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A SUMMARY OF TALKS AND ARTICLES

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The Swedish Cavalry Regiments of the Napoleonic Wars

Björn Bergérus (Stockholm)

Part 2

Some Cavalry Regimental History.

A brief history of three Swedish cavalry regiments during the Napoleonic Wars.

Livgardet till häst – the Horse Guards.

This unit was formed in Finland 1770, based at the town of Borgå/ Porvoo close to Helsinki, to guard the river of Kymmene and the Swedish-Russian border. The unit was composed of three companies (later called squadrons) of 50 men each. When inspected in 1771 the commander found “that all dragoons were made up of Swedish or Finnish, all happy, well spirited and particularly beautiful people”.

In the bloodless coup d'état by Gustavus III in 1772, the unit's commander Jakob Magnus Sprengtporten took a force of some 1.000 men and sailed to Stockholm from Finland to support the king. Due to poor winds, however, he arrived only some two weeks after the successful coup d'état. The king was nevertheless very grateful and made 100 men of the unit into the King's personal bodyguard to reside in the capital of Stockholm.

Sprengtporten was also made the commander of both the Foot and Cavalry Guards. The new guard unit was given the name Lätta drago-

nerna av livgardet – the Light Dragoons of the Lifeguard. History tells that the old guard regiments – the Life Regiment and the Foot Guards - found it hard to regard the dragoons as their equals with resulting petty disputes between officers and even coming to blows between the troopers.

In 1777 the two parts of the regiment - in Sweden and Finland respectively - were amalgamated to the Stockholm area, counting four squadrons of 200 men total. In 1793 the name was changed to Livhusarregementet – the Life Hussar Regiment. At the end of the 1790s the unit was reduced to two squadrons and the name changed to Lätta livdragonregementet – the Light Life Dragoon Regiment.

About 90 troopers from the regiment were present during the campaign in and around Swedish Pomerania (North Germany) against the French in 1805-07. The campaign was fruitless, as the troops eventually had to retire before a more numerous French foe.

The commander Löwenhjelm and four troopers still got medals for bravery for a delaying action during a crossing of the river Elbe.

The regiment's name was changed again in 1806 to Konungens lifgarde till häst – the King's Horse Guard - or simply the Horse Guards. The regiment also fought in the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-09. One squadron took part in a landing operation against Turko/Åbo that resulted in hard fighting that is said to have lasted for 14 hours. The total Swedish force was some 3.000 – mostly militia. The commander

von Vegesack writes of the Horse Guard that they “fought as a guard should fight; they have with the greatest manly courage endured the renewed attacks of the enemy and never fallen back a single step”. Many troopers were mentioned for their good conduct during this battle, like trooper no. 4 Lind, who had “shot nine Russians, and freed him self and five men of the militia from captivity”. The poorly trained and equipped militia was regarded as quite useless during the fighting, why the Swedish eventually decided to return to their ships. As noted from this event, much of the fighting in Finland was skirmish-like, not comprising the huge number of troops seen on the continent.

Many of the cavalry would also have fought on foot, as the varied and wooded terrain of Sweden-Finland did not offer terrain ideal for large-scale cavalry charges, although the frozen waters during winter occasionally offered such space. During the landing operations, it would also have been considerably more difficult and impractical to transport and land horses of course. Later during the summer of 1808 a new landing attempt was made to cut off the Russian supply from their bases in the south of Finland. Three reduced infantry regiments, a battery of guns and two squadrons of Horse Guard took part. The landing force was soon engaged by the Russians, but could give support to another Swedish brigade at Lappfjärd under the Swedish General von Döbeln (immortalised by the Finnish poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg). After a successful

engagement the Horse Guard could pursue the fleeing Russians.

Von Vegesack then joined the main army and took part in the battle of Oravais close to Vaasa in Western Finland September 14th 1808. Here some 5-6.000 Swedes-Finns faced some 6-7.000 Russians - the only major battle of the Russo-Swedish war 1808-09.

At first it looked good for the Swedish-Finnish, but the battle finally ended in a Russian victory. During the winter of 1808-09 four squadrons of the Horse Guard were stationed on the Åland Islands, between the Finnish and Swedish mainland. Here several small skirmishes took place with Russian Cossacks – often on the frozen ice between the small islands. During one of these events, a trooper named Kämpe of the Horse Guards (Kämpe meaning ‘fighter’ in Swedish – soldiers were often given these short “soldiers’ names” that were easy to remember) is recorded to have cut one Cossack in the throat and broke his lance. The Swedish defenders were eventually forced to retreat over the frozen waters from Åland to the Swedish mainland before the advance of more numerous Russians. The Horse Guards covered the retreat, and was engaged several times in small skirmishes with harassing Russian Cossacks.

In August 1809 a final Swedish push was made with a landing designed to take back the town of Umeå on the Swedish mainland. The Swedish force was composed of 7.000 men, more numerous than the defending Russians. Two squadrons of the Horse Guards were present, although fighting on foot. The Swedish command was as slow and hesitant, as the Russian commander Kamenski was eager and determined. The Swedish suffered from not having mounted cavalry as scouts and over-estimated – as usual - the strength of the Russians. After some fighting the Swedish chose to retire and re-embark - the landing having been a failure. Five troopers of the horse guards nevertheless got medals for bravery. With the peace in 1809 Finland was lost to Russia and made

into a Grand Duchy under the Russian Tsar. A total of 24 medals of honour had been awarded to the men from the Horse Guard during the war.

The regiment was seriously decimated by the war - upon inspection the regiment had 95 horses present of which 34 were rejected for further service and about the rest they were said to be “very poor, due to serious fatigue, cold and - for the horse’s maintenance during the end of the campaign - a far too inadequate supply of food”.

During the campaigns of 1813-14 the Horse Guard mainly served as escort and bodyguard to the newly elected Crown Prince of Sweden, the former French Marshal Bernadotte, now commander of the allied Army of the North. The Horse Guard also functioned as a recruiting base for dispatch riders. In Germany the regiment also got new beautiful light blue hussar uniforms made up by the fine tailors of Berlin. After the short war with Norway in 1814 the Horse Guards were stationed in Fredrikshald, Norway, for some two months together with other Swedish troops to guarantee the peace treaty, in which Norway accepted Bernadotte as their king, joining a union with Sweden that lasted until 1905.

Source: K1 1928-2000 part 1 (ISBN 91-631-0434-2) in Swedish – “K1” stands for Cavalry (Kavalleri) Regiment No. 1.

Livregementsbrigadens kyrassiärkår

(The Cuirassier Corps of the Life Regiment Brigad)

The origins of this regiment dates back to 1667 when the Mounted Life Regiment was formed from the cavalry regiment of Uppland (the province in Sweden where both the capital of Stockholm and the town of Uppsala is situated) – a regiment that in turn can trace its history back to 1536.

However, the Cuirassier corps as such, was formally created in 1791 when the former Mounted Life Regiment was split into three units, the Cuirassier Corps as per

above, the Light Dragoons Corps of the Life Regiment (in 1795 re-named the Hussar Corps of the Life Regiment Brigade) and the Light Infantry Battalion of the Life Regiment Brigade (in 1808 renamed the Grenadier Corps of the Life Regiment Brigade).

The Mounted Life Regiment had its recruitment area all around lake Mälaren. For the cuirassiers in particular the recruiting area became the original area of Uppland, reaching north from Stockholm to around Uppsala. The unit was present during the campaign in Germany 1813 and was part of the Swedish cavalry present at the battle of Dennewitz, September 6th 1813. The Swedish general Skjöldebrand was ready to charge but was held back by Bernadotte, who figured that the French would fall back anyway, which they did.

The Cuirassier Corps was the only Swedish unit equipped with cuirasses. They would have started the period with a single front-plate, which was later changed to a full front- and back plate. The cuirass would although have become a bit out of fashion, and it is unclear how much it was really worn. When not wearing the cuirass, the unit had a full dress uniform, very similar to the uniform of the Scanian Carabineers, but with white collar and cuffs. Furthermore, for field duty, all Swedish cavalry regiments had an undress uniform, generally made in reverse colours, which for the Cuirassier Corps meant a white jacket with dark blue collar and cuffs.

Source: K1 1928-2000 part 1 (ISBN 91-631-0434-2) in Swedish – “K1” stands for Cavalry Regiment No. 1.

Jämtlands hästjägarskvadron

(The Jämtland Mounted Rifle Squadron)

This unit was probably the cavalry regiment based farthest north in Europe. It had its base in the province of Jämtland around the lake Storsjön, opposite the Norwegian city of Trondheim. The unit dates back to the 17th century.

The regiment’s primary task would

have been to guard the border against Norway, but also, in time of need, to defend the Swedish east coast against Russian intrusion and attempts of invasion.

In the 1770ies it was said that due to the difficult terrain the cavalry should be equipped as light dragoons and mounted on less frightened, capable and lively mounts of the country's own breed. As Sweden had a shortage of horses it was also proposed that the regiment be converted into infantry, but this proposal fell, partly because of protests from the local population. One reason behind the strong local support for keeping the regiment as cavalry might have been that the existing system exempted most of the rural population from military draft, where any change of the existing order might have been perceived as 'dangerous'.

According to a royal decree of 1802 it is said that the unit become Mounted Sharpshooters (mounted 'Jägare'). As the new name of 1806 suggests - Jämtlands hästjägar-skvadron (the Jämtland Mounted Rifle Squadron) – the unit was small, perhaps even as few as 100 troopers - and definitely not more than 250, which would have been the size of an 'old' squadron.

In 1815 the name changed to Jägar-kompaniet till häst (the Mounted Rifle Company). As "Company" and "squadron" was used interchangeably during a period (see the notes on organisation), it is unclear if the actual size of the unit changed, but probably not.

During the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-09, the unit's main task was to patrol the eastern border of present day Sweden, but part of the company was also transferred to Österbotten - a Finnish province on the eastern side of the Gulf of Bothnia – taking part in the fighting. During 1809 the regiment partly acted as Sharpshooters on foot – for example when taking part in the small engagement around Hörnefors (30 km south of Umeå) on July 5th 1809.

After the Russo-Swedish War of 1808-09 the unit was disbanded, but summoned again to the colours in

1812-14 to patrol the Norwegian border and for the invasion of 1814.

Source: Umeås Blå Dragoner (ISBN 91-630-2364-4) in Swedish.

The Finnish cavalry regiments up till 1809 are also noted below, as Sweden-Finland was united under the same king since the Middle Ages until the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-1809, when Finland became an independent Grand-Duchy under the Russian Tsar.



Adelsfanan i Sverige och Finland

(The Flag of Nobles in Sweden and Finland)

This cavalry regiment was one of oldest in the world, formed some time around 1425. It was made up of nobles, originally part of the old 'vassal' duty to the King. In the 1680ies the unit consisted of 6 companies (600 men in total). One of the companies was stationed in Finland. Its importance gradually diminished and in 1809 the unit was disbanded seen as an archaic institution that was no longer needed.

Bohusläns dragonregemente

(The Bohuslän Dragoon Regiment)

The regiment's name refers to its recruitment area 'Bohuslän' - a province in the southwest of Sweden. The regiment was converted into infantry already in 1791 and renamed the Bohusläns regemente (The Bohuslän Regiment).

Karelska dragonkåren

(The Karelian Dragoon Corps)

This Finnish regiment's name refers to its recruitment area, as well as its main area of operations – Karelen

– the southeast border-region between Finland and Russia. The unit was disbanded after the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-09, when Finland became an independent Grand Duchy under the Russian Tsar until Finland's independence in 1917.

Livdragonregementet

(The Life Dragoon Regiment)

This Finnish regiment was converted into light infantry already in 1791 and was then formed into two battalions – one part of the infantry regiment of Åbo läns regemente, the other of Björneborgs regemente.

Nylands kavalleriregemente

(The Nyland Cavalry Regiment)

This Finnish unit originated from the Tavastehus och Nylands kavalleriregemente (the Tavastehus and Nyland Cavalry Regiment). The name originated from its recruitment area around Tavastehus/Hämeenlinna and the province of Nyland in the south of Finland. Part of the regiment was converted into a battalion of light infantry of the Tavastehus infantry regiment. Other parts of the regiment underwent several reorganizations before it became the Nyland Cavalry Regiment in 1805. The unit was disbanded after the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-09.

Västgöta dragonregemente

(The Västgöta Dragoon Regiment)

This regiment started the period under the name Västgöta kavalleriregemente (the Västgöta Cavalry Regiment). In 1792 it was converted into dragoons and in 1802 got the name Västgöta linjedragonregemente (the Västgöta Dragoon Regiment of the Line) and in 1806 simply the Västgöta dragonregemente (the Västgöta Dragoon Regiment). In 1811 it was dismounted and converted into infantry under the name Västgöta regemente (the Västgöta Regiment).

The regiment's name refers to its recruitment area of Västergötland – a province in the southwest of Sweden between the lakes Vänern and Vättern.

Östgöta kavalleriregemente (The Östgöta Cavalry Regiment)

This regiment was dismantled and converted into infantry already in 1791 under the name Livgrenadjärregementets rusthållsdivision (the Rusthållsdivision of the Life Grenadier Regiment; for an explanation of the word “rusthåll” see the notes on recruitment below). After 1816 it was renamed the Andra livgrenadjärregementet (the Second Life Grenadier Regiment).

The regiment’s name refers to the province of Östergötland in the southeast of Sweden, east of the lake Vättern.

The typical operational unit of the Russo-Swedish war of 1808-09 was otherwise often an independent mixed brigade. Usually it would have comprised of 6 battalions of infantry of the line, 1 battalion of Jägare (sharpshooters), 2 squadrons of hussars or dragoons and 1 battery of field artillery (6-8 guns – often 5-6 6-pdr guns and 1-2 8-pdr howitzers) – at full strength some 4.500 men. ■

Der Mantel Napoleons

Stefan Kurz (Wien)

In jenem Teil des Saal 3 des Heeresgeschichtlichen Museums, der dem Ende der Koalitionskriege und der Herrschaft Napoleons gewidmet ist, findet sich ein zunächst unscheinbar anmutendes Objekt, welches eine bemerkenswerte Geschichte mit vielfältigen historischen Bezügen aufweist. Diese sind ihm jedoch nicht sofort anzuerkennen und so dürfte diesem Exponat häufig wohl weniger Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt werden, als es sich verdienen würde. Es handelt sich dabei um den Uniformmantel des russischen Generals Pavel Andrejevič Šuvalov (1776 – 1823). Seine ganz besondere Bedeutung erlangte er dadurch, dass er 1814 von Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) während einer außergewöhnlichen Episode seines Ganges ins Exil auf der Insel Elba getragen wurde und so zu einem speziellen Sachzeugnis der Schlussphase der napoleonischen Ära geriet.



Russischer Generalsmantel des General Pavel A. Šuvalov, getragen von Napoleon Bonaparte
(HGM/Foto: Peter Svec pixXL®)

Die Vorgeschichte: Napoleons Abdankung

Nach der Niederlage Napoleons in der „Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig“ zwischen 16. und 19. Oktober 1813 war dieser endgültig in die strategische Defensive geraten. Er konnte bis Ende 1813 nur noch rund 56.000 Mann seines Feldheeres nach Frankreich zurückführen und trotz intensiver Bemühungen vermochte er für seine Hauptarmee danach kaum noch 80.000 Soldaten aufzubieten. Die weit überlegenen gegnerischen Streitkräfte der „Sech-





„*Siegesmeldung nach der Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig 1813*“, Ölgemälde von Johann Peter Krafft (Feldmarschallleutnant Koller ist zwischen Feldmarschallleutnant Joseph Graf Radetzky und Feldmarschall Karl Philipp Fürst Schwarzenberg abgebildet) (HGM)

sten Koalition“, die im Februar 1814 in Frankreich selbst einmarschierten, wollte Napoleon durch eine „Strategie der inneren Linie“, das heißt schnelle Bewegungen und rasche Schläge gegen die noch getrennt voneinander vorrückenden gegnerischen Kräftegruppierungen zurückschlagen. Trotz mehrerer für ihn erfolgreicher Schlachten und Gefechte scheiterte er darin, die Vereinigung der beiden gegnerischen Heere unter dem österreichischen Feldmarschall Felix Fürst Schwarzenberg (1771 – 1820) und dem preußischen Generalfeldmarschall Gebhard von Blücher (1742–1819), zu verhindern. Zuvor hatte Napoleon ein letztes Angebot eines Verständigungsfriedens durch die Alliierten ausgeschlagen, welches Napoleon die Kaiserwürde und Frankreich die Grenzen von 1792 erhalten hätte. Den vereinigten österreichischen, russischen, preußischen württembergischen und bayerischen Truppen gelang es am 31. März 1814 in Paris einzumarschieren. Nur zwei Tage später beschlossen die beiden französischen Parlamentskammern die Absetzung Napoleons als Kaiser. Dieser hatte sich mit seinen Truppen inzwischen nach Fontainebleau

zurückgezogen, wo er am 6. April die bedingungslose Abdankung verkündete, die am 11. April 1814 im „Vertrag von Fontainebleau“ fixiert wurde. Die Verbündeten gestanden Napoleon die Insel Elba als Exil und souveränes Herrschaftsgebiet, den Verbleib seines Titels und eine aus französischen Mitteln zu bestreitende jährliche Apanage von jährlich 2 Millionen Francs zu.

