¹⁷⁾ Narbonne als Befehlshaber der Stadt und der besetzten ungarischen Gebiete, die den Raaber Besuch von Napoleon am 31. August vorbereitete. Es ist weniger gemeinkundig, dass er in Begleitung seines Intendanten Broglie vor dem Auszug der französischen Truppen, am Ende Oktober unter diskreter Beobachtung die Stadt Pest-Ofen besuchte.¹⁸⁾ Nachdem die Franzosen in den Internierungsorten angekommen waren, sorgten die örtlichen Kommanden für die Unterbringung, Bewachung und Versorgung. Zur Institutionalarbeit, also zur Fortifikations- und öffentlichen Arbeiten, konnten sie nur freiwillig, gegen Taglohn angehalten werden. Sobald sie privat gegen Lohn, aber unter Aufsicht, Industrie- und Handwerkerarbeit leisteten, hörte ihre Ärarversorgung auf. Der Vollständigkeit halber muss ich die Lebensumstände der Kriegsgefangenen erörtern. Bei der Versorgung war das ein unwidersprochenes Prinzip, dass der Offizierbestand seinem Rang angemessene Gebühr bekam, aber der ungarischen Infanterie-Friedensgebühr der kaiserlichen und königlichen Armee angemessen waren. Die Offiziere mussten für alles bezahlen, die in Natura Vergütungen sind auch inbegriffen. Die Löhnung des Mannschaftsstandes wäre für ihre Lebensunterhalte nicht ausreichend gewesen. Sowohl die Versorgungs- und Heilbehandlungskosten, als auch die Bewohnbar- und Bewachtarmachung ihrer Aufenthaltsorte belasteten das Ärar. Der genaue Nachweis enthielt die Todtenscheine und die eventuell in ihrer Begleitung stehenden Angehörigen auch. Diese Aufnahmen gingen größtenteils verloren, bestimmte Ergänzung leisten aber die einige Personen betreffenden Ansuchen der Ranzionierungskommissionen. Der Briefwechsel der Gefangenen war mit dem Einsichtsrecht des Hofkriegsrates und des betroffenen Generalkommandos zulässig. Alle Schreiben, Sendungen, Geldüberweisungen mussten ausnahmslos genehmigt werden.

Gewaltzwang durfte nicht angestellt werden, die schwerste Strafe war der Arrest, die Entziehung der Bezüge und die Verlagerung. In Disziplin und Strafsachen wurde nach den heimischen Kriegsanweisungen gehandelt. Die Gefangenen hatten die Möglichkeit zu ständiger ärztlicher Versorgung nur in den endgültigen Orten, beziehungsweise in den für dieses Ziel aufgestellten Feldspitälern. Wegen des Mangels an Pflegepersonal wurden gefangene Chirurgen und gesunde Gefangene bezogen, ebenso wohl, als zivile Wundärzte und später Zivilisten. Die Mortalität war trotzdem hoch. Die Gefangenenauswechslungen begannen mit dem Abschluss der Kriegsoperationen, nach dem Schönbrunner Frieden - 14. Oktober - (vermutlich auch nach dem Waffenstillstand in Znaim - 12. Juli -), aber diese sind wegen der oben genannten Gründe nur seit Ende November 1809 dokumentierbar. Bei den Offizieren kamen in den Kampfhandlungen - auf Parola gegen schriftliches Revers - wenige Entlassungen vor. Die Gefangenen, die zu der Kategorie „non Kombattant“ gehörten, wurden am Anfang des Krieges der früheren Praxis angemessen freigelassen, aber das Verfahren wegen Mangel an französischer Gegengefälligkeit hörte auf, weil die Franzosen nach der Meinung der kaiserlichen-königlichen Militärbehörden sie nicht einhielten.¹⁹⁾ Die Harmonisierung des formalen Tauschvorganges erledigten die miteinander in offizieller Verbindung stehenden Auswechslungskommissionen, nach Bedarf mit anderen Übergabeorten. Die Gefangenen aus den ungarischen Gebieten wurden mit der Koordinierung von Feldmarschallleutnant Bianchi, der eine kurze Zeit in Dotis (Tata) stationierte, durch die sogenannte alte Fleisshackerstraße (Ofen, Bicske, Raab, Wien), durch Hainburg, Fischamend und Schwechat um Wien ausgebogen bis Hütteldorf und Pischdorf, später Sieghartskirchen begleitet.²⁰⁾ Die Beförderung der Gefangenen aus Böhmen erledigte eine in Budweis aufgestellte Kommission.²¹⁾ Die Auswechslungen leitete aus französischer Seite General Mathieu Dumas – er ist nicht identisch mit dem Vater von Alexandre Dumas d. Ä., der 1807 starb – mit der Mitarbeit von Adjutant