Der Weg ins Exil

Seine Reise ins Exil trat Napoleon neun Tage später am 20. April 1814 an. Als Ehrenschutz und zur Gewährleistung seiner sicheren Überführung nach Elba wurden ihm Kommissäre der Alliierten beige-



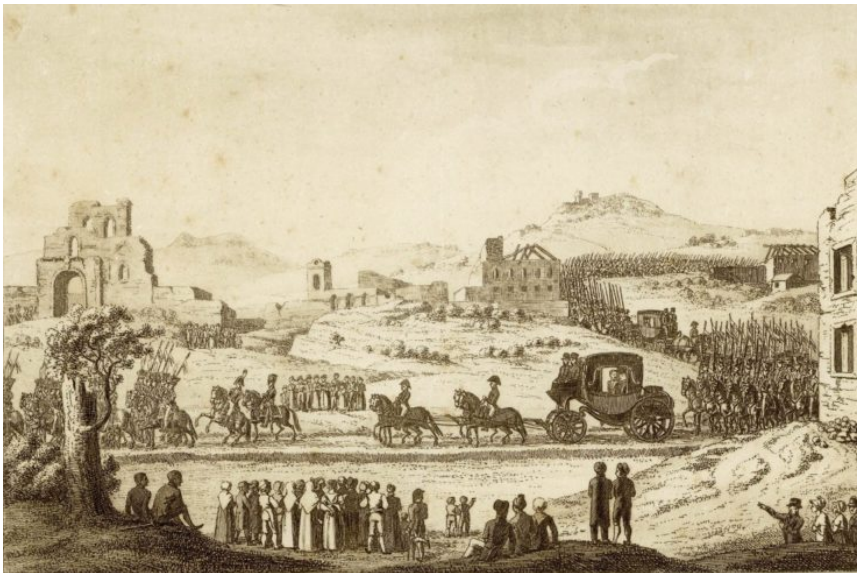
Feldmarschallleutnant Franz Freiherr von Koller.
Ölgemälde eines anonymen Künstlers, 1826 (HGM)

geben. Bei diesen handelte es sich um je einen Offizier Preußens, Großbritanniens, Russlands und Österreichs. Der britische Vertreter war Oberst Sir Neil Campbell (1776 – 1827), jener Preußens Oberst Graf Friedrich Ludwig Truchseß zu Waldburg (1776–1844) und der Repräsentant des Russischen Reiches der bereits erwähnte General Pavel Andrejevič Šuvalov. Das Habsburgerreich bestimmte für diese Aufgabe den Generaladjutanten Schwarzenbergs, Feldmarschallleutnant Franz Freiherr von Koller (1767 – 1826), der unter anderem auf dem ebenfalls in Saal 3 des HGM ausgestellten Monumentalgemälde Johann Peter Kraffts „Siegesmeldung nach der Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig“ dargestellt ist.

Vom preußischen Repräsentanten Graf Truchseß zu Waldburg, dem britischen Vertreter Sir Campbell und vor allem vom Kommissär der Habsburgermonarchie, Freiherr von Koller, stammende Berichte und Schilderungen erlauben einen Blick auf den Verlauf von Napoleons Gang ins Exil und darauf wie es dazu kam, dass sich Napoleon für einige Stunden in einen österreichischen Uniformrock und einen russischen Generalsmantel hüllte. Ein möglichst großer Teil der Reise sollte nach dem Willen der verbündeten Mächte über den Seeweg bewältigt werden, da dies die Kontrolle über den immer noch mit Misstrauen betrachteten früheren Herrscher Frankreichs erleichtern würde. Beabsichtigt war daher, an Land die am schnellsten zurücklegbare Route zwischen Fontainebleau und dem ursprünglich vorgesehenen Einschiffungshafen Saint-Tropez zu nehmen, wobei sich die Kommissäre mit Napoleon darauf einigten über Briare, Roanne, Lyon, Valence, Avignon und Aix-en-Provence zu reisen. Es wurde darauf Bedacht genommen, übermäßige Aufmerksamkeit seitens der Zivilbevölkerung zu vermeiden, Aufenthalte so kurz wie möglich zu halten und an den einzelnen Poststationen entlang des Weges einen raschen Wechsel der Pferde vorzunehmen. Napoleon verzichtete allerdings bewusst auf die ihm zugestandene



„Napoleon Bonapartes Abdankung und Verabschiedung durch seine Getreuen, 20. April 1814“,
unsigned und undatierte Lithographie nach Vernet (HGM)



„Napoleon auf der Reise ins Exil nach Elba“,
Kupferstich eines unbekanntes Künstlers (HGM)

sein Exil in Elba gewährt wurde, begab sich daher unabhängig vom Eskortierung durch seine Garde und Truppen der Alliierten, da er es als Demütigung empfunden hätte, sich vor seinem eigenen Volk beschützen lassen zu müssen, bei dem er sich immer noch sehr beliebt glaubte. Jener 400 Mann umfassende Teil der Garde Napoleons, der ihm für sein Exil in Elba gewährt wurde, begab sich daher unabhängig vom Konvoi mit dem abgedankten Kaiser dorthin.

Von den übrigen Angehörigen seiner Garde verabschiedete sich Napoleon am 20. April 1814 im Schloss Fontainebleau – eine Szene, die in vielen Darstellungen künstlerisch verarbeitet wurde. Lediglich bis zum zweiten Reisetag begleitete Napoleon noch eine Abteilung seiner berittenen Garde. Die Bevölkerung entlang der Route reagierte allerdings sehr unterschiedlich auf das Erscheinen des ehemaligen französischen Kaisers, ihm wurden sowohl Ovationen und Unterstützungsbekundungen, als auch Vorwürfe und Empörung entgegengebracht. Je weiter Napoleon und seine Be-

gleiter in den Süden gelangten, desto feindseliger wurde die Stimmung der Bevölkerung, wobei sich der abgedankte Kaiser davon überzeugt zeigte, dass die neue französische Regierung die Menschen in den Orten entlang des Weges gegen ihn aufgewiegelt hätte. Ab dem 22. April mehrten sich Gruppen von Menschen, die königliche Kokarden trugen und so ihre Ablehnung Napoleons bekundeten. Lyon wurde in der Nacht von 23. auf 24. April erreicht und aus Sicherheitsgründen rasch durchquert. Hier trennte sich Oberst Campbell von den übrigen Begleitern Napoleons, um nach Saint-Tropez voraus zu reisen und alle Vorkehrungen für die Seepassage zu treffen. Am Abend des 24. April erreichten Napoleon in Montélimar Nachrichten über die ihm gegenüber feindselige Stimmung in der Provence. Die Reise sollte daher noch in der Nacht fortgesetzt werden, um Avignon vor Tagesanbruch passieren zu können. In den Dörfern die am Weg dorthin durchquert wurden, häuften sich Bekundungen der Treue gegenüber dem neuen König Ludwig XVIII. Avignon wurde am frühen Morgen des 25. April 1814 erreicht und ab da kam es zu einer Reihe von Vorfällen, die Napoleon dazu bewogen in der Verkleidung mit Uniformteilen seiner früheren Gegner Zuflucht zu suchen.

Die Verkleidung Napoleons

Nach den Berichten des österreichischen Kommissärs, Feldmarschallleutnant von Koller, wurden in Avignon Steine gegen den Wagen Napoleons geschleudert und dessen Kutscher bedroht. Nur mit Mühe konnten die Pferde gewechselt und die Reise fortgesetzt werden. Im Dorf Orgon soll sich an jener Stelle an der die Pferde abermals gewechselt werden sollten, eine große Menschenmenge mit bourbonischen



„Napoleons Reiseabenteuer - Episode auf der Reise Napoleons auf die Insel Elba“,
Kupferstich von Friedrich Campe (HGM)

Kokarden eingefunden haben, die wütende Tiraden skandierten und auf die Kutsche Napoleons eindrangten, während eine Napoleon darstellend und mit Blut beschmierte Puppe an einem Galgen baumelte. In dieser brisanten Situation, in der sich die Begleiter bemühten die Sicherheit des abgedankten französischen Kaisers zu gewährleisten und die aufgebrachte Menge von dessen Kutsche abzuhalten, fuhr dieser dem restlichen Konvoi alleine voraus, sobald die Pferde gewechselt waren. Außerhalb des Ortes stieß Napoleon auf einen anderen Reisenden der von Hass und Unmut der Bevölkerung und Anschlagplänen sprach. Dies bewog ihn offenbar zu seiner ersten Verkleidung. In einem schlichten Überrock und mit einem runden Hut mit weißer, royalistischer Kokarde bestieg er eines der Kutschenpferde und ritt mit nur einem Begleiter weit voraus, um so jeglichen Hinweis auf seine wahre Identität zu verschleiern. Erst weit von Aix-en-Provence machte er kehrt, ritt einen Teil des Weges zurück und begab sich in das unscheinbare Gasthaus „La Calade“ in dem er sich als Oberst Campbell ausgab. Auch nach dem Eintreffen des zurückgefallenen Restes des Konvois gedachte Napoleon diese Rolle beizubehalten, nahm dann jedoch



ein anderes Pseudonym an, da der britische Kommissär am Weg nach Saint-Tropez schon vor ihm durch die Gegend gekommen sein musste und dies Verdacht erregen hätte können. Laut der Berichte Feldmarschallleutnant von Kollers und des Oberst Graf Truchseß zu Waldburg zeigte sich der abgedankte Kaiser während des Aufenthaltes in der Herberge „La Calade“ sehr nervös, unsicher und verzagt. Es wurde beschlossen die Reise noch in der Nacht fortzusetzen und den Adjutanten des Feldmarschallleutnant Koller nach Aix-en-Provence vorzuschicken, um die Stadttore abschließen zu lassen. Dennoch glaubte Napoleon neuerlich seine Verkleidung wechseln

zu müssen um seine Rolle als einer der alliierten Kommissäre zu bekräftigen. Er kombinierte dazu auf eigenwillig Weise den österreichischen Uniformrock des Feldmarschallleutnant von Koller mit dem Mantel des Generals Šuvalov und setzte zuletzt den Hut des Grafen Truchseß zu Waldburg auf, während der Adjutant des russischen Generals seine bisherige Verkleidung übernehmen und so gegebenenfalls den abgedankten Kaiser repräsentieren musste.

Auf diese Weise kostümiert setzte Napoleon nach dem Passieren von Aix-en-Provence seine Fahrt mit nur wenigen Unterbrechungen fort

„Napoleon Bonapartes Einschiffung nach der Insel Elba am 28. April 1814“,
Kupferstich von C. Riedel (HGM)

bis am Nachmittag des 26. April 1814 der Ort Le-Luc erreicht wurde. Erst hier, wo Napoleon seine Schwester Pauline (1780 – 1825) und eine Ehrenwache zweier k. k. Husarenkadronen vorfand, legte Napoleon nach rund 15 Stunden die aus österreichischen, russischen und preußischen Uniformstücken zusammengesetzte Verkleidung wieder ab. Am nächsten Tag begab sich der Konvoi nach Fréjus von wo aus die Seereise aus Sicherheitsgründen anstelle von Saint-Tropez angetreten werden sollte. Erst am 29. April 1814 brach Napoleon

„Napoleon landet unter dem Donner der Kanonen in Porte Ferrayo und nimmt Besitz von der ihm von den verbündeten Mächten erteilten Insel Elba den 4. Mai 1814“, Kupferstich von Anton Leitner (HGM)



jedoch auf der britischen Fregatte HMS Undaunted nach Elbau auf, wo er am 4. Mai 1814 eintraf. Er übernahm sodann die Souveränität über die Insel von der französischen Regierung und entfaltete in weiterer weiterer Folge eine rege Verwaltungs- und Regierungstätigkeit in seinem nunmehrigen Herrschaftsgebiet. Napoleons Aufenthalt auf der Insel Elba sollte jedoch dennoch nicht von langer Dauer sein. Nicht einmal zehn Monate

später – am 26. Februar 1815 – kehrte Napoleon aus seinem Exil nach Frankreich zurück, um ein letztes Mal sein Kaiserreich zu restaurieren und die sogenannte „Herrschaft der 100 Tage“ anzutreten, die dann durch die Schlacht bei Waterloo (Belle-Alliance) am 18. Juni 1815 ihr Ende fand.



Museale Präsentation des Waffenrocks Feldmarschallleutnant von Kollers und des Mantels des General Šuvalov im Wiener Heeresmuseums vor 1938 (HGM)

Der Mantel des Napoleon und das Heeresgeschichtliche Museum

Wie kam es dazu, dass der Mantel des General Šuvalovs nunmehr im Heeresgeschichtlichen Museum besichtigt werden kann? Feldmarschallleutnant von Koller soll seinen eigenen Uniformrock, sobald er von Napoleon getragen worden war, als besonderes historisches Erinnerungsstück betrachtet und ab diesem Zeitpunkt nicht mehr getragen haben. Die einstmalige Verkleidung Napoleons wurde dann innerhalb der Familie weitergegeben bis sich der Enkel des Feldmarschallleutnant Franz Freiherr von Koller, Ministerialrat Alexander Freiherr von Koller, im Jahr 1904 dazu entschloss dieses Uniformstück dem damaligen k. u. k. Heeresmuseum zu überlassen. Nach der großen „Erzherzog Karl-Ausstellung“ im Jahr 1909 kam eine weitere Schenkung historischer Erinnerungsstücke aus Familienbesitz – insgesamt etwa 100 Objekte, viele davon mit Bezug zum früheren Reichskriegsminister und Sohn des Begleiters Napoleons, General der Kavallerie Alexander

Freiherr von Koller – hinzu. Ein wichtiger Impuls für die Schenkung der von Napoleon getragenen Uniform war dabei vom Historiker und früheren Minister Josef Alexander Freiherr von Helfert ausgegangen, der schon im Jahr 1874 die Studie „Napoleon I. Fahrt von Fontainebleau nach Elba“ verfasst und sich für einen gesicherten Erhalt dieses besonderen Objektes in einer öffentlichen Sammlung ausgesprochen hatte.

Der Mantel General Šuvalovs, der ebenfalls über den Nachlass Feldmarschallleutnant von Kollers an das Museum gelangt war, nahm in der musealen Repräsentation zunächst jedoch nur eine nachrangige Rolle ein. Die von Napoleon am 25. und 26. April 1814 getragenen Uniformstücke verschiedener Herkunft wurden im früheren Heeresmuseum bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg zwar in einer gemeinsamen Vitrine im sogenannten „Waffensaal II“ (im Bereich des heutigen Saal 3) ausgestellt, doch war der Mantel eher unscheinbar am Boden der Vitrine ausgebreitet, während der Uniformrock Kollers gut sichtbar und figurinenartig präsentiert wurde.

Letzterer ging jedoch am Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges oder in der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit an einem der Auslagerungsorte des Heeresmuseums durch Plünderung verloren. Seither verbleibt nur noch der Mantel des General Šuvalov um als Sachzeugnis an jene kuriose Episode am Ende der napoleonischen Ära zu erinnern.

Der eher unauffällige Mantel verweist damit auf die sozialen- und politischen Spannungen in der Schlussphase des Ersten Französischen Kaiserreiches und die ungleiche Stimmungslage gegenüber Napoleon, auf widersprüchliche Facetten der Persönlichkeit des „Kaisers der Franzosen“, aber auch auf ein besonderes Stück Diplomatengeschichte.

MMag. Stefan Kurz

*Historiker und
Politikwissenschaftler,
wissenschaftlicher Assistent des
Heeresgeschichtlichen Museums
Wien.* ■

Napoleon's main enemy: General Danube

*Ferdi Irmfried Wöber
Michael Wenzel*

The drama of the bridge destructions.

After the retreat of the Austrian army under Archduke Charles across Bohemia to the north of Vienna and the simultaneous advance of the Napoleonic army along the Danube, there was bound to be a new confrontation between the two armies. Archduke Charles had considered a crossing over the Danube, but the available material was not sufficient to carry out a smooth construction; moreover, Napoleon's troops were always ready to prevent the Austrians from building a bridge by means of constant observation along the Danube. The only crossing point over the Danube were the three Tabor bridges in the north-west of Vienna, but these were burned by General Nordmann's retreating troops at 2 a.m. on 13 May. General Songis pleaded for a new bridge to be built over the Danube at Nussdorf, as it existed in 1805, but Napoleon wanted another crossing between Vienna and Pressburg. The fighting in the Lackenau opposite Nussdorf, where the Austrians held their own, made it impossible to build a bridge. In Nussdorf itself there was enough bridge material that Napoleon could use to build a bridge. Furthermore, wooden beams from the nearby Renaissance castle Neugebäude were used, which Emperor Maximilian II had built in 1569 on the spot where Sultan Suleiman pitched his tent on the occasion of the siege of Vienna in 1529. Neugebäude Palace is only a few minutes' walk from Thümlhof Palace, where Napoleon set up his headquarters. On 14 May, bridge material was already stacked on a sheltered site at the mouth of the Schwechat into the Danube, about 6 km east of Vienna. A special place was found which was protected by a small forest in front of it. In the surrounding villages, houses were

covered to get wood for the bridges. The timber was brought to the collection point in carts belonging to the villagers. Everything that could be found in the way of ropes, chains, brackets, boards, laths, ladders, nails, tools and lanterns was hauled in. Carpenters, blacksmiths and locksmiths were ordered to work. High waves made the work difficult. However, there was a lack of anchors for the pontoons. They had to build strong boxes, which were filled with stones and cannonballs and sunk. Since the bridge was not built in an arch, it was very unstable and often cracked. It creaked at every turn. General Bertrand and General Songis now also had all the material brought from Nußdorf and Vienna to the area of Mannswörth, a neighbouring village of Kaiser-Ebersdorf. On the 18th at noon, everything was prepared for a crossing into the Lobau from Kaiser-Ebersdorf. Austrian scouts reported that a yoke bridge had already been built over the Lobgrund Arm. In order to reach the Lobau and the area between Aspern and Essling, three bridges had to be built to cross the branched arms of the Danube. Napoleon now pressed for the rapid completion of all three bridges, for the Austrian army was already beginning to expand across the entire Marchfeld. The Danube began to rise, and the onset of snowmelt caused it to rise by almost 1 m in three days. Strong waves were the cause that the construction had to be interrupted often and all bridges were not finished until 12.30 p.m. on 21 May under the guidance of General Bertrand. The first bridge that crossed the Danube from Kaiser-Ebersdorf to the island of Schneidergrund, a sandbank, was a pontoon bridge (460 m), the second from Schneidergrund to the island of Lobgrund, which was used as a base, was a yoke bridge (323 m), where then only a small arm, the so-called Lobgrund arm of 28 m had to be crossed to get to the island of Lobau. When the water level was low, the Lobgrund arm could also be forded. The third bridge, a pontoon bridge (120 m), was built at the Stadler

The Danube near Kaiser-Ebersdorf.



arm. The total length of all bridges was over 930 m. 68 Danube boats of different sizes and 9 rafts and several pontoons were used. To increase the load-bearing capacity of the pontoons, they were weighted down with four ten-bucket barrels at the front and back. Ships and rafts did not fit together, there was a lack of ropes, boards and especially anchors. On 18 May evening, 800 men of the Molitor Division were brought

to Lobau Island by ship. On 19 May, the rest of the division followed, spreading out over the whole island and protecting the last bridge. Under the leadership of Colonel Aubry, construction of the bridge, consisting of 15 pontoons, began on 20 May between 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon at the point where the Danube branch makes a U-shaped bend. Here the width of the river was about 120 m. At 6 o'clock,

Molitor's troops could begin their crossing over the Stadler arm, which could not be seen from the villages of Aspern and Essling. Immediately, earth walls were erected. This was followed by Colonel Saint Croix with 200 Voltigeurs, who advanced about 500 m towards the two villages. Shortly afterwards, the bridge broke, and it was not passable again until 7 o'clock. As the water kept rising here too,



The Danube between Vienna and Kaiser-Ebersdorf in 1809.

there were repeated delays, which were repaired under the supervision of General Hastrel and Colonel Lejeune. On the 20th, at about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, Napoleon was the first to cross the bridges, accompanied by Marshals Berthier, Massena, Lannes and Bessieres, followed by two esquadrons of Garde-Chevaulegers and some elite gendarmes.

They were followed by the Bruyère brigade, the Boudet division and, after a break, the Legrand division. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, part of the bridge cracked, cutting off

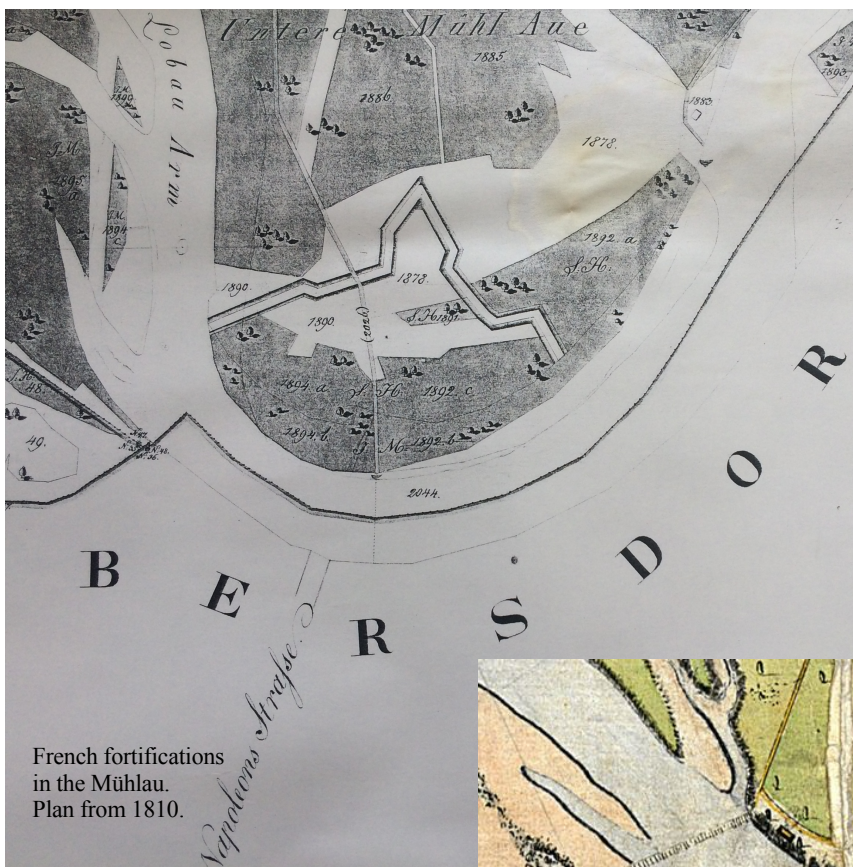
This enterprise had little success, because so-called Kehlhammer ships, stone-laden boats with a particularly strong draught, destroyed parts of the bridges again. Cavalry and infantry could only cross the bridges at long intervals because of the constant danger of bridge destruction.

At the confluence of the Schwechat and the Danube, five ferry boats, each with room for 300 men, and several rowing boats were provided. General Hiller was given the order that the troops stationed at Floridsdorfer Spitz should use all means to

destroy the bridges into the Lobau. All ships located in the Lackenau and Am Spitz were used. Supported by the 5th Vienna Volunteer Battalion, the first squadron of ships was let loose at 6.30 in the evening on the 21st. Captain Magdeburg, six pontoons, an officer and four men of the Viennese volunteers accompanied the ships to bring them as close as possible to the bridge. Five ships, some ship mills and seven rafts, partly loaded with stones, partly set on fire, were sent after in the course of the night, three of them did not reach their destination. The following day, another seven attacks were carried out by the pontooniers and 4 by the Viennese volunteers.

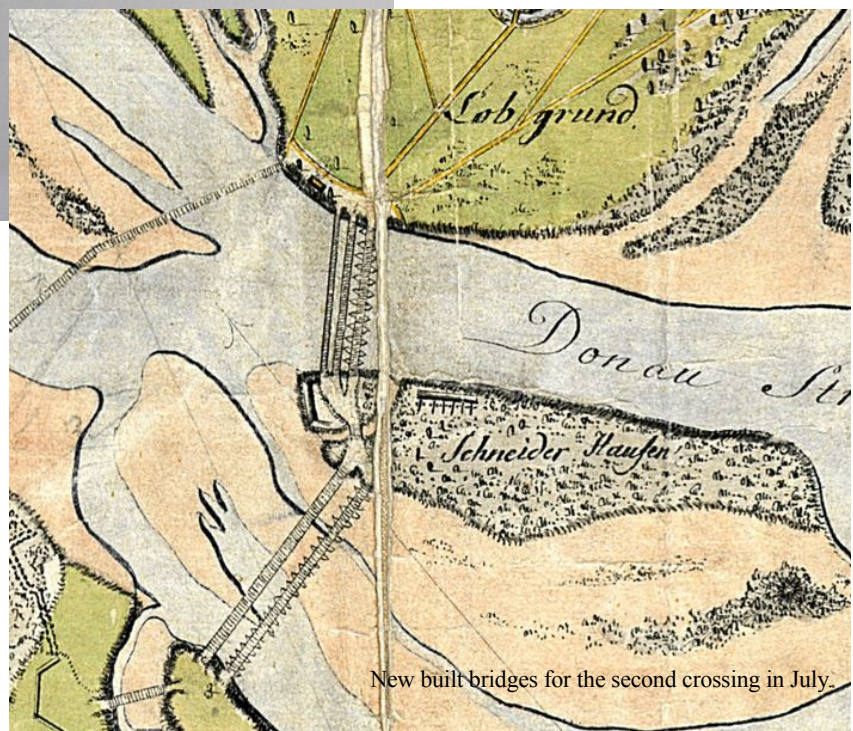
After initially minor disturbances, which could always be quickly repaired, the bridge from Kaiser-Ebersdorf to Schneidergrund now ruptured, at a time when 550 men of the cuirassiers of the Saint Germain brigade were on the bridge. 15 to 18 pontoons were damaged. Horses and riders fell into the Danube and were carried away by the drifting parts. It was not until 10 o'clock in the evening that the bridge was provisionally repaired so that the crossing could be continued, which lasted until 3 o'clock in the morning by torchlight.

When General Demont's infantry division, about 4200 men, wanted to



French fortifications in the Muhlau. Plan from 1810.

the Baden battery of the Legrand Division and forcing it to remain behind on the Schneidergrund. Parts of Marulaz's 3rd Jäger Regiment were also isolated on the Schneidergrund and were only able to continue the crossing between 9 and 10 a.m. on the 21st, carefully leading their horses by the reins. On the orders of Chief of Staff General Ransonnet, 60 Baden dragoons immediately rode to Fischamend to help the ship's men and 40 other dragoons bring in the destroyed bridge sections.



New built bridges for the second crossing in July.

start the crossing, the bridge was again destroyed by burning ships. 10 pontooniers of the 5th Viennese Volunteer Battalion with 16 boatmen approached the bridges up to 1500 paces and only left the ships in a strong current, to then return to their starting point at Am Spitz.

On the 22nd at 9 o'clock in the morning the yoke bridge was slightly damaged and the pontoon bridge heavily damaged. General Pernetty and some sappers were carried away by the current. A great loss of material was the reason that a repair could not be thought of so quickly. The almost non-stop use of the pontooniers began to have an effect, great fatigue was the result.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pokorny, who was in charge of observing the bridges, wrote: *"The enemy was now trying to restore the ship's bridge that had been torn apart last night; all the fish baskets, fish crates and millstones from Vienna were hurriedly brought down on wagons in order to use them for this purpose due to the lack of lost anchors"*.

The bridge was not passable until 2.30 in the afternoon of the 22nd.

Lieutenant Drieu reported:

"During this time, work continued without interruption on repairing the destroyed bridges, both of which were completed in the afternoon."

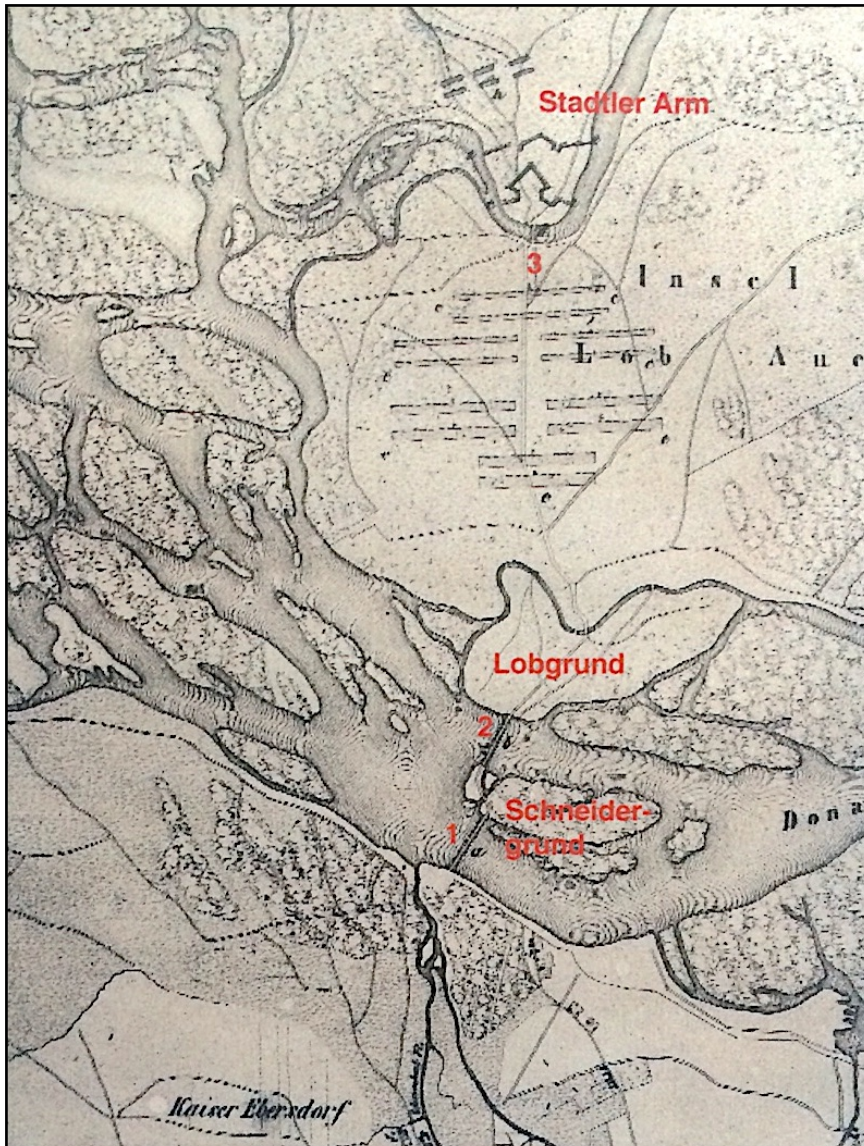
However, the bridge over the first arm had hardly been repaired when a wrecking vehicle tore it away again; as there was not enough material to rebuild it, it was necessary to wait until the 23rd.