Romeuf.²²⁾ Sein Partner war Generalmajor Neipperg, der für die Zurückbringung der kaiserlichen-königlichen Gefangenen aus deutschen Gebieten verantwortlich war, mit Standort München sowie mit Annahmestelle Braunau und Lambach.²³⁾ Die im Süden gewesenen Kriegsgefangenen, vorwiegend Italienern, wurden auch stufenweise über Dalmatien zurückgeliefert. Die Heimlieferungen erlitten wegen eines interessanten logistischen Zwischenfalls Verspätung, da der Hochzeitszug von Marieluise für eine Woche in Mitte März mehr als tausend Pferde benötigte.²⁴⁾ Die Entlassung der polnischen, beziehungsweise mit zeitgenössischem Wortgebrauch warschaueren, Gefangenen war nahtlos, sie durften zumeist in das Heimatland abtreten. Die Heimschaffung der französischen Gefangenen endete letztlich bis Ende April 1810, ein paar Dutzende unlieferbare Rekonvaleszenten sind Ausnahmen. Die ehemaligen kaiserlichen-königlichen Gefangenen wurden von ihren alten Truppen noch im November empfangen.²⁵⁾ Als Summation kann festgestellt werden, dass der Feldzug von 1809 mit seinem Vorbild von 1805 für die kaiserliche-königliche Kriegsmacht, also für die Habsburgermonarchie allerdings zu katastrophalem Erfolg

führte, aber als potenter Kriegsführender, in ungünstigem Maße, dennoch einen großen Teil des Menschenmaterials des Gegners unwirksam machte. Die Provinzen der ungarischen Krone trugen zu dem Gefangenen-Krisismanagement, gleich zu der früheren und den folgenden Zeitperioden, die Humanität mitverstanden anerkennenswert bei.

- 1) H.K.R. 1809. G. 2310.
- 2) H.K.R. 1809. G. 2310.
- 3) H.K.R. 1809. G. 2555.
- 4) H.K.R. 1809. G. 2361.
- 5) H.K.R. 1809. G. 2361. und H.K.R. 1809. G. 2385.
- 6) H.K.R. 1809. G. 2372.
- 7) H.K.R. 1809. G. 2496.
- 8) H.K.R. 1809. G. 2386.
- 9) H.K.R. 1809. G. 2588.
- 10) H.K.R. 1809. G. 2406.
- 11) H.K.R. 1809. G. 2638.
- 12) H.K.R. Präsidiale 1809-10-15 beziehen sich auf das Ereignis.
- 13) H.K.R. 1810. L. 1117.
- 14) H.K.R. 1813. L. 3350.
- 15) H.K.R. 1813. L. 3739.
- 16) H.K.R. 1813. L. 3907.
- 17) H.K.R. 1810. G. 4304.
- 18) H.K.R. Präsidiale 1809-10-11
- 19) H.K.R. 1810. G. 6181.
- 20) H.K.R. 1810. G. 462. und 5514.
- 21) H.K.R. 1809. G. 5538.
- 22) H.K.R. 1809. G. 5563.
- 23) H.K.R. 1810. L. 268. und G. 1566.
- 24) H.K.R. 1810. G. 2265.
- 25) H.K.R. 1810. L. 1221.

navian soil and probably spent very few moments contemplating Scandinavian affairs. There was an irony at the heart of Napoleon's impact on Scandinavia, insofar as it owed less to his deliberate policies than to how Scandinavian monarchs and statesmen adapted their own policies to his, or, on occasion, what they thought were Napoleon's policies. Such was indeed the Emperor's magnitude.

Scandinavia's Way into the Napoleonic Wars

Now, none of this is to suggest that Scandinavia was no concern to Napoleon at all. The League of Armed Neutrality in early 1801, in which the Scandinavian countries joined Russia and Prussia in what in all but name was a war against Britain, was certainly beneficial to the young Consulate, short-lived though the league was. Sweden's joining the Third Coalition in 1805 was probably less beneficial, but the Franco-Swedish fighting in Northern Germany was hardly more than a nuisance to Napoleon. "Have I been war with Sweden?", Frederick II of Prussia had allegedly remarked when the Swedes had sued for peace in 1762, upon the conclusion of the Seven Years' War. Napoleon may well have asked himself the same question when the Swedish army left Pomerania in September 1807, although the Swedish King Gustav's vehement protests against the execution of the Duc d'Enghien and Napoleon's German policy had at least been cause for acknowledgement in *Le Moniteur*, if of a rather scornful kind.

Eagle over the Periphery: Napoleon and Scandinavia

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Introduction

Around 9pm on 5 July 1807, a light Nordic summer eve, two peasants got into a knife fight in a tavern somewhere in remote northwestern Finland. Alcohol-induced fighting was nothing uncommon in this particular part of the Nordic region, but

this incident was nevertheless quite peculiar, insofar as it sprung up out of an argument over which was the more powerful: Emperor Napoleon or Emperor Alexander. Apparently this was so important to these two peasants that they were prepared to make it a matter of life and death.

Soon enough Napoleon and Alexander became a matter of life and death for many more Scandinavians than the two Finnish peasants. The Peace of Tilsit brought the Napoleonic wars to Scandinavia; and, much like elsewhere in Europe, the impact of war, in geographical, political, social and demographical terms, can hardly be underestimated. The Napoleonic Wars changed Scandinavia forever. In this, Napoleon played a crucial part, although he never set foot on Scandi-

Scandinavia's strategic significance increased in the wake of Tilsit. Sweden, still allied to Britain, and the neutral united kingdoms of Denmark and Norway were holes in the Continental Blockade, whereas Britain feared being shut out from the Baltic in the event that Denmark-Norway would side with Napoleon. The substantial Danish-Norwegian fleet could easily block the entrance to the Baltic Sea. Moreover, after Trafalgar it could well become a valuable asset to Napoleon. Although perhaps not a primary concern in London, there was also a possibility that the Danish-Norwegian fleet could provide Napoleon with the means to mount an expedition to Ireland, which, if anything, gave the British government yet another reason to keep a close eye on Copenhagen.

Napoleon was also looking toward Scandinavia. The plan after Tilsit was to bring Sweden and Denmark-Norway, alongside Portugal, into the Franco-Russian fold and the Continental Blockade, if need be by force. Napoleon pointed at Finland, then part of Sweden, an attack on which would serve double purpose of diverting Russia's attention from other parts of Europe as well as beating the Swedes into submission. Any action toward Sweden and Finland would obviously have to be carried out by the Russians.

Denmark, however, was within Napoleon's own reach. As things turned out, he needed not do much. After Tilsit, French troops under Marshal Jean Baptiste Bernadotte stood at the Danish border in Holstein, poised to bend Danish ears if they refused to join the Continental Blockade, and a French envoy was dispatched to the Danish-Norwegian Crown Prince Regent Frederick's headquarters in Kiel to deliver the ultimatum. Frederick had already been oscillating between Britain and France for quite a while, knowing that Denmark-Norway's days as a neutral power were numbered and that war with either would be a disaster for his state. But before the French envoy arrived at his headquarters, the British government helped Frederick make up his mind as to which side to join in war by bombarding his capital of Copenhagen in September 1807, before sailing off with the entire Danish-Norwegian fleet, its chief asset in international politics.

After this debacle the Danish-Norwegian king had nowhere else to look but to Napoleon, but an alliance with France was not a given. Fearful of French reprisals for having failed to prevent his fleet from falling into British hands intact, and knowing well that without it Denmark-Norway was not an attractive ally, Crown Prince Frederick dispatched a personal letter to Napoleon in October, in which he begged for an alliance. The alliance was graciously granted by Napoleon at Fontainebleau on 31 October. This marked the beginning of a relationship between Napoleonic France and Denmark-Norway that would last until 1814, after all Napoleon's other allies had abandoned him. For this reason, Frederick of Denmark-Norway is frequently portrayed as Napoleon's most loyal and sincere ally. This was even acknowledged by Na-

poleon himself, at least on St. Helena, where he remarked that he regretted not having done more to help Frederick, for whom the Napoleonic alliance came at a very high cost.

The treaty between France and Denmark-Norway signed in October 1807 contained a secret article obliging Denmark-Norway to join Russia in an attack on Sweden, lest the Swedish government sever her ties with Britain and join the Continental Blockade. Unsurprisingly, King Gustav was not much inclined to do so. A commitment to military action against Sweden was something Danish-Norwegian diplomats had desperately sought to avoid, but from a military perspective it was Denmark-Norway's only source of attraction to Napoleon. Thus, when Sweden refused to give in a Scandinavian war became inevitable. It began with Russia's invasion of Finland in February 1808, soon followed by clashes along the Norwegian border.

Napoleon and Scandinavia

To Napoleon, the Scandinavian war was primarily meant to help expand the Continental Blockade and keep the Russians busy. Thus, he was not enthused by Emperor Alexander's request that French troops aid the planned Danish-Norwegian invasion of Southern Sweden, but nevertheless agreed to send some 35,000 Dutch, Spanish and French troops under Marshal Bernadotte's command to Denmark in early March 1808. This, too, was in fact something that the Danish-Norwegian government had been desperate to avoid; not only because of the prohibitive costs of keeping the foreign troops fed and quartered, but also from fear that these troops, once on Danish territory, would never leave. Such fears appeared to come true when the Royal Navy returned to Danish waters before the Danish army and Bernadotte's troops could set across the Sound, following a severe delay in the preparations of the invasion of Sweden. The delay was mainly caused by orders from Napoleon to Bernadotte to reverse the marching order of Bernadotte's army so that the French contingent would form the rearguard of the train marching toward the Sound. Napoleon's line of reasoning is not entirely clear, but it is likely that he would rather have a 35,000 strong army stranded in Denmark than in Sweden once the Royal Navy returned. In any event, the Russians

soon had the Swedish army ejected from Finland and, though there was no invasion of Sweden from the west, the Swedes were forced to sue for peace with France in January 1810, having lost Finland and dethroned Gustav IV in the meantime.

King Gustav IV hated Napoleon, seeing in him the beast from the Book of Revelation and insisting that Napoleon only be referred to in Sweden as General Buonaparte. Sweden's disastrous war with Russia and France in 1808 and 1809, which also left Swedish finances in tatters, is often attributed to Gustav's personal hatred toward Napoleon. Yet, it did not guide Swedish foreign policy. Severing Sweden's ties with Britain, however strained they had become by late 1807, would have absolutely disastrous economic consequences, whereas Napoleon could neither threaten nor protect Sweden. Russia posed very a serious threat, however, but Gustav hoped that war could be postponed until the summer of 1808, when the Royal Navy could come to his aid, or the political situation might be entirely different. It was not to be, but the fact remained that as long as war with Russia and Britain could be avoided, Sweden would be relatively safe. The Swedes were probably too accustomed to fighting Russia to think of this as a viable alternative, but as he glanced across the Sound from the beaches of Zealand, catching glimpses of Scania behind the vessels of the Royal Navy, a certain French marshal made a mental note of this fact.