At about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the first shells hit near the bridge over the Stadtlar arm. The bridge itself was already damaged at noon by planes set on fire. At 4 o'clock Napoleon wanted to retreat across the bridge into the Lobau, but it was again impassable. At times the bridge was completely under water. General Dumas organised a small boat and a little away from the bridge he was able to cross the Danube arm at 8 o'clock in the evening. Due to the high water, this arm had already doubled in width in some places. Around 6 o'clock, the bridge over the Stadtlar arm was repaired to such an extent that the crossing could be continued. News arrived again that the bridge from Kaiser-Ebersdorf to the Schneidergrund had now broken for the fourth time.

Napoleon could only cross the Lobau with great difficulty. Colonel Comeau served as the guide, accompanied by Adjutant General Savary. At the Lobgrund arm, the bridge had been torn away, only individual boats were still holding together, the resulting large gaps made crossing impossible. Napoleon finally reached the bridge between Lobgrund and Schneidergrund in a small fishing boat. He ordered that a company of sappers be moved to the Lobgrund arm to repair the yoke bridge and build a second bridge in front of it. The Pressburger Zeitung wrote about this, *"...that the Director Battalion Chief Dessoles and a naval officer had built an 80 fathom long bridge in one piece and five large ferries. This one-piece bridge is the first of its kind ever constructed and was completed in less than five minutes."* It was prefabricated on the banks of the Danube and floated downstream and swung into place, it being important that individual bridge sections were not damaged or torn apart by the current. The infantry then crossed the bridge at high speed. The duration of a bridge-beating operation is described as follows: *"Captain Bazelle beat a ship's bridge in one and a half hours and Captain Payerimoffe a raft bridge in two hours."* With a chain found in Vienna, the endangered bridges could be additionally protected. At midnight, Napoleon and his escort crossed the main arm of the Da-





Brücken zur Schlacht bei Aspern und Ebling, 21. Mai 1809

- 1 Pontonbrücke
- 2 Jochbrücke
- 3 Pontonbrücke

nube in stormy weather and reached Kaiser-Ebersdorf at 1 o'clock. The bridge over the Stadtler arm was dismantled by Pelleport's Voltigeurs at around 9 a.m. on the 23rd. After the battle, Archduke Charles considered building a bridge from the Lackeau to Nussdorf. On 22 May, Major General Hohenbruck received the order to bring 20 pontoons to Stammersdorf. 45 pontooners were ready. However, the bridge was not built.

Technical details of the pontoon and yoke (pile) bridges

The two pontoon bridges built by Napoleon were floating bridges where a footbridge was mounted on boats or floats lined up side by side. These boats were connected and anchored with ropes. Since Napoleon had too few ropes (cables) and anchors, the bridges were already endangered by the high waves. The advantage was that they could be erected quickly, but were extremely unstable. The

necessary material was taken from the surrounding villages, as were the boats and zills from the fishermen along the Danube. There were 39 ship mills between Korneuburg and Hainburg. Ship mills were used for milling grain and were driven by the current of the Danube. They were firmly anchored to the bank. Two wooden ships, 16 and 22 m long, were used to build the mill house on the larger ship. Napoleon, however, quickly learned from the mistakes of previous days. Great care was taken in the work. The bridges over the Danube originally consisted of two pontoon bridges and a yoke (pile) bridge.

For the new crossing, additional bridges were built over the Danube 40 m above the existing ones. The bridge parts were first constructed on land and partly also assembled. The length of the yoke bridge, already built on 18 May, over the main branch of the Danube, from Schneidergrund to Lobgrund Island was 323 m, the width 3.70 m.

The span of the yokes was between 7 and 15 m. The span of the yokes was between 7 and 15 m. Each pile yoke consisted of five piles of 28 to 30 mm diameter, which were driven in at 80 cm intervals. The yokes were fixed by cross and horizontal connections with clamps.

The bridge deck consisted of five beams 18 to 19 cm thick and were covered with a double layer of 4 to 5 cm thick boards. 41 rows of piles were driven in.

The bridge was closed off by a strong railing. The additional bridge was also a yoke bridge 400 m long and 1.60 m wide and was only intended for the infantry crossing. Instead of five piles, it had only three piles and three supporting beams.

The distance between the piles was 9 m. 18 rows of piles were used. The three beams, about 15 to 16 cm in diameter, were laid in rows and covered with 5 cm wide boards.

The end of the railing was 22 cm thick of 4 m length, which were connected with iron clamps. The floor for both yoke bridges was about 1 m to 1.20 m above the water level.

The fluctuations of the bridge were so great that one had to hold on to

the railing. These yoke bridges were protected by a series of barriers made of floating trees or driven-in piles connected to each other and erected about 400 m upstream as a barrier. The flow velocity of the Danube was normally 1500 m per hour, but during floods it was much faster, about three times. The piles were driven in with seven specially constructed pile-driving machines mounted on boats. The piles were driven in via a cable hoist. The greatest water depth was 7 to 8 m. The bridge from Kaiser-Ebersdorf onto the Schneidergrund, which had to be crossed first, was only a pontoon bridge for the time being. It had a length of 460 m and consisted of boats from the surrounding area and from Vienna. The pontoon bridge over the Stadtler arm was 120 m long. 15 pontoons were used. The construction of the bridge took 3 hours and was similar to the first pontoon bridge over the Danube. More precise details are known about the additional pontoon bridge over the Stadtler arm. It was 163 m long and was built with 14 Austrian boats as a base, which were connected in a chain-like manner by ropes, thus making it easier to follow the curves of the arm. Since it was only intended for the infantry, three rows of beams and a footbridge 2.20 m wide were sufficient. The bridge consisted of four rafts, two rafts with 4 boats and two with three boats. The boats were



placed 10 m apart. The placed beams overlapped, one pair of each beam was connected to each other. The length of the beams was 12 m and the width 20 cm. The following material was used: 45 beams, 15 wooden crossbeams fixed in the middle of two boats to fix the beams. 56 small blocks of wood to ensure equal spacing of the boats, 56 supports approx. 2.5 m long, which also served to fix the boats. 510 planks, 2 m long, for the floor. Furthermore, 45 screw clamps, six for each boat, to fix the beams, 42 bolts with grooves set at the front, in the middle and at the back, two ropes pulled through rings from one side to the other. Other ropes for stabilisation, as well as 10 anchors, 28 oars and 14 boat hooks. Six small bridges were built on the eastern edge of the Stadtler arm of the Lobau in order to reach the Gross-Enzersdorf area more quickly. Four raft bridges, one pontoon bridge with 25 pontoons and one yoke bridge. They had an average length of 14 m.

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Author's note:

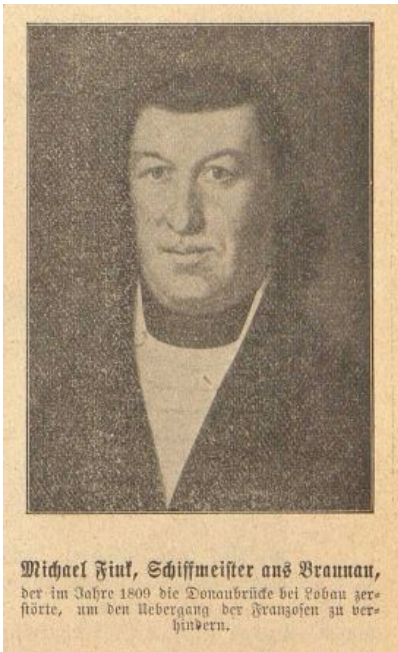
Due to the strongly diverging length measurements of the bridges by the different authors, the measurements of Hoen and Brinner were assumed to be more correct.



Museum Aspern
HGM Vienna

Michael Fink, the ship merchant who had the idea to destroy the “Aspern Bridges”

Michael Fink, also Johann Michael was born on 31st December 1758 in Oberaudorf, Bavaria, into a famous family of “Schiffsmeister” in Braunau upon Inn in Upper Austria.

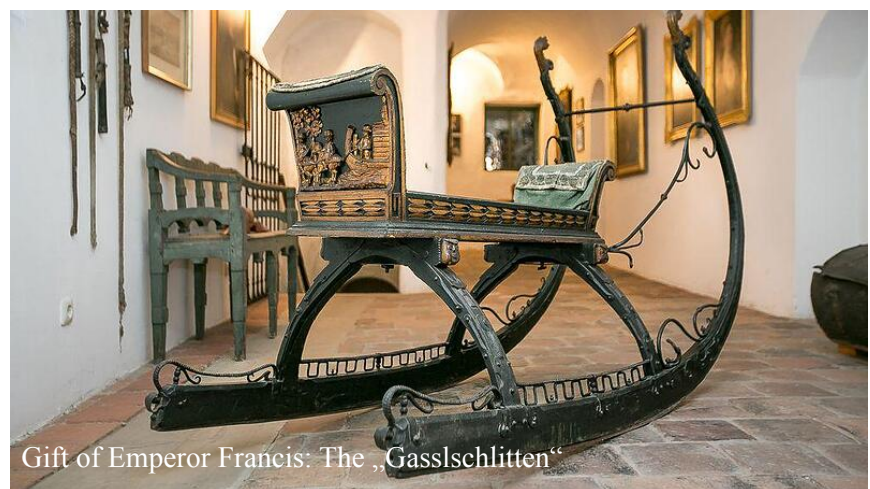


The Finks employed over 500 men in their ship merchant trading company on Inn and Danube. 50 men worked in their “dockyard” at Braunau. He became adviser to Joseph II in 1787 and army supplier in 1788 in the war against the Turks. In 1789 he married Agathe Fischer from a brewery dynasty in Schlegl. In 1805 Fink met Napoleon and, as we will see, he will meet the Emperor several times. The family also owned a brewery and an inn, in which in 1810, Marie Luise, daughter of Emperor Francis, was formally handed over to the French authorities on her way to marry Napoleon. So Fink was a very well-known and wealthy merchant with high contacts. At the start of the 1809 campaign, Fink delivered corn to the army. In April he was visited by General Hohenbruck of the “Oberstschiffs-



amt” and “Chief of Staff” General Prohaska to seek advice where bridges over the inn could be built in the most effective way. Fink gave the two generals civil clothes and sent them to the spots he had chosen with one of his boats. Until the Austrians began building the bridges the Bavarians were not alarmed. The Emperor, following the army, came to Braunau and stayed for three days in Finks house, from where he moved to Schärding. Generals Hiller and Radetzky also came to see Fink to get his information. Hiller wanted to borrow 30.000 Gulden, but Fink only had 10.000 in cash for him. Fink moved to Linz as the retreat of the army

passed Braunau. On his way near Linz, he met a convoy from Vienna with siege artillery and urged them to turn and to transfer the guns by boat back to safety. But now let us follow Fink in his own words: *„Now I went to Vienna and on the following day a courier brought an order to defend the city. I just didn't like that. I went to the commander, the Prince Maximilian¹, to talk with him about that. He was not present I said to his Adjutant, whom I had made acquaintance before, that Vienna could not be defended, but through the Vienna woods the enemy could be stopped or slowed down if barricades would be erected there. But the Adjutant did not want to tell it to*



¹ Erzherzog (Archduke) Maximilian..

Archduke Charles. I made up my mind to travel to the Archduke's headquarters. Near Horn, I heard that the Archduke marched towards Krems. Now we went towards Maissau, where I approached General Hohenbruck and talked to him about several topics. Then an ordonnance of General Stipsits came with the news that Vienna had fallen.²

Then we followed the army. At "Am Spitz"³ we found our outposts on the big Danube bridge. On the other side stood the French.⁴ I asked two soldiers of the "Vienna volunteers"⁵ if there were ships in the sidearms? They answered there were many, but bad ones with much water in them. I went to the headquarters at Wagram and I said to General Hohenbruck that there were many old ships at "Am Spitz" and that the French pontoon bridges could be easily destroyed by them because of the high water of the Danube, if pontonniers were used. He replied that he could not spare one man as he had order to retreat with the pontoons. I left him and visited the two Vienna volunteers. I told them to empty the ships from water, to drill holes and fill them with wooden plug that could be easily removed to flood the boats. I would come myself or send an officer.

As I returned the other day, the boats had been pumped out and the plugs prepared. Only the holes had to be drilled, and due to the enemy's preparation, it was assumed that a battle was soon to be fought. I arranged everything with them. The boats should be hidden in the sidearms, and when the battle started should be led out, two or three bound together with long ropes. On each boat were 3 or 4 men, and they had a small boat⁶

with them. The boats should be led towards the other riverbank as much as possible, and the time to pull the plugs out should be calculated in a way, that the ships should be full of water when they reached the bridge. I paid wine for them, and I saw their good spirit for that. I went to Wagram. General Hohenbruck had left with Archduke Charles on horse. I went to the Archduke's Headquarter and hoped to find a skilled officer who would carry out my projected plan. I did not find one, and I was determined, to proceed myself without any higher order, ignoring any danger and only "listening to my patriotism", as I remembered to tell this to the Archduke's old valet, that he should report the Archduke my plan and the preparations. I also informed the lieutenant of the general staff Magdeburg of my plan and advised him that he should look forward to be chosen, he could be much happier by that.



Die Aigener Bräuerstocher Agatha Fischer (1770 bis 1840) heiratete 1789 den Braunauer Schiffsmeister Michael Fink.

I drove back to the priest I stayed with behind the Bisamberg. On Pentecost Sunday and Monday, we watched (the battle) from a hill and recognized due to the smoke, that the French had lost, whereupon my joy was extremely high. The next day I went to Wagram and visited the house where the Archduke lived. In the court I met the stablemaster and two other persons, and they shouted at me "We congratulate you". I jumped quickly into the stable and asked why they congratulated me. They answered that I had taken away the bridges which contributed much to the victory. I assured them that I was not involved personally and that my involvement should not come to notice as my family could be victimized.

The stablemaster proved me right and apologized, that in his joy he did not think of that. I drove to the battlefield. There I saw a Captain I knew, who told me about the battle. I now decided to go to Walkersdorf to see the Emperor. I was ordered to see the Emperor. I was in a moment of embarrassment and said to him: "Our Majesty, congratulations for the victory!" The Emperor answered it was right, let alone that we had taken 15,000 prisoners. Now we talked about the Landwehr. He praised the Bohemian and regretted the Tyrolians."

When Fink returned to Braunau after the armistice in July, many congratulated him for destroying the bridges, but Fink tried to argue that he was not involved. But fearing to be arrested by the Bavarian authorities, he moved to Tyrol and even played an active role in the uprising there. Beside his efforts during the Napoleonic

² By word: „that Vienna was over“.

³ „Am Spitz“, locality at now a days Floridsdorf where former Northeastern "Bridghead" was

⁴ The bridge was burned by the Austrians before May 13th to avoid that the French could capture the bridge as in 1805

⁵ The six Battalions of Landwehr volunteered to serve with the any, and therefore called "Vienna Volunteers"

⁶ Weidzille, a certain type of a smaller typical Danube boat

wars, he is well remembered today, as the “savior” of the country, as on his own initiative he imported grain and food on his own expense during the famine of 1816. He even played an active role that the Innviertel district would return to the Emperors’ Dominions. Beside the enormous profit, Fink was rewarded by Emperor Francis for his efforts during the Napoleonic wars. The Emperor’s gift still can be seen in the “Heimathaus” in Braunau, a beautifully carved sledge called the “Gasslschlitten”! When he died in 1840, his son Michael Fink, the Younger, took over the company.

Fink’s Memoire he had written in 1828 and can be found in the Upper Austrian country archive at Linz. Fink obviously liked to be in focus and perhaps he overrated his efforts to some degree, but in general his Memoires can be proven as correct. Names and places can be checked and his Memoires I would generally accept as historical. It is interesting that in the local history in Innviertel or Braunau Michael Fink is still not forgotten, and his efforts well known. But in military history Fink was neither mentioned nor his role in the battle of Aspern appreciated until now.