Marshal Bernadotte's presence in Denmark in 1808 soured Franco-Danish relations. The cost of maintaining Bernadotte's army was an immense burden on the Danish-Norwegian treasury, while French promises of commercial treaties and loans never materialized. Moreover, war and the breakdown of commercial ties with Britain sent Denmark-Norway spiraling into recession and eventually into bankruptcy in 1813. This left the Danish-Norwegian king with all sorts of trouble, internal unrest high among them, as many of his subjects in the German-speaking duchy of Holstein and Norway began to contemplate alternatives to being ruled from Copenhagen. The Norwegians had their way in 1814, whereas the conflict over Holstein lingered on until it was resolved by war exactly half a century later.

The main turn of events in Scandinavia in the age of Napoleon occurred when one of Napoleon's marshals acquired the Swedish throne and turned against his former master. This shrewd marshal was of course Bernadotte, who changed the course of Scandinavian history, but could not have done so without Napoleon. Still, the irony is less that one of Napoleon's marshals turned against him than the fact that Bernadotte's election owed mainly to what the Scandinavians thought Napoleon was thinking, in the absence of any clear directives from the Emperor himself.

The Swedish Succession Crisis of 1810

The two Swedish succession crises of 1809 and 1810 were complicated affairs. In 1809 centuries of rivalry between Sweden and Denmark-Norway appeared to be over when the Swedish Diet of the Estates elected the Danish-Norwegian Prince Christian August of Augustenburg as successor to the new king of Sweden: the ageing, childless, physically fragile and increasingly senile Charles XIII. Crown Prince Charles August, which was the Prince of Augustenburg's adopted name as heir to the throne, was desperate to unite the Scandinavian kingdoms. He immediately began to plot how he could make this happen, but in May 1810, four months after his arrival in Stockholm and two months short of his 42nd birthday, the modest-living Crown Prince suffered a stroke and died.

This unleashed the second Swedish succession crisis in only a year, beginning in early June 1810. It quickly transpired that the most serious contenders for Charles August's place as heir to the throne were his older brother, the Duke of Augustenburg; Prince Christian Frederick, heir to the Danish-Norwegian throne; and, finally, King Frederick of Denmark-Norway. A number of other names were brought up as well, but by July 1810, no one seriously doubted that one of these three candidates would be elected by the Swedish Diet, which was to convene on 23 July. The most likely choice appeared to be the Duke of Augustenburg, who appeared to possess many of the same qualities as his brother, apart from his complete lack of military experience. Contemporary bookmakers would probably have held Prince Christian Frederick as second favou-

rite, who, at 24, was known as an able, intelligent and liberal-minded individual. These were indeed rare qualities among Danish-Norwegian royalty, which for centuries had delivered monarchs who were either drunk or mad, or both. True, King Frederick VI, who had ruled in his schizophrenic father's place since the age of 16, was mentally balanced and even easy on the bottle, but in return he was a stubborn reactionary and never one to compromise, least of all with the Swedish constitution. When, shortly after the fall of King Gustav in 1809, he approached by a Swedish diplomat, sent to Copenhagen to sound out Frederick's feelings on possibly ascending the Swedish throne, King Frederick had the diplomat removed from his sight with the remark that he found it "difficult to negotiate with a nation that must wholly be regarded as insurgents". Needless to say, whatever popularity he might have enjoyed in Sweden dwindled after this. Unfortunately for the Swedes, Frederick had changed his mind one year later and now wanted the Swedish throne anyway, which was basically his for the taking if Napoleon so wished.

So with this in mind King Frederick set about to secure his Napoleon's support. So did the Swedish government, but for the exact opposite reason: It was desperate to avoid Frederick and favoured the Duke of Augustenburg and, if not him, then Prince Christian Frederick. Everyone knew that Napoleon would have the last word: "It is my firm impression that the people of Sweden are absolutely ready to submit to Napoleon's wishes", the Danish envoy to Stockholm reported and was supported in this assertion the French envoy, Desaugiers, though the hapless French diplomat had yet to hear anything from his master in Paris, even as the election was approaching. Still, Desaugiers assured all parties concerned that the question of the Swedish throne was of utmost importance to Napoleon, having reported to Paris that both governments appeared to favour the Duke of Augustenburg, though this was of course not entirely true, given King Frederick's interest.

Napoleon was not overly interested in the matter, but he realized that it had implications for his relations with Emperor Alexander. At Erfurt Napoleon had basically left Scandinavia as Russia's sphere of interest but in the

face of growing tensions with St. Petersburg he was keen to make sure that Sweden was not coaxed into electing a Russian puppet, as it were. Yet, he was reluctant to interfere too blatantly as to avoid provoking Alexander prematurely. For this reason, King Frederick appeared to be a good match as far as Napoleon was concerned: After all, Denmark-Norway was Russia's old ally, and surely Alexander would not mind seeing a united Scandinavia under his faithful ally's rule? Consequently, on 17 June the *Journal de l'Empire* spoke warmly of Frederick; and on the same day Napoleon told a Danish-Norwegian diplomat that if Frederick saw it as his own best interest to seek a union of the Nordic crowns, Napoleon would not oppose his efforts. This was a declaration of moral support, but it was not quite an endorsement. Yet, as things stood it might well have been enough to secure Frederick's election had it not been for the fact that Napoleon was receiving mixed signals from Copenhagen and Stockholm.

On 22 June, Napoleon received a report from Desaugiers as well as a letter from Charles XIII of Sweden, which both advocated the Duke of Augustenburg as the best candidate. As far as Napoleon was concerned, this was even better: It would still bring Sweden and Denmark-Norway closer together but not immediately into a union, and was thus even less likely to stir up any controversy in St. Petersburg. As far as Napoleon could see, the Duke of Augustenburg, a former minister in the Danish cabinet, would be acceptable to King Frederick and, in any event, Napoleon had not promised the Danish King any active support. A thumbs-up for the Duke of Augustenburg, if that was what the Swedes wanted, thus appeared to Napoleon as more sensible than to take the trouble to persuade the Swedes to elect the Danish-Norwegian king. On 24 June he explained as much to the Swedes, before instructing his envoys in Copenhagen and Stockholm, Didelot and Alquier, who was just about to leave Paris for Stockholm, to voice support for King Charles XIII's preferred candidate, i.e. the Duke of Augustenburg. Foreign minister Champagny was given similar instructions to, "warmly, but without compromising myself, support the Prince of Denmark", also in reference to the Duke of Augustenburg. And so the matter seemed to be settled when the Swedish Diet of the

Estates convened in the city of Örebro on 23 July 1810.

This is where things started to get weird, first in Denmark. Relations between King Frederick and the Duke of Augustenburg had long been strained, and now they turned on each other in their quest for the Swedish throne. It soon dawned on King Frederick that the Duke of Augustenburg held the upper hand in Sweden as well as in the court of Napoleon and, indeed, was very close to being elected. So to prevent the Duke from travelling to Sweden to appear before the Diet of the Estates, which would almost certainly secure his election, King Frederick imposed a wholesale naval blockade on the island of Als, where the Duke was residing, ostensibly to protect him from being kidnapped by zealous Swedes. This measure backfired severely, both in the short and long terms. In the long term, it would contribute to Denmark's war with Prussia in 1864 and the loss of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. In the short term, it paved the way for other candidates.

Bernadotte's Way to the Swedish Throne

A few weeks earlier, on 4 June, the Danish envoy to Stockholm had reported to Copenhagen of the many rumours surrounding the forthcoming election of a new heir to the Swedish throne. In a passing phrase, the envoy noted that it appeared as if Swedish military circles favoured a French candidate to ensure the closest possible ties to France. Names such as Jean Baptiste Bernadotte and Lucien Bonaparte were mentioned, while the envoy joked that, "if there are more Grand Seigneurs in France who have fallen out of favour, I suppose they will be considered as well".

Yet, the envoy was onto something. Unimpressed by the military capabilities of either of the three leading Danish candidates, and keen to cement relations with France so that Finland could be reconquered in what many saw as an inevitable Franco-Russian showdown, a number of Swedish officers were looking to France. When word got out in early July that Napoleon appeared to favour the Duke of Augustenburg, one officer, who had been sent to Paris to try and acquire some sort of statement from Napoleon on the matter, the 28-year old lieutenant Otto Mörner, carved out a diplomatic course of his own and

began making rounds among French marshals. A number of rejections later he eventually landed at Marshal Bernadotte's doorstep.

Mörner told Bernadotte the Swedes were very much inclined to elect a French marshal and that Bernadotte was just perfect for the job. This was a lie, but it did the trick with the Bernadotte, who was looking for a fresh start after Wagram. He approached Napoleon with the news, which gave the Emperor a bit of a headache: A Frenchman on the Swedish throne was perhaps a good idea, as Napoleon saw it, but hardly Bernadotte, whom he did not trust, and, in any event, would not much please Emperor Alexander. Yet, conflict with Russia was already looming on the horizon and surely there was no way even for Bernadotte not to be swept along with Swedish revanchist sentiments in the event of war. Thus, Alquier, who was about to leave for Stockholm just in time to inform the Swedes that the Duke of Augustenburg was Napoleon's preferred candidate, was stopped in his tracks. Still, no word was given to Desaugiers in Stockholm. Bernadotte, meanwhile, went back to Mörner and replied to the lieutenant's lie with a half-truth of his own: He had Napoleon's unconditional support, he said, and would be delighted to consider a Swedish election.

Mörner's return to Stockholm on caused much confusion, and even landed him in jail when the king found out that he had far exceeded his mandate, to put it mildly. Shortly thereafter, the Diet of the Estates convened and seemed certain to elect the Duke of Augustenburg, although some, including the King, had briefly lobbied for Prince Christian Frederick. Meanwhile, King Frederick had desperately tried to rally Napoleon behind his own candidacy rather than the Duke, but it was too late. Since Mörner's departure from Paris, Bernadotte had used his time well. He enlisted the former French consul in Gothenburg, Jean Fournier, to promote his candidacy in Sweden. Fournier hurried off to Örebro and arrived as the Diet of the Estates was about to cast its vote. Whatever Fournier did, it worked. His activities at Örebro remain in the fog, but there can be no doubt that he made much of Bernadotte's military record and especially his wealth, promising huge loans to the Swedish treasury at low interest.