Friedrich Freiherr⁷ von Magdeburg, who destroyed the „Aspern-Bridges“

Born in 1783, died in Vienna on 8. November 1810. From an old German family who served the Emperor’s army for generations. Friedrich was the son of the Feldmarschallleutnant Karl Friedrich who died in 1803.

Young Friedrich served in the navy and at the General staff the so-called “General-Quartiermeister-Stab”. Soon after the battle of Aspern, on May 24th he was awarded the “Militär-Maria-Theresien-

Orden” (MTO) for his efforts in destroying the bridges and contributing to winning the battle. In Hirtenfeld’s history of the “MTO”, his contribution is described as follows: *“Archduke Charles planned to throw the French back over the Danube, and ordered, that the French bridge would be destroyed. With this task Captain Magdeburg was entrusted. On his mission he was accompanied by his younger brother, Lieutenant Karl Magdeburg.⁸ In the night of 21st to 22nd May he left “Am Spitz” with 4 big rafts and went near the pontoon bridge within 1.500 paces. Now he set the rafts on fire and returned to safety by boat. The French hasted against him with some boats, which was not successful as at the same time Lieutenant Alts of IR 49 approached with 4 “salt ships”, half submerged with water. He had to labour hard to bring them into the middle of the river. So due to the effort of both officers and the high water of the Danube the bridges broke.”*

It is interesting that Captain Magdeburg amended Fink’s original plan and used rafts which had been identified as platforms for mills. He himself took over the operation of the rafts and left the four “salt-ships” that had been prepared by Fink’s initiative to Lt Alt. Captain Magdeburg got all the praise and memory, but his brother Charles, Lieutenant Alts or the “the source of Ideas” Fink got neither praise nor even public mention.

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⁷ All officers, who got the MTO were raised to the noble title of Freiherr, due to Magdeburg’s early death the title may not have been decreed to him.

⁸ If Fink remembered right and told his planned to a lieutenant Magdeburg, it might have been his brother Charles, with whom Fink talked.

1809, how should things continue?

Ferdi Irmfried Wöber

The soldiers' war fatigue was already very pronounced and was clearly evident as early as the battle of Aspern and Essling. Napoleon's guard had to use force to get the retreating regiments to resume fighting. Wounded men left behind on the island of Lobau taunted their generals in the so-called *Straße der Prahlhänse*. When the Battle of Wagram followed, it was enough for many.

After the Battle of Wagram, which ended with the Austrian army's retreat to Znaim, opinions were divided on whether to continue the war or try for peace. While Marshal Davout was in favour of war, Napoleon changed his mind as more and more of his generals were dying. So he said to Davout, *"You see how death hangs over my generals! Who knows whether I may not learn in two hours that you yourself have been hit. Enough of this bloodshed; I accept a truce."*



Plaque on the house the armistice was signed.

Short thereafter, the armistice was signed by General Wimpffen and Marshal Berthier at the Zuckerhandl Inn near Znaim on 12 July. It was agreed to hold a peace conference in Hungarian Altenburg, which began on 18 August between Champagny and Metternich. Even the first talks were conducted without enthusiasm. Napoleon's intentions were not clear.



Shooting target. Museum Znaim.

However, the Altenburg Peace Conference was an important milestone in Napoleon's plans for the future. They ended inconclusively on 26 September and Metternich was replaced by General Liechtenstein, allowing them to continue in Vienna.

An agreement on 14 October was signed by General Liechtenstein and General Bubna on the assumption that it was a proposal which they would first have to submit to Emperor Franz. This did not happen, as Napoleon unexpectedly had both negotiators fire salutes to show the Viennese population that peace had been concluded. This was an affront to Emperor Franz, who was only forced to sign the treaty four days later.

On 24 October he declared peace, concluded in a letter to the army. But what was to happen next? Napoleon's declared enemy Great Britain was to be hit in such a way that they too would no longer be able to play a major role in Europe, like Prussia and Austria.

An invasion of Russia seemed too early for him. Trade with the Near East was very important for France, so Turkey had to be the next opponent. In the Peace of Schönbrunn he secured the possibility of proceeding by land without becoming involved in the conflict between Turkey and Russia. By sea, he was too weak to face the English navy. Therefore, first peace had to be concluded. The border with Italy requested by Napoleon did not necessarily have an influence on trade with Turkey, but could give France an advantage. For Napoleon, it was necessary to establish a communication that did not require the sea route. France sees Turkey's independence in danger as long as the English are in charge. Either we must prevent this or protect Turkey. This was a first mention of a violent invasion. All intentions lead to a total stagnation of the Austrian maritime trade. It opens the question for Austria how to decide to get a peaceful future, which should include trading with the Near East.

Pour qu'elles battissent sur les deux points opposés à leur salut
 réciproque. L'Empereur de Russie sera de rendre la guerre
 nécessaire en Espagne et il emploiera le moins de
 troupes possible afin de faire tomber toute la tempête de
 ses forces sur l'Autriche; si donc ce cas les Espagnols
 et les Anglais s'ouvrent inattendu on entrera dans les
 vues de l'ennemi mais l'indépendance de vigueur
 de moyens et de ressources, ou l'Espagne entièrement
 débarrassée de son ennemi en qu'il s'annonce formidable
 à menacer la puissance de la France ou bien Napoléon
 sera obligé de maintenir les conquêtes et la position acquise
 au delà du Rhin par une prodigieuse de moyens qui
 le rendront moins fort en Allemagne et en Italie où le
 sort du monde va à décider. Rien ne serait plus funeste
 à la suite commune que la stagnation en Espagne
 et l'alliance pour ainsi dire (ou plutôt l'absence) des Français
 qui se passeraient ailleurs.
 L'autre objet principal est la conduite à tenir vis-à-vis la
 Russie. L'Empereur Alexandre se trouve en guerre
 ouverte contre l'Angleterre, la Suède et la Turquie;
 il a promis assistance à la France si elle était
 attaquée et il existe des probabilités pour voir une
 rupture contre l'Autriche. Le système est présenté
 par Napoléon à la personne de l'Empereur qui s'y est
 soumis avec un assentiment absolu et sans exemple:
 toutes les flottes en Russie, l'armée, les navires, les
 marchands d'approvisionnement, souffrent et exhalent
 avec amertume contre un état de choses qui les opprime
 et les condamne à des sacrifices de tous les genres;
 mais l'Empereur persiste et ferme le rideau d'un

Document of the Peace Talks in
Hungarian Altenburg.

The other main objective is their
 behaviour towards Russia.
 The Emperor Alexander is in open war
 against England, Sweden and Turkey,
 he has promised help to France if it
 attacks Italy and there are
 probabilities of a break-up and rupture
 against Austria.

The Porte's willingness to make
 concessions to Russia was uncertain.
 But what if it was possible to end
 the war in the Balkans and what
 did it mean for England's position
 of power over France? Adair's plan
 was to seize every opportunity to
 thwart Napoleon's plans. A first step
 should be to send the Ambassador
 Charles Arbuthnot to Constanti-
 nople, to offer the Porte on behalf
 of England the same terms for a
 peace as Russia. In the meantime,
 however, the ambassador had al-
 ready left and a change of govern-
 ment in London delayed everything
 until Sir Arthur Paget could be sent
 to Constantinople as a peace nego-
 tiator in June. However, Napoleon's
 successes influenced the hope not
 to mess with Napoleon, on the
 contrary, Napoleon's promises were
 believed and Mr. Paget had to leave
 Constantinople without success.
 Short thereafter their views changed
 after the French envoy politician
 and diplomat Horace Sébastiani
 raised the question of what Turkey
 would do if Moldavia and Wallachia
 were to be ceded to Russia.
 Everything was open again and
 diplomacy had to find new ways
 that could help clarify the compli-
 cated situation. Adair attempted to
 make suggestions himself.
 Eventually, official approval arrived
 from London's Foreign Secretary
 George Canning to lead the peace
 negotiations from now on. He was
 also supported by the fact that
 Austria was reluctant to comply
 with France's instructions.
 Napoleon's problems in Spain
 accelerated the desire to find an
 agreement between the powers of

The recent peace between Sweden
 and Russia was a serious start in
 which direction things could go.
 Austria's relationship with Russia
 was not so bad, especially the
 Russian population had a positive
 attitude towards Austria. The main
 ruling countries of Europe met in
 Constantinople for secret
 negotiations to find out what an
 alliance of the future might look
 like, either with or against
 Napoleon, and Austria must play
 its part to be not left aside. The
 question of what should happen to
 Moldavia and Wallachia will also
 be important.

The Secret Talks in Constantinople.

On the very first day, Mr. Robert
 Adair presented the Turkish nego-
 tiator, Vaahid Efendi, a complete
 peace treaty. He had no major objec-
 tions, and, everything went to
 Adair's ideas "Our peace with the
 Turks is an easy matter."

If one look at Adair's plan and the
 prospects of its success in retro-
 spect, one must admit that the envoy
 clearly recognized the danger zones
 of the Russo-French alliance and
 also clearly recognized the pivotal
 point in Austria's relations with
 Russia in Moldavia and Wallachia.

England, Russia and Austria which took account of Turkey's requirements. It began with the captain of the English Mediterranean fleet, Lord Cuthbert Collingwood, one of the great leaders of British naval history, emphasising that he would refrain from any hostile actions toward Turkey. The French envoy spoke of Napoleon's threat that a peace between Russia and England could be the occasion for a declaration of war against Turkey's independence, which is threatened by English influence, or prevent it from running counter to the announced interests of the French nation. Designs of the English justify this concern. All their interests are centered on Turkey. He always wanted to maintain its existence, nothing worse than the insinuation that he had proposed a partition.

The Peace Talks in Hungarian Altenburg became a rallying point for European diplomats, some of whom travelled on to Constantinople to incorporate Napoleon's intentions into the talks.

An important role played Lordship Earl of Bathurst, H. M. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs already in Hungarian Altenburg. His many letters with the Right Honourable George Canning and Sir Robert Adair shows their intensive communications.

On 10 February 1808 Mr. Adair wrote to Mr. Bathurst:

"One great benefit of restoring peace between Great Britain and the Porte was the chance which it afforded of profiting by events that might arise to detach Russia from France. Your Lordship may remark, in my correspondence of the year 1809, that at my first meeting with the Ottoman plenipotentiary, I intimated a readiness to become the mediator of a peace between the Porte and Russia, if properly invited. Soon after my arrival at Constantinople I began to take measures for giving it effect, by addressing the letter to Prince Prosorowsky, commander of the Russian forces on the Danube, of which a copy is enclosed and to the

hands of Galib Efendi, the Turkish plenipotentiary and another copy to Count Stadion.

It is true that this desire has manifested itself to the extent that the festivities of the Swedish peace have been postponed to the time of that which will be concluded with Turkey, and which it was hoped would be all the more soon as the new general of the Russian armies, Prince Balgration, has reported that soon all the fortresses will have been surrendered and that he will have defeated the Vizier. This is so far from being true that we have learned from the latest reports that the Russian army has retreated, and that the plan of the general was to cross the Danube again, fearing a diversion on the part of the Turks through Vidin into Wallachia, which would oblige him to resort to the defence of this province."

He concludes his letter:

"If the Ottoman Empire offers the sacrifice of the two principalities, she loses nothing of the Turkish territory, and retains her military forces, which are so necessary to oppose Bonaparte's plans; for there is no doubt that his views are to seize Epirus, Morea, and Greece in order to drive the Turks out of Europe: It is not a matter of a few days' notice, but of a few days' notice."

On 12 February 1808 wrote Mr. Adair to Mr. Bathurst:

"I have the honour of forwarding to your Lordship, by the messenger Robinson, some despatches from Sir Harford Jones of the 27 December and of the 3rd January. Your Lordship will, I have no doubt, learn with satisfaction that, on the receipt of my letter complainig of the ostentatious visit of the Persian agent, Hossein Han, to the French Charge d'Affaires on the 3rd of December, Sir Harford Jones immediately laid my representation before the Prince Royal of Persia, who without a moment's hesitation, and with the strongest expression of displeasure, immediately despatched a firman for his real."

On 14 November 1809 writes Sir Adair to Mr. Canning:

"Intelligence of the signature of peace between Austria and France has just reached me from Mr. Bathurst. Having thought it my duty to communicate to the Ottoman Government, on all occasions, such information as reached me respecting the hostile views of Bonaparte against Turkey, of which they are themselves fully aware, it will be needless for me to dwell on the effect produced here by this disastrous event." He continues "There is not the smallest doubt that during the war with Austria the French Minister at this place endeavoured more than once to induce the Ottoman Government to admit of his intervention with the Russian commanders on the Danube for the renewal of conferences for peace. Whether Bonaparte may still feel the same interest in effecting a peace between the Porte and Russia may be matter of doubt: in negotiations we know that he has always an interest; and what to the present point is certain, is, that on the 21st of November, immediately after a conference in which the French Minister communicated to the Porte the news of the peace with Austria, a son of Baron Hubsch was despatched from hence in all haste, ostensibly to Warsaw, but, in reality, to St. Petersburg."

In the talks were mentioned, that independent of the direct part in the war which the Turkish Government would be taking by the recognition of Joseph Bonaparte, such an affront to his Majesty, who was in actual alliance with Ferdinand VII., could not be submitted to by Great Britain.

The Reis Efendi's assurances that the Turkish Government will not listen to any of the demands, should they be made by France. An understanding had begun to show itself between Austria and Russia on the affairs of Poland, and that Napoleon showed interest to re-establish that kingdom in the person of one of his brothers. Mr. Canning, should recommend to the Emperor Ale-

xander to make peace with Turkey on any terms, to bring his force to act against Austria.

France wanted the possession of nearly the whole coasts of Continental Europe. The first object therefore of Great Britain, should now be to *occupy immediately the key-islands, among the different chains of islands lying more or less contiguous to the hostile line of Continental maritime posts.*

The island of Corfu commands the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, controls both the south of Italy and the western provinces of Turkey, and is independent of them both.

A possession of Corfu would establish the British influence throughout the Mediterranean on a durable and solid basis. Mr. Bathurst's idea included peace to reasonable terms with the Ottoman Empire, without any interference on the part of France.

Among the many letters Mr. Bathurst received, is one from 26 December of interest. A secret report from Buda which authorised to state to the Reis Efendi some strong facts on this subject, which he got in a written paper to the following effect: *"That an instruction had been sent to the French Minister at Constantinople to insinuate to the Ottoman Government that Austria had made a peace, which she was under no necessity of making, in order to preserve her forces for an attack on the Ottoman provinces; that to procure credit and countenance to these insinuations, Bonaparte, having forced Austria to cede Croatia as far as the Save, now insisted upon receiving the ceded country clear of all encumbrances; in other words, that Austria should drive out by force of arms those very Turkish troops (the Bosniaks) whom he himself has stimulated to invade Croatia, and against whose invasion both the Internuncio and myself had so frequently but so ineffectually remonstrated, thus, if Austria should use force to get back these provinces, the French at Constantinople would adduce it as a proof of her designs against Turkey, and if she not use force, Bonaparte would accuse her of treachery, a*

view of putting the Turkish Government upon its guard, but to take the opportunity of assuring it, in the most solemn manner, that the Emperor of Austria had not in the slightest degree altered the system which he had constantly pursued with regard to Turkey; that he detested the system of partition, and had again utterly rejected the proposals made to him to fall in with it."

He continues to write *"that to my certain knowledge the attack on Turkey by France was only suspended until the contest should be over in Spain."*

In an answer writes Mr. Canning on 5 December 1809:

"I am not sure that Mr. Bathurst could prolong his residence at Buda sufficiently to obtain an account of three separate and secret articles in the treaty between Austria and France."

On 24 December 1809 writes Mr. Canning to Lord Bathurst:

I have the honour of acknowledging the receipt your Lordship's despatches Nos. 1 and 2, by the messenger Robinson. The letters of protection granted me to the Ionian Captains were nothing more than the common patents granted to Franks who place themselves under the jurisdiction of the different foreign ministers at the Porte. They are given to protect the persons holding them against the wishes of the officers of the Turkish Government. They extend only to residence on shore or in port, and convey no licence to trade.