To Swedes thirsting for revenge against Russia and on the verge of bankruptcy, this sounded good. The crucial margin was probably the use of Bernadotte's personal wealth beyond mere reference. So while King Frederick busied himself with making sure that his navy confined the Duke of Augustenburg to his residence, the Swedish Diet of the Estates proceeded to elect Bernadotte as Crown Prince Charles John of Sweden.

If Frederick was disappointed with the lack of support from Napoleon, this was not where the blame was put by others in the king's cabinet. The Foreign Minister, Rosenkrantz bitterly lamented that King Frederick had not done more at a much earlier stage to secure Napoleon's firm support for basically any of the Danish candidates. His irritation was shared by the heir to the throne, Christian Frederick, who even dared tell the king exactly how he felt: "If one sits quietly in inactivity, one must give up any thought of unification of the kingdoms," he wrote, and concluded, "Unfortunately, the moment to win Sweden's crown peacefully by a vote of the Diet of the Estates appears to have been lost". This was not all King Frederick would lose during the Napoleonic Wars.

The Loyal and Devoted King Frederick?

As is fairly well-known, Bernadotte, as Crown Prince of Sweden, turned his back on Napoleon in 1812 and joined the Sixth Coalition in Germany the year after, although he appears to have been more interested in pursuing his personal ambitions and Sweden's quest for Norway than bringing Napoleon down. Conversely, King Frederick of Denmark-Norway remained by Napoleon's side until all the other allies had abandoned the Emperor. Not only that: Hardly anywhere else was the Continental Blockade enforced more rigidly than in Denmark and Norway, whereas King Frederick repeatedly renewed his alliance with Napoleon, pledging ever more troops, even as Napoleon's South German allies were jumping ship. In this light one may be forgiven for thinking that Frederick was a sincere, loyal and devoted ally right until the end.

The truth is, he was not. Rather, he clung on to Napoleon from fear and awe, and he was certainly not the only European monarch to do so.

The real difference was that Frederick never really got the chance to escape and, even when he did, his awe of Napoleon prevented him from seizing it.

Basically, the French military contingent in Northern Germany posed a very real threat to Schleswig, Holstein and Jutland, and thus a substantial part of Danish territory. Napoleon made sure to remind the Danish-Norwegian government of this whenever English goods appeared in Hamburg, leading to ever stricter Danish measures to enforce the Continental Blockade. This was where Frederick's position differed substantially from that of Charles John, as there was no way for Napoleon to threaten Sweden proper after 1810. This gave Charles John the leeway he needed to side with Russia. Granted, Frederick could have left Denmark for Norway – like the Braganzas in Portugal sailed off to Brazil – but it is often forgotten that Jutland was Norway's bread basket, and that surrendering the peninsula to the French would probably have made the situation in Norway just as dire as did the British blockade, and made the Norwegians turn against Frederick in any case. Thus, it was hardly an option for him. What was more, Frederick could not easily side with Britain either, as that would have enraged Danish public opinion after the events of 1807.

When Napoleon invaded Russia in June 1812 and Bernadotte sided with Emperor Alexander, leaving no doubt as to his intentions, Foreign Minister Rosenkrantz suggested to King Frederick that this was probably a good time to abandon Napoleon, being as the French presence in Northern Germany was weakened and he could not really see how Napoleon could

defeat Russia. Yet, King Frederick, who was increasingly lending ear to his military advisors, shared their view that Napoleon was invincible. By the time they learned otherwise, Bernadotte had made sure that Norway would be Frederick's price of entry into the Sixth Coalition. Thus, Danish diplomacy in the winter of 1813 was almost exclusively concerned with trying to persuade Russia and Britain to go back on their pledges to Sweden. At one point, in May, it seemed as if they had succeeded, and Danish troops promptly joined the Russian against the French in Hamburg, before Frederick realized he was mistaken and was forced to make amends with Napoleon. A new treaty of alliance was duly signed in June, obliging Frederick to commit even more troops to Marshal Davout's army.

King Frederick then placed his hopes in a general European peace that could at least make Norway a matter of negotiation, but this opportunity was denied him when the Peace Conference in Prague fell through in August 1813. Meanwhile, his fear and awe of Napoleon persisted. The incident in Hamburg coincided with Napoleon's victories at Lutzen and Bautzen, which showed that Napoleon was far from destined to be defeated. As Dominic Lieven has recently argued, allied victory in Germany in 1813 was no foregone conclusion. King Frederick can therefore certainly be forgiven for thinking that the coalition powers could be forced to the negotiating table or even that Napoleon could triumph, after which any defector would probably be severely punished.