The passports which I granted to enable them to proceed to Malta were drawn up in terms corresponding to the condition on which I consented to receive them under the British protection. Your Lordship will find, that they should proceed with their several vessels straight to Malta, under convoy of one of his Majesty's ships of war, and that on their arrival there they should surrender themselves to his Excellency Sir Alexander Ball, to be disposed of as he might think proper. They would have little fear of confiscation when they saw that

all French property in the other islands, private as well as public, was set apart as a fund to indemnify them against such monstrous injustice.

Napoleon declared in a speech in Paris that the Ottoman Empire must break absolutely with Britain. The ordinary people believed in an attack in the Black Sea by a command of Sir Samuel Hood. The squadron consisted of six ships with a total of 172 guns and a few frigates. It is still claimed that France's influence at the Porte is great, but that the name Napoleon arouses fear.

This was also recognised by Petersburg already on 21 November 1809. They all trusted in Bonaparte to save Russia from this danger in the Black Sea, but the English never had a plan, and this wrong information was the result of France and Britain to get more influence in Turkey. Short thereafter on 16 January 1810 wrote Sir Robert Adair to Reis Efendi that he just received a letter from the British Consul at Smyrna that two French cruisers are in the harbour of Scyra. *The outrageous proceeding of the French in the island of Scyra affords the undersigned an opportunity of giving this fair warning to the Porte.*

Another letter received Mr. Bathurst from Mr. Adair on 14 February 1810:

"In compliance with a most earnest request from the Ottoman Government, addressed to me after many ineffectual endeavours to induce me to exchange the Secret and Separate Article of the Treaty of Peace, and representing the great and urgent distresses of their army for want of ammunition, I have been induced to apply to General Oakes, Governor of Malta, for 5,000 quintals of gun-powder and 3,000 quintals of shot, to be sent up, if possible, without delay to Constantinople. I have the honour of enclosing a copy of my letter to Gen. Oakes on this occasion. At the same time I have distinctly informed the Turkish Government

that I could not undertake to furnish this supply as a gift, although I would readily recommend its being so considered by his Majesty's Government."

The Turkish question was also intensively discussed in Hungarian Altenburg in 1809.

The 8th session on 30 August started with the question what the French had planned on the Adriatic. Finally, the French said that Carinthia and the countries south of the Carniola to Bosnia line were included in their considerations.

The 12th meeting took place on 14 September. Champagne was given the task of getting more details about the Austrian proposals made at the 11th meeting. An assignment from Salzburg should be clarified at the same time as the question of Dalmatia. Turkey's interests are in order to facilitate an expanded trade with the Middle East. Italy's border is therefore the only one that can really give France an advantage. Metternich's answer was that the reason for the meeting was not consistent with the claims mentioned by France. On the contrary, we must reaffirm that the preservation of the Ottoman door is an important basis for Austria's political system.

A cession of the coastline would be detrimental to Austria's trade and also to Hungary with Turkey. The Austrian side tried to reach an alliance between Austria, England and Turkey with the help of the English ambassador. The British Minister for foreign affairs Canning paid 150,000 pounds a month to increase the fighting power of the Austrian army. The first details of Napoleon's further course of action became known. For the time being, it was a question of how many inhabitants should be attributed to the French. There was talk of 1.6 to 2.6 million. These statements marked the end of the 12th session.

The 14th session took place five days later on 21 September. Napoleon was not interested in destroying the Austrian monarchy, but peace should still be possible.

As requested by Emperor Franz, Napoleon claimed only half of the Gallician population. Metternich replied that the population offsetting does not correspond to the real value of the areas.

19 July 1809 Metternich held a speech about a triple alliance. *"The English envoy on the Bosphorus worked towards the establishment of peace between the Porte and Russia and wished to bring about a triple alliance between Austria, England and Turkey. In Vienna, the opinion was partly different; Stadion considered it necessary to incite the Porte to continue the struggle energetically, as long as Russia was pleased to be in tow of the French ruler. Disputes and party fights in Constantinople delayed the desire for a peace agreement. Incipient tensions between Russia and France became public knowledge. Did Napoleon really want a partition of Turkey? No one really wanted to throw in the towel with Napoleon."*

Finally, on 17 November began the negotiations in Constantinople.

The foreign policy concerns of the Porte seemed to have been overcome, but on 26 November they were suspended until 12 December. For the time being, the talks were about trade issues and the war casualties, which Vaahid Efendi wanted resolved. Adair refused to go into it. After long and persistent discussions, the Porte's negotiator was prepared to reconsider his basic attitude regarding the ship losses and a compensation payment. The new formula for Turkey's monetary demands was called assistance. Adair's proposal was a landing of a Turkish army in the Crimea, but this was not discussed either. Finally, a peace proposal was made to Vaahid Efendi with a secret addendum to fix England's payments to Turkey. Adair threatened to leave immediately if he refused. But Vaahid Efendi wanted to prevent this and hesitantly agreed to a few paragraphs. There was no more

talk of compensation for the ship's losses. It was agreed to deal with a trade treaty later. On 31 December, the Porte indicated that it would accept the peace proposal. The reason for this was that England would continue the war with France. The expected trade was positively moved. Napoleon therefore had to count on England as a competitor in order to gain Turkey's favour. The French envoy, General Marie Victor Latour-Maubourg, threatened to leave, but Napoleon prevented this by issuing a directive not to overreach the Porte, so that the Russian-Turkish peace seemed to be within reach. Tsar Alexander renewed his desire for Gallicia, but this caused Napoleon difficulties. If Napoleon insisted on taking Gallicia from Austria and claiming it for France, Tsar Alexander would demand a larger share of the Duchy of Warsaw.

In Napoleon's distribution, only 400,000 inhabitants remained for Russia. Austria was severely weakened from the war with Napoleon, Moldavia and Wallachia went to Russia. The balance of power was in order for Napoleon in Europe. What was to follow now? For the time being, there was a rapprochement between Austria and England. At the same time, Russia tried to convince her to make peace with Turkey. Adair, on the other hand, was convinced of the necessity of a triple alliance between England, Austria and Turkey, but he was waiting for a decision in Spain, about which he received good information. He also wanted to enter into negotiations with Sweden, the King of Sicily, Portugal and the supreme junta in Madrid, knowing well that Napoleon would not agree. In the meantime, a Russo-Turkish peace had first to be concluded, then the triple alliance could be negotiated. It was certain, however, that Austria was in favour of retaining Moldavia and Wallachia. With a consiliatory letter that could leave no misunderstanding about England's intentions, Adair addressed himself directly to the Russian negotiator prince Prozorovsky. The Tsar's intentions

were so obscure that not even the Viennese government could be sure of his position on an Austro-French war. Decisions were made too quickly in Vienna and too slowly in Petersburg. Now it was a question of adjusting English policy in Constantinople to Austria's needs. On 22 March, a Russian courier arrived in Constantinople with a 48-hour ultimatum. The Russian courier had to leave two days later without success. On 5 April, the fighting on the Russian-Turkish front began again. However, one got the feeling that there were unrealistic shifts of troops rather than fighting. The 76 year old Prosorovsky was replaced by Prince Bagration, who then crossed the Danube and advanced to Silistra. On 23 August, the Turks suffered a heavy defeat in the battle of Rassevat. In mid-September, the siege of the city began, which was lifted in view of the approaching winter. The fighting south of the Danube forced the Vizier to march the Turkish army out of Serbia in their struggle against Turkish rule.

Petersburg wrote on 8 October:

The commander-in-chief of the Russian army, General Prince Bagration, reports that immediately after the conquest of several fortresses, the Russian troops discovered a strong Turkish corps under the leadership of Gosrew Pascha, who was about 20,000 strong, quickly attacked them with their usual bravery, and completely defeated them.

Bagration was also concerned for the welfare of the Bulgarian people - he recommended to General Matvei Iwanowitsch Platow that "the population of the Christian law, especially the Bulgarians, remain protected and in the integrity of their land holdings." From Mr. Issaev, who had been sent to Serbia, he demanded that his units deal with the Bulgarians in a brotherly and friendly manner. Bagration conducted negotiations with the Bulgarian spiritual leader Sofronij Vratschanski for a Bulgarian rebellion, which the latter advocated, provided it was declared after entering the Bulgarian land.

The Newspaper "Schwäbischer Merkur" writes on 21 October:

Negotiations start at Constantinople with a proposal of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to inform Omer Pascha not to begin hostilities earlier until a reply to this proposal has arrived from Petersburg. Western powers have to support Turkey to the best of their ability.

On 3 November they wrote:

The Austrian correspondence contains a reliable report from Bucharest of 2 November, according to which small skirmishes took place between the Turks and the Russians (in small Wallachia between Kalafat and Krajova); the Turks then retreated to Kalafat. They do not seem to have been of any significance. According to reports that arrived yesterday and today for the diplomacy here, both army corps are holding an observing position. It is believed that Omer Pascha intends to wait until the deadline for diplomatic negotiations has passed.

The London Chronicle of 4 November says of a awaited peace on 25 November.

A message from Paris on 10 November reads: The Moniteur reports that twelve thousand Turks crossed the Danube into Great Wallachia on 3 November. They were attacked by nine thousand Russians. The Turks held their position after three hours of fighting.

The French envoy in Petersburg advised holding the positions.

France would then have a larger number of its troops at its disposal against Austria. But what if Napoleon managed to bring the war to a halt in the Turkish theatre.

Could Turkey's rapprochement with Austria be advantageous for a triple alliance?

After a peace between the warring parties, there was serious discussion of inviting Austria to join the Peace of the Dardanelles. Turkey declined. All the years Austria had not taken much interest in Turkey's policy. In case of difficulties, Austria did not count on its support. The Peace of Schönbrunn changed the pan-European considerations. All combinations were thrown away, more

than that, everything seemed to point to an attack by France on Turkey. The growing antagonism between Napoleon and Alexander had a positive effect on Turkey. High bribes paid by Adair to the highest Turkish authorities guaranteed him excellent information.

The armistice of Znaïm brought renewed strife between England and Turkey. As often before, Napoleon's decision was awaited. Did he now want a partition of Turkey? The near Orient became the focus of the European powers. On 24 December, Adair wrote to his minister: "In the present state of the politics of Europe, and with a view to the security of India, we must cultivate both Turkey and Persia at the risk of being deceived by both, and we must gain these powers at almost any price short of our honour."

In the Petersburg Society there were supporters of a peace initiated by the Sicilian Minister Duc de Sierra Capriola, who recommended direct negotiations between the Porte and Russia, but without the knowledge of France. These secret negotiations were to include Turkey's renunciation of Moldavia and Wallachia.

The task of English diplomacy was now to decide whether it could recommend that Turkey make the desired sacrifices. Capriola's idea coincided with Adair's. Turkey's independence could then rely on the support of England, which could assert supremacy in the Mediterranean through bases in Sicily and in Spain and Turkey.

At the beginning of March, Baron Hübsch's son returned to Constantinople and delivered to his father a letter from Count Romantsew with the authority to offer peace to the Porte on behalf of the Tsar. The ever-increasing differences in France's policy towards Russia finally culminated in the rejection of a Russian consort. Austria, in turn, asserted that Napoleon's marriage to a princess of the House of Habsburg meant greater security for the Ottoman Empire, and an independent Turkey was very much in Austria's interest.

Tsar Alexander continued to pursue an opaque policy, outwardly loyalty to Napoleon seemed important to him, but a pact with England would mean war against Napoleon. Russia would like to get control over Constantinople and the Straits became the main Russian historical objective in case of Ottoman territorial failure. They were important for the Russian economy since it connected the Russian Black Sea's trade with the Mediterranean countries and the Far East markets. Their diplomacy believed that the best way to obtain Russian domination over the Straits and the Sea of Marmara was to support liberation movement of the Balkan Orthodox people against the Turkish domination. An independent Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria under Russian influence should open the way for trading. This idea was called Pan-Slavic solidarity. To strengthen the British power in the Mediterranean Sea they needed Russia's assistance. This competition, in turn, directly involved the Anglo-Russian dimension of the "Eastern Question", because the British respected the ambition of Tsar Alexander. The possession of the Straits for Russia would lead to complete naval presence in the Eastern Mediterranean and Suez as well, a gateway to India. Therefore, Russia could trust in Britain's assistance, and both promised support to the Ottoman Empire. It could be seen in the interest of Britain to gain a peace treaty with Turkey which at least could close the Straits for any foreign power. They were especially scared that Austria would occupy the Straits. Adair's diplomatic skills were now particularly in demand. He held out the prospect of financial aid to the Porte. His task was to win Turkey's friendship and to be the broker of a Russo-Turkish peace. But how would Napoleon behave?

The Porte feared nothing more than a war with France. He soon realised that this was neither in Russia's nor France's interest. In the middle of 1810, Adair plans seemed to become reality. Just

short of his goal, Adair gave up of health reason and returned to England. Stratford Canning, Adair's successor, was only 23 years old and completely inexperienced in diplomatic talks. It was his cousin George Canning who appointed him. Stratford Canning was very actively involved in the Russian-Turkish peace negotiations, especially in the following month after 1809.

He had to expect great problems, for in addition to the difficulties brought about by the tangled circumstances in Constantinople, there were also problems caused by the complete failure of the English Foreign Office. For him, it was a matter of continuing Adair's initiatives and giving little value to the instructions from England. Sir Robert Adair led the British negotiations with the Porte with great enthusiasm, so it finally led to the 5 January 1809 treaty. The treaty contained eleven articles to which were appended four "separate and secret articles" and one "additional and secret article". The basic articles addressed the recent war between the two powers. They provided for an end to hostilities between Britain and the Ottoman Empire. With the signing, the contracting parties stipulated that, apart from the ships of the Ottoman fleet and, in the event of war, those of the Sultan's allies, no warships would be allowed to enter the Dardanelles. Napoleon's distrust of Russia grew stronger and often ended in outbursts of rage. The diplomatic struggle for European freedom continued, a final solution was still out of reach. Constantinople was the beginning to be optimistic.

To be continued.

Jatteau

Elena Khonineva (IRS)

Avec l'avant-garde de Murat, Jatteau arriva presque jusqu'au Kremlin. Depuis la barrière Dorogomilovskaïa, ils ne rencontrèrent personne ; la ville était déserte.

Tout le monde, à l'exception peut-être du roi de Naples, toujours serein, était un peu mal à l'aise. Cette victoire avait quelque chose de bizarre. Seul Murat, portant un incroyable costume espagnol à brandebourgs d'or, ressemblant plus à un chanteur d'opéra qu'à un roi ou un maréchal, ne faisait attention à rien. Il appela Jatteau.

– Allez voir l'Empereur et rapportez ce que vous avez vu.

– Oui, Votre Majesté.

Jatteau salua le roi, éperonna son cheval et repartit au galop. Il sentait le danger émanant de toute maison, de toute porte cochère ; chaque courbure de rue lui semblait une embuscade. Ce n'était pas le danger habituel de la bataille, lorsque, déchirant sa bouche avec un *Vive l'Empereur* furieux, il courrait, épée à la main, à la rencontre d'un ennemi qui était son égal en courage. Non, il sentait bouger dedans lui une peur d'enfant, une peur longtemps oubliée du garçon Ioska, natif de la bourgade de Berkovitchi dans les environs d'Ouman, le garçon qui fuyait les serfs du seigneur local, chassant le « petit youpin » avec les chiens comme s'il était un lièvre.

Il sourit : « Un beau sentiment pour un vainqueur dans une capitale conquise ! » – et, avec un effort, chassa la chimère de la peur. Si seulement il savait à quel point cette peur était juste et prophétique.

Comme ils se battirent il y a une semaine à l'approche de Moscou ! Cependant, ils ne vainquirent pas les Russes. Mais les Russes n'eurent pas la victoire non plus. Toutes les mentions d'une « victoire » ne sont que des bêtises. La bravoure, la hardiesse désespérée, c'était sa nature. Non que cela fût surprenant

– la cavalerie de Murat était composée de gens comme lui, ses amis Montbrun, Lasalle, de Marbot n'étaient pas inférieurs à personne lorsqu'il s'agissait d'intrépidité – mais l'attaque de son escadron à Eylau impressionna l'Empereur lui-même. La croix de la Légion d'Honneur remise sur le champ de bataille par la main auguste. Général de brigade à l'âge de 27 ans. Il est vrai qu'à l'époque chacun était un général. Mais cela ne fut peut-être pas si mal pour un garçon juif venu d'une petite bourgade polonaise. Il est vrai que ce hussard, habillé d'uniforme bleu ciel, avec une pelisse qui tombait négligemment de son épaule gauche, un pantalon de hussard brodé de cordons dorés, enfoncé dans des bottes noires souples, avec une épée traînante, ne ressemblait point à ce garçon. Peut-être n'était-ce que le regard rapide et direct de ses yeux bruns moqueurs, la souplesse naturelle et l'impulsivité de ses mouvements, et la réaction instantanée qui lui avait sauvé la vie plus d'une fois, qui trahissaient ce jeune homme audacieux d'une lointaine contrée du Nord, qui avait venu à Paris à la fin de 1799, peu après la révolution du 18 brumaire, dans l'espoir d'y trouver fortune et gloire. Ayant quitté Pologne et rejoint la France libre, il avait transformé son nom de famille Dziatkowski en Jatteau, réduisant ainsi le nombre de syllabes jusqu'à deux et remplaçant le « dz » tremblé polonais par un « j » léger français, et s'était engagé dans l'armée. Il n'était pas arrivé à temps pour faire Marengo, car il fallait d'abord en baver dans une garnison, mais il avait participé ponctuellement à toutes les guerres de l'Empire. Austerlitz, Iéna, Eylau, Friedland, Wagram. Maintenant, la Moskowa. Sa quatrième campagne. Il trouva l'Empereur sur une grande colline à l'entrée de la ville. Sur la carte, cet endroit était marqué comme la colline Poklonnaïa. Napoléon, avec sa suite et son personnel, attendait une députation de quelques boyards mythiques qui devaient lui apporter les clés de la ville. Jatteau se mordit la lèvre :

« Les erreurs d'un grand homme doivent être grandes aussi. » Il s'approcha et s'arrêta, comme l'étiquette l'exigeait, à quelques pas de l'empereur. Napoléon lui jeta un regard. Votre Majesté, j'ai un message du roi de Naples. Que dit Murat ? Sire, la ville est vide. Encore une fois, comme un signal d'alarme, cette soudaine sensation de danger dans une ville abandonnée. Napoléon le regarda, absolument stupéfait. Puis il retira lentement un de ses gants, se toucha le nez, sortit un mouchoir d'une de ses poches et la remit dans une autre. Il se figea dans une sorte de stupeur et personne ne sut combien de temps s'écoula avant ses paroles, prononcées avec son habituel ton impérieux : « Il ne faut pas tarder ». Les canons grondèrent : le signal pour entrer dans la ville fut donné. Les troupes se misent en route. L'Empereur chevaucha un petit cheval arabe, escorté par deux escadrons de gardes à cheval. L'indignation se lisait sur son visage. Il parcourut les larges rues pavées, passa devant des palais d'une architecture fantasque, devant les belles églises rayonnantes d'or et ne rencontra personne sur son chemin. Les trois cent mille habitants disparurent. Il savait mieux que personne comment on gagne les batailles et comment on entre dans une capitale conquise ; il savait mieux que personne ce que c'est la victoire et la gloire. Mais il n'y a pas de victoire sans vaincus. Mon Dieu, que cette bataille de la Moskowa était infernale ! Ils se battirent de six heures du matin jusqu'à six heures du soir, il perdit trente mille hommes et quarante-neuf généraux dans ces attaques. On gagna le champ de bataille, mais les Russes demeuraient aussi fermes à la fin de la journée qu'au petit matin. Enfin c'est fini. Maintenant, ils demanderont la paix. En arrivant au Kremlin, il dit en riant, pour l'Histoire : « **Voici ces fiers murs.** »

La même nuit, l'incendie commença. Tout d'abord, ce fut loin, quelque part au-delà de Kitaï-gorod, mais bientôt le feu s'étendit à Varvarka et Dmitrovka, s'approchant rapidement du Kremlin. Des rafales de vent le portaient d'une rue à l'autre. Partout, on pouvait sentir une odeur de fumée, et il faisait presque aussi clair que le jour. Maintenant, Jatteau croyait qu'il avait anticipé cela toute la journée. Il se souvenait bien des récits des quelques survivants de Praga qui racontaient le saccage de ce faubourg de Varsovie par des soldats de Souvorov, n'épargnant personne et s'enivrant de sang. Dans son âme resurgit l'horreur profondément caché de l'enfant terrifié par cette impitoyable force russe qui fait périr le juste et le coupable, les soldats et les bourgeois, les hommes et les femmes ; cette horreur menaçait de submerger son esprit et de déborder. Il soupira lourdement en saisissant les revers en fourrure de son habit bleu de hussard, passa sa main sur les broderies dorées, la mit sur la poignée de son épée, et se calma. S'il avait été autrefois un garçon d'une bourgade juive, cela faisait déjà longtemps. Les années de campagnes à côté de l'Empereur l'aguerrirent et l'insufflèrent une foi sans bornes dans la chance et le génie de cet homme remarquable. À Austerlitz, tout le monde avait parlé de la retraite, et, selon une rumeur, même l'intrépide Lannes avait essayé de persuader l'Empereur de se retirer. Mais tout se termina par une défaite complète des Russes, commandés par ce même Koutouzov. Jatteau, saisi d'une extase de berserk, sabra des grenadiers russes avec son escadron. Lui non plus, il n'épargna personne. À Eylau, il commandait déjà un régiment de la brigade de Lasalle. Comment ont-ils attaqué les cuirassiers alors ! Deux divisions en même temps ! C'était la meilleure attaque de sa vie ! C'était la journée de Murat et un peu aussi la sienne, celle de Jatteau ! Bien sûr, les Russes ne purent pas tout bonnement abandonner leur ancienne capitale à l'ennemi. Au

lieu de la stratégie, les Russes ont des ruses. Mais on s'en sortira. Après tout, l'Empereur est ici. À Friedland, les Russes furent vaincus à nouveau. C'est là qu'il devint général de brigade. Et ils entrèrent en Pologne. Il est vrai qu'il avait besoin d'aller dans une autre partie de la Pologne, celle qui était incorporée dans la Russie, l'Ukraine de la rive droite, mais après Tilsit, c'était facile. Il s'adressa à Murat, celui-ci posa la question à l'un des généraux de la suite russe et obtint l'autorisation de l'empereur en deux heures. Il n'y avait plus de frontières pour les Français en Europe. Il avait laissé cette terre six ans auparavant ; il dût fuir parce que le noble Pan Andrzej, ayant appris le déshonneur inouï, la liaison de sa fille unique avec un petit youpin, jura sa mort. Il prit fuite du château Potocki à Tulczyn où Pan Andrzej servait d'intendant ; pour se sauver, il enroula des chiffons autour des sabots de son cheval, parce qu'il craignait un craquement, un son accidentel qui le trahirait. Si on l'avait capturé alors, il aurait été tué à coups de fouet sans aucun procès formel.

Ses parents périrent à Ouman pendant la brève prise de la ville par les Haïdamaks. Les Cosaques avaient alors placé un canon devant la porte de la synagogue et détruisirent la moitié du bâtiment, et puis achevèrent les survivants à coups de piques et de baïonnettes. Les femmes et les filles furent violées avant d'être tuées.

Jozef ne survécut alors que grâce à son père qui réussit à les envoyer, lui et sa sœur aînée, dans sa famille à Tulczyn.

L'orphelin fut recueilli par le comte Potocki, le propriétaire de ces lieux, et sa sœur retourna à Ouman. Il grandit au palais, et visita même la famille du magnat à Saint-Pétersbourg. L'équitation et le maniement du sabre lui furent enseignés par le même vieux noble qui s'occupait de la formation du jeune comte Nicolas, d'autant plus que ce dernier avait besoin d'un partenaire pour l'escrime, et il apprit lui-même l'allemand et le français, en écoutant comment on enseignait les enfants

du comte : le petit Jozef avait le don de langues. La danse, c'était encore plus facile. De taille moyenne, souple et agile comme le mercure, il dansait la mazurka tellement bien que tous les jeunes nobles du voisinage ne pouvaient que grincer des dents, tant ils étaient envieux. Il avait presque oublié l'humiliation de son enfance et ne se sentait pas comme un paria jusqu'à ce qu'il tombe amoureux d'Agneszka.

Dès que la nuit commençait à tomber, elle descendait l'escalier en courant, tambourinant « clac, clac, clac » avec ses petits talons, passait la porte latérale du palais, sautait sur son cheval par-derrière lui, et ils galopaient dans la campagne ; puis, il ralentissait son cheval, la mettait devant lui, et ils s'embrassaient longuement, oubliant tout. Ils trouvaient une clairière dans les bois, descendaient du cheval et s'aimaient, et leur amour fut aussi chaste et aussi farouche comme elle peut être seulement lorsqu'on n'a pas plus de trente-quatre ans pour deux.

Ils aimèrent tellement cette ruée et ces promenades dans les allées du parc de Tulczyn. Leurs lèvres resteraient collées l'une contre l'autre presque sans relâche, leur étreinte serait incassable toute la nuit. Tous deux eurent un été serein et heureux.

Le hasard voulut que le père les surprît un soir. Jozef put se dérober mais il fallait prendre fuite la nuit même, avant que le patron ne mette tout le monde en branle. Mais où fuir ? Après le mariage du comte Stanislaw avec une Grecque de nom de Sophia, Tulczyn fut abandonné, et le jeune couple habita Ouman.

Mais Jozef ne pouvait pas chercher protection à Ouman, gardé par des Cosaques, peut-être les mêmes. Il tuerait toute personne portant une svitka et un pantalon bouffant de Cosaque. Sans dire qu'il ne pouvait pas prévoir la réaction du comte, et ne ressentait aucune soumission en lui-même. En Ukraine, il aurait été arrêté partout ; en Russie, il n'y avait pas de place pour un Juif élevé comme un noble polonais.

La seule possibilité fut donc de faire un long voyage à travers l'Empire

d'Autriche jusqu'en France. On parlait alors beaucoup de la France, et encore plus du jeune général Bonaparte qui venait de conquérir presque toute l'Italie en quelques mois. Jozef ne comprenait bien qu'une chose : les Français avaient massacré leur noblesse et maintenant un homme du peuple pouvait devenir beaucoup là-bas s'il était intelligent et courageux.

Et personne ne le demanderait en quel genre de dieu il croyait. Jozef pensait peu à Dieu, il était plus préoccupé par les affaires terrestres. Comme il n'avait pas d'argent, il passa sa route à voler ce qui traînait et à gagner sa vie en touche-à-tout. Il ne put rentrer que six ans plus tard ! Et il put enfin la revoir ! Rien ne fut changé. Il l'aimait toujours et la voulait autant qu'avant.

Jatteau se mit à penser à Agneszka : Agneszka la belle aux cheveux roux et aux yeux verts, Agneszka l'impétueuse, mince comme une paille, la petite noble. Il était marié depuis cinq ans et n'arrivait jamais à croire à son bonheur. Il ne serait jamais devenu ce qu'il était si Agneszka n'avait pas été là. Il se créa lui-même pour lui plaire, pour la conquérir. Pourtant, il n'aurait jamais pu l'emmener avec lui si cette campagne n'avait pas eu lieu.

Il revint non pas comme un misérable proscrit, mais comme un redoutable général français, victorieux, ombre de son Empereur, devant qui tout tremblait et tous s'immobilisaient pleins d'admiration et de crainte. Soudain, il fut étourdi par une explosion d'une puissance incroyable. Avec son intelligence rapide d'un homme d'armes, Jatteau comprit tout de suite qu'il ne pouvait s'agir que d'un dépôt de munitions ou d'une poudrière. Il lança un juron polonais en silence. Tout à coup, on l'appela auprès de l'Empereur.

Napoléon regardait la ville en feu par la fenêtre. Sur son visage, on voyait tantôt l'étonnement, tantôt la colère. Cette conquête qui avait coûté tant de sacrifices disparaissait dans la fumée et les flammes.

– Ce sont eux-mêmes qui mettent tout à feu. Quels gens sont-ils ? Des Scythes ? Pourquoi ? Vous

êtes Polonais, Général, et on dit que vous connaissez le russe. Expliquez.

– Je suis un juif polonais, s’inclina Jatteau. – Je pense que c’est leur vengeance pour la bataille de la Moskowa, Votre Majesté.

– Mais c’est méprisable, méprisable. Comment osent-ils détruire ma ville ?

– dit l’Empereur d’un ton hautain. Et aussitôt ajouta, en se contredisant : « Ils brûlent huit siècles de leur histoire. Quelle détermination ! »

Il se tourna vers le groupe de maréchaux, leur demandant leur avis sur ce qui se passait.

Le prince Eugène, Bessières et Lefebvre firent chorus pour lui demander de partir immédiatement.

– Votre Majesté, c’est trop dangereux ici.

– Votre Majesté doit quitter le Kremlin.

– Sire, vous ne devez pas vous mettre en danger.

Napoléon les regarda d’un air absent, comme s’il n’avait pas entendu. Pour la première fois, il crut tomber dans un piège. Le cadeau qu’il avait promis à l’armée et à lui-même se transformait en cheval de Troie. La victoire et la paix lui échappaient.

Ce fut Berthier qui sauva la situation :

– Si en ce moment l’ennemi attaquait les unités de l’armée qui sont en dehors de Moscou, comment Votre Majesté pourrait-elle les contacter ?

– Vous avez raison, grimaça Napoléon.

– Passez une commande. Tu viendras avec nous, Jatteau,

– dit-il en faisant un signe de tête au général.

– Je pourrais avoir besoin d’un interprète.

Pendant un long moment, ils ne pouvaient pas quitter le Kremlin, car le feu s’approchait des murs. Ils finirent par tomber sur un passage

vers la rivière et se perdirent presque aussitôt dans la confusion des rues éparpillées. Personne ne connaissait la ville – le petit groupe essayait simplement d’échapper au feu qui les entourait de tous côtés. Les flammes s’élevaient au-dessus des toits, le ciel s’enveloppa dans la lueur d’incendie, ils marchaient parmi les maisons en feu, les bûches brûlantes qui tombaient, les tôles de toiture chauffées au rouge. Les voûtes s’effondraient avec un fracas. Une ruelle étroite ressemblait plus à une entrée à l’enfer qu’à une sortie.

L’Empereur, sans hésiter, suivit cette ruelle. Il marcha au hasard, sa capote ouverte, ses gardes autour, tous captifs du feu. Ils errèrent jusqu’au petit matin, quand par hasard ils tombèrent sur des maraudeurs du corps de Ney.

Ceux-ci indiquèrent le chemin vers le pont Dorogomilovski ; après la traversée, ils réussirent d’atteindre le Palais Petrovski.

À peine entrés au palais, Napoléon convoqua Jatteau. Il s’avéra qu’il n’avait pas oublié sa réponse.

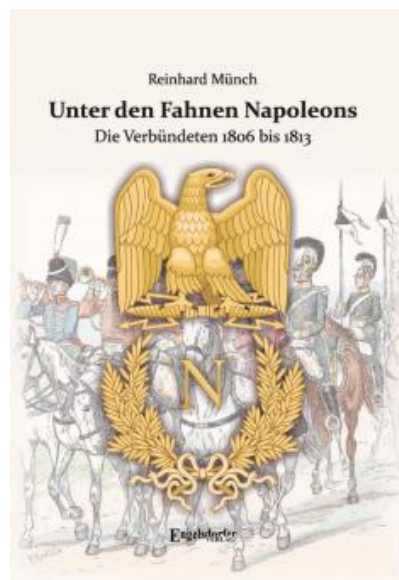
L’Empereur demanda si le général considérait la Pologne comme sa patrie. Sans hésiter, il déclara qu’il avait enlevée à la Pologne la seule chose à laquelle il tenait là-bas, son épouse ; plus rien ne l’attachait à ce pays. Il avait donné son épée et sa vie à l’Empereur et ne servirait jamais personne d’autre.