In the end, though, Napoleon fought on and was defeated, as was King

Frederick. After Leipzig, Charles John took his army north through Germany and forced Frederick to cede Norway in January 1814, thereby fundamentally changing the political geography of Scandinavia. Unlike Napoleon, Frederick was not dethroned, but the loss of Norway was devastating and Frederick was even threatened – above all by Charles John – to have his entire state dissolved. For many years after Vienna, Denmark remained something of a pariah state in international politics. Charles John, on the other hand, was victorious but missed out on his chief aim, The French throne and was also denied the Polish-Saxon throne. This may suggest that the former Marshal Bernadotte was not overly enthused by the prospect of remaining in Sweden, though he did until his death in 1844.

On a final note: For all his impact on the course of Scandinavian history, Napoleon had minimal institutional influence on the Scandinavian countries. This stands in marked contrast to many other parts of Europe, where Napoleon left a rich institutional legacy. The Code Napoléon has hardly had any influence on Scandinavian legal codes. Not even the celebrated Council of State was ever copied in Scandinavia; nor were departments and prefects, or even the gendarmerie. The Scandinavian constitutions, introduced in 1809, 1814 and 1849, took their cue more from the 'revolutionary' than the 'Napoleonic' model. Of course, all of this can be explained by the lack of direct exposure to Napoleonic rule, but as far as state-building goes, it may also reflect that much of what Napoleon and his collaborators were trying to achieve in Continental Europe had already been accomplished in Scandinavia. But that is a whole other matter. ●



Znojmo / Znaim. 10. – 11. 7. 1809

Pod křídly tří orlů Unter den Flügeln der drei Adler Under the wings of the three Eagles



Hier ruhen in Frieden die Überreste von 52 jungen Soldaten und einer Marketenderin aus sechs Massengräbern, von den Helden, die in der Schlacht von Znojmo/Znaim weit weg von ihrer Heimat ihr Leben geopfert haben.

Here rest in peace the remains of 52 young soldiers and one female sutler found in six mass graves, the heroes who had fallen in the battle of Znojmo/Znaim, a city far from their homeland.



*Zu Ehren des 210. Jahrestages der Schlacht gewidmet von der Stadt Znaim/Znojmo.
In honour of the 210th anniversary of the battle, the city of Znojmo dedicates the memorial.*

Napoleon in Vienna

Klaralinda Ma-Kircher

Numerous documents in the Vienna City Archives give an impression about the situation in Vienna during the occupation by Napoleonic troops in 1809. After the declaration of war the Austrian Emperor and the nobility left the town with their most precious properties. The population was left to their own devices. The defence took little more than one night. After the capitulation the French Governor Antoine-François Andréossy and the mayor of the city Stephan von Wohlleben organized food for the troops and the care of wounded soldiers after the battles of Aspern and Wagram. Not least because of the high prevalence of the French language among the educated citizenship the interaction between the enemy and the population remained largely friction-free. They met each other in the salons. There was even something of admiration for the French Emperor, who spoke even with a simple soldier, who lifted the censorship and who invited citizens to theatre performances in his accommodation in Schönbrunn. Quite a few citizens did lucrative business with the occupiers. But there were also serious incidents and at the end of the occupation the fortifications were destroyed, - as where they in every other conquered city.

In the Vienna City Archives there are a lot of documents about the second French occupation, such as proclamations, enactments, regulation papers and correspondences. These and even a lot of diaries and private letters give a comprehensive impression about the situation of the urban population before and during the occupation.

As at the end of December 1808 Austria declared another war against France to put an end to Napoleon's politics of expansion, the following months were marked by impressive propaganda. In Austria the call to form a Landwehr – a Corps of volunteers – was followed by far more people than expected. The patriotic mood captured almost the entire population. There were solemn flag-

consecration, events in theatres and concerts with patriotic songs. When the Landwehr left Vienna the city government initiated a fundraising for financial support for the families left behind. In the Army command they were speaking of defence of the Fatherland, of a stolen throne and of salvation. With the Declaration of War on 11th of April the works at the city fortification began, installing the cannons and weapons, removing bridges and some buildings. The same day the city government adopted a regulation to ban all foreigners from Vienna.

Most inhabitants of the suburbs prepared to flee. The food supply became a serious problem. Since beginning of the year the prices increased twice to fourfold due to hoarding.

The travel preparations of the aristocracy and the imperial court seemed not confidently. The most important parts of the imperial collections, archives and funds were moved to Hungary. The Emperor and his family were the last to leave the residence. Archduke Maximilian d'Este, the brother of the Empress, was appointed city commander. He gave the surprising command to defend the town, to the great concern of the city government. All objections were not heard by the Emperor. The proximity of the French troops accelerated the preparations. After some battalions of the Landwehr came back to town, the citizens also pushed for the arsenal to arm themselves. The city gates were either closed or prepared for defence. Hospitals were set up, animals were deposited for slaughter in the courtyard of a monastery, even a good amount of schnapps was stocked up in the cellar of the arsenal. All bakers in the city were obliged to bake bread for the bakeries of the military as they expected a siege. Many people followed the call of the city government to bring weapons and war material into the city.

After the battle of Ebelsberg the French army occupied the Vienna outskirts.