– Je me souviens de vos services à Eylau, à Friedland et à la Moskowa, dit Napoléon, avec un sourire qui était étonnamment chaleureux et doux. Puis il demanda si Jatteau voulait néanmoins servir dans ses unités polonaises. Jatteau simplement répondit que pour le prince Poniatowski il serait toujours un « youpin » tandis que pour Murat il était un général français, égal parmi les égaux. Napoléon réfléchit : « Nous avons beaucoup parlé à vos coreligionnaires en Égypte. Vous vous rappelez, bien sûr, ce verset

biblique de l’épître de Paul : « Il n’y a plus ni Juif ni Grec, il n’y a plus ni esclave ni libre... ». Pour moi, il n’y a que l’homme lui-même avec sa loyauté, ses talents et son bonheur. Je leur ai proposé de créer leur propre État⁹, mais ils eurent peur, tout simplement. Il n’y avait pas de courage en eux. Vous n’êtes pas fait ainsi. Votre chemin est le chemin de l’honneur. »



Vorankündigung



Reinhard Münch

Unter den Fahnen Napoleons. Die Verbündeten 1806 bis 1813

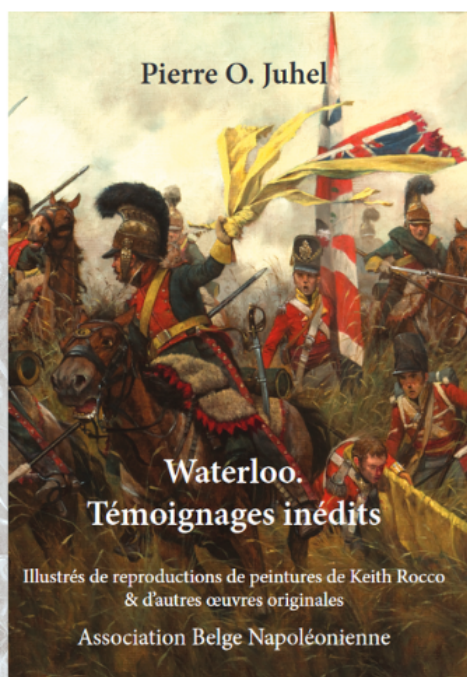
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⁹ Napoléon le proposa effectivement. Il n’était pas d’ailleurs le premier à l’époque moderne à avancer l’idée du retour des Juifs en Palestine ; c’était le prince Potemkine qui probablement eut cette idée de Jochua Zeitlin. Potemkine même créa un régiment d’Israël pour défendre l’État juif. Mais il fallut cent cinquante ans, un mouvement sioniste incroyablement puissant et la tragédie de l’Holocauste pour que cela se réalise.

NOUVEAU
SORTIE : 21 MAI 2022



Waterloo. Témoignages inédits Pierre O. Juhel

Format royal (16,5 x 24), 576 pages, 28 €*

*hors frais d'envoi

La Campagne de Belgique, qui se dénoua à Waterloo le 18 juin 1815, fascine.

L'enquête de P. O. Juhel révèle que **les sources authentiques françaises**, datées de la campagne de Waterloo et des jours qui ont suivi **sont rarissimes**.

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The major general count Charles Norman (1784-1822)

Thomas Zacharis (IRS)

The battle of Leipzig on 16-19 October 1813 judged the future of the French stay in Germany. For this battle Napoleon divided his forces into three parts, in Lindenau, in Wachau and in Moeckern. While the emperor considered the direction of Wachau as the most important and while he left powerful forces in Lindenau, so as to be able to draw back towards Rhine if necessary, in Moeckern he left only the General Marmont with the VI corps.

Despite Marmont's desperate warnings concerning the appearance of a great hostile force northwards, the Emperor did not

send any supplies. He might believe that Marmont's skills in combination with the fact that the VI corps regiments consisted of veteran soldiers would avert the risk. Among Marmont's outfits there was Charles Norman's 25th cavalry brigade, consisting of Wurttembergers and Saxons. In the battle between Blucher and Marmont on 16 October, Marmont managed to out the first line of the Prussians to fight. But when he ordered Norman to finish his victory with a cavalry charge, Norman hesitated and proceeded to a limited charge later on, when the golden opportunity was missed.

Two days past the 18 October noon, Platov's Kossacks got between Norman's cavalry and the French. Then Norman with his unit got through the allies, but under the condition that he would not attack the French unless he

received permission from the King of Saxony (who was in Leipzig). In this way Norman officially initiated the desertion of the German unit fighting on the French side, as it happened a bit later with the desertion of two Saxon brigades. Despite the fact that Norman's desertion played an important role for the Victory of the Allies, he was expatriated from Saxony and his unit was dispersed.

Then onwards he lived in Wurtemberg with the rank of major general in retirement, until the explosion of the Greek Revolution, which created a new field of glory for him. Under the influence of the philhellenic movement he debarked in Pylos on 7 February 1822 in charge of 52 philhellene officers, who swore with swords in a church of Pylos that they will fight to liberate Greece. His arrival was combined

with the desire of Alexandros Mavrokordatos to create an regular army and with the appeals of the population of Souli to the Greek Government for help. Mavrokordatos was persuaded that in order for the Greek forces to dominate against the Turkish ones, they had to organize regular troops and a modern fleet, otherwise the great reserve forces of the Sultan would put the Greek Revolution in danger. At the same time, the government would be released from the need of leaders for the irregular troops, which were difficult to handle. So, in Korinthos a battalion of Philhellenes was created under Norman, who was also appointed leader of the Army Staff. The ex officer of the Great Army Peter Tarella was appointed Commandant of the 1st infantry regiment. In late May the regulars, who had been reinforced also by soldiers from the Ionian Islands, left for Mesolonghi, where they met the irregular troops that had gathered and with Markos Botsaris, who communicated to Mavrokordatos the aggravation of the situation in Souli. Mavrokordatos immediately sent 4 ships and 300 soldiers from Mani to Phanar, under Kyriakoulis Mavromichalis. In the violent battle that followed Kyriakoulis was killed; the soldiers from Mani returned to Mesolonghi. In Mesolonghi Mavrokordatos inspected the soldiers who were about 3,000. 650 among them were regular soldiers from the Ionian Islands and Philhellenes with two cannons. On 4/16 June the army set off and on 10/22 June they arrived in Komboti. The next day they repulsed the Turkish army assaulted from Arta. After this success, the regular and irregular soldiers camped in Peta, while only a few Greek soldiers remained in Komboti. On the same day the Greeks arrived in Peta, the Turkish naval forces managed to destroy Passano's small Greek fleet, which was patrolling in the Amvrakikos

gulf blocking the connection between Preveza and Vonitsa. When the Greeks settled in Peta, Markos Botsaris, Varnakiotis, Vlachopoulos, Karatasos and Gatsos with 1,200 irregular soldiers tried to reach Kiafa with a hazardous maneuver in the rear of the Turkish-Albanian army. But in the battle of Plaka (29 June 1822) they were defeated and forced to return to Peta. Meanwhile the Turkish army learned from a philhellene captive the true forces of the Greek; this encouraged them and they started coming out in plain of Arta playing polo in a provocative way. 1,000 among them were disposed in Komboti where they were repulsed by the forces that had arrived in Peta. Finally on 4 July more than 6,000 Turkish soldiers under Mehmet Reshid or Kütahi attacked the Greeks in a crescent ordinance. In this battle the regular soldiers kept the flat part, with the Philhellenes being in the left limit and the irregular soldiers being on the rises. Andreas Danias, ex major of the Dragoons of the Great Army, was also responsible for this ordinance, as he refused the fortification of the regular army. The first Turkish attacked were repulsed, but one detachment took advantage of the gaps of the Greek array and of the fume in the battlefield and on the rise behind Peta where they unfolded their flags and started firing on the rear of the Greek army. This fact scared the irregular soldiers, who believed they were surrounded and started to retreat. While their retreat was easy, because they were in the uphill parts of the mountains, the regular soldiers were desperate. The Turkish army attacked them with rage. From the Battalion of the Philhellenes about 3/4 were killed in the battle. From the 1st regular regiment more than 200 soldiers and 16 officers, including the commandant Tarella, were killed. The leader of the Philhellenes and leader of the Army Staff, Norman, was seriously injured and transported

to Mesolonghi where he died (November 1822). Around his tomb, one of the ramparts for the protection of the city was created and was given his name in his honour. When the city was captured (1826) his tomb was excavated. A bust of the first leader of the Army Staff can be found in the garden of the Mesolonghi Heroes.

Sources:
"Napoleon's last campaign in Germany" by Thomas Zacharis
Eleftheroudakis Dictionary, "Leipzig", "Count Charles Norman", "Andrea Dania", "Peter Tarella", "Peta", "History of the Greek Revolution" by Apostolos E. Vakalopoulos

Le Souvenir Napoléonien Delegato Nord Est Italia

Cari Soci, amici e appassionati napoleonici, la Delegazione Nord Est Italia del Le Souvenir Napoléonien ricomincia le sua attività per il 2022. Grazie alla collaborazione con l'Associazione Il Cidul ci incontriamo per un evento che si terrà a Torsa di Pocenia, Provincia di Udine, dove secondo una locale tradizione esisteva una camera ove aveva dormito Napoleone. Per i dettagli si vedano gli allegati programma e locandina. In allegato troverete anche le modalità per l'iscrizione



L'ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE IL CIDUL
PROPONE

DOMENICA 29 MAGGIO

PRESSO "CASA GALASSI"
TORSA DI POCENIA UD

ORE 17:30 SCOPRIMENTO LASTRA RICORDO
ORE 18:00 CONFERENZA: NAPOLEONE IN FRIULI
STORIA E LEGGENDE
A CURA DEL DOTT. PAOLO FORAMITTI

LA CJAMARE DI NAPOLEÓN

A VOLTE IL SOGNO SEMBRA REALTÀ,
QUANDO IL RACCONTO GIUNGE AL BAMBINO
E IL PADRE RICORDA CON PASSIONE



COMUNE DI POCENIA



DELEGAZIONE NORD EST ITALIA

o il rinnovo all'iscrizione al Le Souvenir Napoléonien per il 2022. Per qualsiasi dubbio o necessità di chiarimento non esitate di chiamarmi al 349 6398724 in qualsiasi orario. Nella speranza di potervi presto incontrare, con i più cordiali saluti

dott. Paolo Foramitti
Delegato Nord Est Italia
Le Souvenir Napoléonien
telefono 0432 511636 e
349 6398724, e.mail
paolo.foramitti@gmail.com

Per esigenze ed informazioni durante le giornate degli eventi, tel. dott. Paolo Foramitti: 349 6398724 o 0432 511636



Le Souvenir Napoléonien

Société Francaise d'Histoire
Napoléonienne
Delegazione Nord Est Italia
Via Leopardi 16 – 33100 Udine
Tel.: 349 6398724 - 511636
e.mail:
paolo.foramitti@gmail.com

Programma maggio 2022

**Torsa di Pocenia (UD),
domenica 29 maggio
2022**

LA CJAMARE DI NAPOLEÓN

(La camera di Napoleone)
A volte il sogno sembra
realtà, quando il racconto
giunge al bambino e il
padre ricorda con passione

**ORE 17:30 Scoprimento
lastra ricordo**

**ORE 18:00 conferenza
Napoleone in Friuli, storia
e leggenda, a cura del dott.
Paolo Foramitti**

presso "Casa Galassi",
via Fornaci n.9,
Torsa di Pocenia (UD)
A cura dell'Associazione
culturale Il Cidul in colla-
borazione il Le Souvenir
Napoléonien, delegazione
Nord EstItalia ed il
comune di Pocenia



Le Souvenir Napoléonien

Société Française d'Histoire
Napoléonienne

Delegazione Nord Italia
Via Leopardi 16 – 33100 Udine
Tel. 0432 511636 – 349 6398724
e.mail:

paolo.foramitti@gmail.com

Le Souvenir Napoléonien - Delegazione Italia Nord Est

Presentazione ed Iscrizione

Le Souvenir Napoléonien, società francese di studi storici con sede a Parigi, è una associazione culturale fondata nel 1937 al fine di studiare e diffondere la conoscenza della storia dell'età napoleonica e dei periodi ad essa collegati, quali l'epoca della Rivoluzione Francese. Ulteriori informazioni sull'associazione e le attività di tutte le sue Delegazioni e Corrispondenze si trovano nel sito <http://www.souvenirnapoleonien.org>

La Delegazione, ufficialmente attiva dall'anno 2000 e con sede a Udine, conta numerosi soci, tra i quali vi sono studenti e lettori di libri di storia, storici professionisti e amatoriali, collezionisti di libri e soldatini, tutti accomunati dall'interesse per l'età napoleonica.

Dal 2020 viene ufficializzata la trasformazione della Delegazione come Delegazione Italia Nord Est con competenza sulle regioni Friuli Venezia Giulia, Veneto e Trentino Alto Adige.

L'attività della Delegazione è coordinata, sin dalla costituzione, dal Delegato,

dott. Paolo Foramitti, nominato dal Presidente dell'associazione. La Delegazione organizza principalmente giornate di studio e visite a località italiane ove vi sono memorie del periodo napoleonico, conferenze e incontri tra i soci. Padova, Milano, Arcole, Roma, Verona, Palmanova, Lodi, Torino, Peschiera, Campoformido, Grado e Udine sono alcune tra le località ove più spesso si sono svolti incontri culturali, visite o ricostruzioni storiche, quest'ultime realizzate in collaborazione con i rievocatori dell'Associazione Napoleonica d'Italia.

L'iscrizione annuale con l'aggiunta dell'abbonamento dà diritto a ricevere i numeri della rivista trimestrale illustrata collegata all'iscrizione, Napoleon I^{er} e/o Napoléon III, scritte in francese, con articoli di storia, biografie, servizi su luoghi di interesse napoleonico, recensioni di libri, e il periodico Revue du Souvenir Napoléonien con notizie soprattutto sulle attività della associazione.

I soci della Delegazione Italia Nord Est sono inoltre periodicamente informati tramite circolari sulle iniziative che vengono organizzate dalla stessa.

Nel 2003, a Peschiera, la Delegazione ha stipulato un accordo con l'Associazione Napoleonica d'Italia, particolarmente attiva nel Veneto, che ha dato luogo a molte positive realizzazioni congiunte. Per ulteriori notizie è possibile rivolgersi direttamente alla sede di Udine.

Le quote di iscrizione ed abbonamento alla rivista per il 2022 sono:
Iscrizione : Socio attivo: 35 €;
Coppia: 45 €, Giovane fino a 26 anni: 15 €; Benefattore a partire da 100 €, Coppia benefattrice a partire da 120 €.

Abbonamento alla rivista:
Napoleon I^{er}: 25 €, Napoléon III: 25 €, entrambe le riviste: 48 €. Ciascuna rivista pubblica all'anno 4 numeri trimestrali e un numero speciale.

Tutti i soci italiani riceveranno inoltre i due numeri annuali della rivista Revue du Souvenir

Napoléonien – Italia, scritta in italiano.

Riepilogando: con 60 €, o 70 € per la coppia, si diviene soci con il diritto a ricevere i numeri della rivista. Per qualsiasi chiarimento contattate senza esitazione il 349 6398724.

La quota prescelta può essere consegnata alle sede della Delegazione previo appuntamento o inviata direttamente alle Sede di Parigi con un bonifico sul conto:

IBAN: FR68 3000 2004 5300
0000 8864 N72;

BIC: CRLYFRPP;

Banca: LCL Paris Anjou Francia;
titolare del conto: Souvenir
Napoléonien, 82 rue de
Monceau, 75008 Paris-Francia.

Paolo Foramitti, maggio 2022

*23 May 2022
Udine*

Ferdi Wöber and his wife Ingrid meet Paolo Foramitti in Udine (Italy).

In about two hours we discussed a future of International Research Society collaboration with Souvenir Napoléonien. We both agreed that this collaboration would increase interest in Napoleonic history, especially in Central Europe.

We are happy that this possibility exists and hope that the cooperation will spread further.