The 8th of May French troops came closer to the city walls without resistance. The city was defended by 16.000 men from militia, Landwehr and regular troops and furt-



Napoleon after the Battle of Aspern

her 1000 students. Marshal Jean Lannes applied for surrender, but this has been refused several times. After a renewed refusal of the capitulation the city was shelled during the night of 11th to 12th of May. There were 10 dead, around 100 injured persons and a lot of material damage. Archduke Maximilian left the town in the early morning and handed over the General's command to Count O'Reilly. Andréossy addressed a quite friendly proclamation and a few hours later Napoleon received a delegation of honorary citizens to Schönbrunn. The capitulation was signed the following night. After this the first soldiers came into town and were accommodated with the population. Austrian soldiers were disarmed and sent home. The Viennese militia was entrusted with the maintenance of the order. Napoleon's Order of 13th of May contained, in addition to assurances of goodwill and understanding,

Französische Artillerie beschießt die Stadt Wien





1. Ausgabe der Wiener Zeitung unter französischer Intendanz, vom 20. Mai, Nr. 37:

„Die Siege Napoleons des Großen sind nicht nur das Wunder und der Stolz des Jahrhunderts, sie sind auch das Glück und die Wohlfahrt der Nationen. Von dem Augenblicke des Sieges stehen die überwundenen Nationen unter dem Schutz des Siegers, des Helden und des Weisen, der von der Vorsehung dazu bestimmt scheint, die durch Vorurteile und Faktionen geängstigten Völker zu beruhigen und sie zu ihrer eigentlichen Bestimmung, zur höheren Stufe der Selbstständigkeit, des eigenen Denkens und Wirkens zu erheben.“

certain words against the House of Habsburg and hidden threats against any sort of resistance. In the meantime, the French occupying forces confiscated the magistrate funds of 5.5 million gulden. Little by little life normalized. Restaurants, coffee houses and theatres reopened. The newspaper “Wiener Zeitung” reappeared with a different content as before the occupation. Booksellers immediately published guides through Vienna or offered German-French dictionaries to facilitate also the occupants’ communication with the population. The upper bourgeoisie was familiar with French anyways and some diaries report well-kept conversations with the enemy. Every baker in the city was ordered to bake 400 portions of bread every day for the French army. They were not only busy but also paid well – with the money of the magistrate funds. Not only was there no capacity to supply the whole population, but there were also constant complaints about the quality and weight of the bread. Although the city government has made a great effort to meet the wishes of the occupiers, there have often been complaints regarding the provision of services. There were proclamations that regulated exactly the food and the equipment of the accommodated soldiers. It was very bitter for the providers of accommodation, when they hardly had to live themselves. Not all soldiers were housed in private accommodation. Above all, after the battles injured soldiers who, after

initial care, were given into care to the citizens for final recovery. Many soldiers lived in bivouacs. This had the advantage that the army could be made ready for battle immediately and did not have to be collected from individual quarters. The French army supplied by requisition on the spot and bought what they needed – sometimes with confiscated funds. A few Viennese made the business of their lives, often at the expense of their fellow citizens. Napoleon continued preparation for battle. Bridges were built, hospitals were prepared and arms requisitioned. The population was involved in this work. One citizen who refused to cooperate was shot in front of his son. Other incidents also kept any resistance within limits. On 21st of May the French army crossed the Danube and moved into the Lobau area. Even though the result of the battle of Aspern is celebrated as an Austrian victory to this day, we know that it was a draw at its best. While the Austrians were leaving the victory untouched the French did everything in their power to succeed in another battle. Napoleon ordered all scattered troops in forced marches to Vienna. All horses were confiscated, hospitals prepared and entrenchments built. Napoleon urged the citizen militia to unity, calm and modesty and consequently followed up irregularities of his own soldiers. In addition to attacks on the population and espionage, gambling and the sale of hauls were severely punished. Viennese bakers faced the usual problems and by a regulation of the 11th of June, actresses, female singers and dancers were forbidden to look out of the window, as this had led to a massive fight. In the hospitals a fever broke out and claimed more lives

than under normal circumstances. The morning of 15th of June there was a funeral service for the composer Joseph Haydn, who died on 31st of May. The composer was also highly esteemed in France and many French military officials attended the mourning celebration in the Schottenkirche and listened to Mozart’s Requiem. Three or four times a week there were theatre performances in Schönbrunn by a French troupe of actors where the beautiful ladies of Vienna also have been invited, as Captain Jean-Roch Coignet noted in his diary. On 24th of June the carpenter Peter Tell, leader of the militia of the suburb of Spittelberg, was executed. He refused to use weapons in a confrontation and in a dispute he broke the epee of a French officer. The next day the 60-year-old saddler Jakob Eschenbacher was executed. He had buried three canon pipes in his garden, less as a sign of resistance, but more because of the metal value. A few decades later during a patriotic review of history two streets in Vienna were named after these two victims of the occupation. The population was particularly outraged about the behaviour of the Bavarian troops, and the Portuguese soldiers had a reputation of attacks on the female population. Nobody could escape the presence of Napoleon and the attractiveness of the troop parades. Some sources show how remarkably it was felt that the French emperor himself spoke to common soldiers. With command of 29th of May, Napoleon ordered the release of political prisoners. Above all, this meant the liberation of those who had been imprisoned since the Jacobin trials in 1795. In the Viennese theatres, pieces were played that were banned by Austrian censorship.